

EDUCATION FOR EMPIRE SETTLEMENT

A Study of Juvenile Migration

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## P R E F A C E.

Of the many attempts that have been made to bring about a better distribution of the population of the Empire, few have met with such wide approval or such uniform success as juvenile migration. I. The movement has come to be recognized as one of great value both to the Mother-country and to the Dominions. In the one, besides reducing the surplus of young workers at ages when unemployment is most demoralizing, it offers to boys and girls of every class opportunities for healthy employment and useful service to the Empire. In the

- I. Juvenile migration is taken to mean the movement overseas of young people, under the age of twenty one years and unaccompanied by parents or guardians. Where children under fourteen only are referred to, the term child-migration is used.

other, it fulfils a persistent demand for young agricultural workers and supplies a type of settler who, on account of his youth and adaptability, is readily absorbed into the community. The selection, training and transfer of young oversea settlers, the supervision required for their welfare and the assistance necessary to establish them in their new life form the subject of this study. Part I shows how the movement originated, how it outgrew its early penal, reformatory and rescue stages and developed into an important factor in Empire Settlement. Part 2 deals with recent developments and describes the systems of juvenile migration operating at the present time in various parts of the Empire; while Part 3 discusses from the points of view of both Great Britain and the Dominions the economic, medical and educational aspects of the problem.

The information that follows was collected in 1928 and 1929, during the course of a visit to Great Britain and a journey back to Australia by way of Canada and New Zealand. Wherever possible the facts are documented, but since many particulars have been gathered orally and from a diversity of sources, it is often possible to make only general acknowledgments. Both in Great Britain and in the Dominions it was the willing cooperation of Government Departments and voluntary organizations which made the carrying out of the investigation possible. I must here express my indebtedness to the many migration workers who, in the midst of their exacting duties, either found time to supply information personally or allowed inspection of their records.

PART I.

HISTORY of JUVENILE MIGRATION up to the YEAR 1914.

PRISON TRAINING.

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## CHAPTER I.

### The EMIGRATION of JUVENILE DELINQUENTS.

#### PRISON TRAINING.

Transportation of convicts to America and Australia ---- Harshness of the British Penal Code ---- Little distinction between adult and juvenile criminals ---- Increase in crime, especially in juvenile crime ---- Lack of education and employment ---- Juvenile emigration proposed as a remedy ---- Imprisonment and transportation demoralizing and ineffective ---- The establishment of Parkhurst Prison to train young offenders for life in the Colonies ---- Type of boy admitted ---- Discipline, education, agricultural and industrial training ---- Success of Parkhurst boys in the Colonies ---- End of the system of transportation.

The history of juvenile migration from Great Britain goes back more than a hundred years to the time of the industrial revolution and the founding of the British Oversea Empire. The contrast between the terrible neglect of child-life occasioned by the former, and the abundant opportunities for healthy useful employment offered by the latter, led statesmen and philanthropists to attempt the transfer of criminal and destitute juveniles to the newly founded colonies. Naturally enough the criminal class were the first to be dealt with in this way. Thus juvenile migration had its origin in the system of transportation, a punishment first prescribed in an Act of Charles I, but for a long time used chiefly to rid the country of political offenders. An Act of George I facilitated the carrying out of the sentence by giving to persons who contracted to transport convicts a property and interest in their

I.

services. The shortage of labour, usual in new colonies and especially acute in the plantations of the West Indies and the Southern States of North America, increased the demand for convicts, with the result that transportation became an ordinary punishment for all classes of criminals. It continued to be a convenient means of ridding the old country of undesirables, as well as a profitable business for those engaging in the traffic, until the North American colonies objected to this tainted source of population. Transportation to these parts ceased altogether with the War of Independence. During this early period juvenile offenders were transported practically without regard to their age. With the loss of the American colonies it seemed that the evil system had come to an end. A strong movement led by John Howard was directed towards prison reform at home, an Act being passed in 1778 for the establishment of penitentiaries which, as their name implied, should provide reformatory rather than deterrent treatment for all criminals. But the discovery of Australia opened up a new field for convict colonization and provided an easier way of disposing of criminals than reforming them at home. Transportation was therefore resumed and continued until the middle of last century, certainly under constantly improving conditions, but with hardships and terrors which still provoke a shudder. It will be remembered that early in the nineteenth century the penal code of Great Britain was the most severe in Europe. Before the revision which began in 1820 there were two hundred and twenty capital offences

I. The English Prison System. Sir E. Ruggles-Brise, p.23.

on the Statute Book. In the next few years more than a hundred of these, many of them trifling offences like petty thefts or causing damage to property, were removed and made punishable by transportation.  
I.

Little distinction was made between the treatment of adult criminals and of juveniles. Whereas in France, sixteen years was the age at which the young were held to become criminally responsible, those convicted under that age being either detained in reformatories or restored to their parents,<sup>2.</sup> in England it was only under the age of seven years that children were presumed to be incapable of crime, and reformatories under state control did not exist. If over this tender age, young offenders were liable to the same penalties as adults. Whipping, imprisonment, transportation, even death, were the means used to combat juvenile crime. By 1830 the extreme penalty, though often pronounced on children, had become only a terrible threat, being usually commuted to transportation for life. The author of "Old Bailey Experiences" wrote in 1833, "Nothing can be more absurd than the passing of the sentence of death on boys under fourteen years of age, for petty offences. I have known five in one session in this awful situation; one for

1. England in Transition, 1789 - 1832, W.L.Mathieson, pp. 181, 213.

2. "If the accused be under sixteen years of age, and if it be declared that he acted without discernment, he shall be acquitted, but he shall be, according to circumstances, either sent to his parents or to a house of correction, to be there educated and trained during such number of years as the judge shall fix, and which shall in no case exceed the time when he shall have completed his twentieth year". Code Penal, Lib.II, C.I, Sect.66. Translation quoted from "Industrial Schools, Their Origin, Rise and Progress, in Aberdeen", by Alexander Thomson, 1847, p.31.

stealing a comb almost valueless, two for a child's sixpenny story book, another for a man's stock, and the fifth for pawning his mother's shawl. In four of these cases the boys put their hands through a broken pane of glass in a shop window and stole the articles for which they were sentenced to death, and subsequently transported for life".

These repressive measures failed to check the increase in crime which grew alarmingly not only in cities where changing industrial methods were congregating vast populations, but also in the country where the depression in agriculture and the dearth of employment that followed the Napoleonic wars caused great distress. Between 1801 and 1827, commitments for felony rose from 1 in 1,518 of the population to 1 in 626, while the total commitments for all offences increased by 300 per cent in the same period. Juveniles were responsible for the greatest part of this increase; at the New Bailey, Salford, commitments of juveniles seventeen years of age and under rose from twenty in 1809 to two hundred and thirty in 1826; at Brixton gaol more than half the number of persons committed were under twenty one years of age.

1. Quoted from the Fourth Report on the Work of the Children's Branch of the Home Office, p.13.
2. Report of Select Committee on Criminal Commitments and Convictions, 1826 - 27, p.3.
3. Ibid, appendix 5.
4. Report of Select Committee on Emigration from the United Kingdom, 1826, p.84.

1. Report of the Select Committee on the Education of the Lower Orders of the Metropolis, 1816, p.122.



Although the social unrest that followed the Napoleonic Wars and the industrial revolution made inevitable some increase in crime, a contributing factor was illiteracy. A succession of reformers, Locke, Rousseau, Basedow, Pestalozzi, had preached the need of education for the masses and urged a return to nature in educational methods; but their good counsels were forgotten or ignored in the frenzied quest for wealth which came with the advent of steam-power in industry. The conditions of ignorance, poverty and overcrowding in which a large section of the population were forced to live, and which had their worst effect on the young, made it easier for many children to gain a living in vice than in well-doing. In 1816 a Select Committee on Education in London found that over one hundred thousand children were untaught. The testimony of one witness was that one half and upwards of the children of the poor were without facilities for education and that a large proportion of them, through the neglect of society, were actually training in vice. I. Some years later Lord Ashley, better known for his philanthropy as the Earl of Shaftesbury, held that thirty thousand and vagrant children constituted the seed plot of nineteen twentieths of the crime of the metropolis.

Wholesale emigration was often advocated as a remedy for juvenile crime. In 1826, a police magistrate, giving evidence before the Select Committee on Emigration from the United Kingdom, quaintly described London as too full of children, due, he thought,

I. Report of the Select Committee on the Education of the Lower Orders of the Metropolis, 1816, p.123.

to the increase of population, the want of employment, the discharge of children from ships in dock, and the crowded state of the workhouses. He urged emigration as the surest means of relief.

The Secretary of the Mendicity Society of London corroborated this evidence, adding that children should be assisted to emigrate before they became inured to crime and vice.<sup>2</sup> One or two voluntary societies, whose work is dealt with in succeeding chapters, made early attempts along these lines, but the Government took no action until ten years after the publication of the report just referred to.

In the meantime children continued to grow up without opportunities for education or useful employment, and only when they had become so thoroughly demoralized as to be a danger to the community, did the State take them in hand and prescribe imprisonment or transportation. As they were then carried out, both penalties were not only ineffective, they were also demoralizing. To herd young children with habitual criminals was, in John Howard's words, "to devote them to destruction". Sydney Smith scathingly described the prisons of his day as "large public schools maintained at the expense of the county for the encouragement of profligacy and vice, and for providing a proper succession of housebreakers, profligates and thieves. The moment any young person evinces the slightest propensity for these pursuits he is provided with food, clothing and

1. Quoted from *England in Transition*, W.L. Mathison, p.183.

1. Report of Select Committee on Emigration from the United Kingdom, 1826, p.83.
2. Ibid, p. 215.

lodging, and put to his studies with the most accomplished thieves and cut-throats the county can supply". Not until 1843 was provision made for separate confinement in the ordinary prisons of the country.

Transportation, though ultimately it might lead to removal from previous temptations, had the same defects as imprisonment, in that it first herded together the young and the old, the tender and the hardened in crime. It also became a most unequal punishment, possessing extreme terror for some, considerable attraction for others. Offenders from the country, especially those with families dreaded it extremely, while young, single men from the towns, hearing of the success of convicts in the colonies, and expecting high wages on their release, considered it an advantage rather than a

2. punishment. In fact, there is evidence that even women committed trivial crimes in the hope of being sent overseas and enabled to join relatives or friends already transported. Richard Whately, in his book on Secondary Punishments, published in 1832, noted as "Curious and significant" a despatch from Governor Darling containing the names of thirty female convicts arrived from Ireland to join their husbands or relatives serving their sentences in New

3. South Wales or Van Dieman's Land. The readiness with which juvenile offenders later accepted training with a view to transportation showed that the most sophisticated regarded it as an adventure

the following table:

1. Quoted from England in Transition, W.L.Mathieson, p.183.
2. Edinburgh Review, January 1834, p.17.
3. Op. Cit. p. 127.

2. I and 2 Vol. c.53.

3. Parliamentary Accounts and Papers, 1837, Vol. XLVI, p. 269 et

which afforded opportunities of self-betterment not open to them at home.

In 1835, a Royal Commission on the treatment of criminals noted the very beneficial effects resulting from reformatory schools established under voluntary control, and recommended the extension of this system to young offenders sentenced to imprisonment or transportation. The Government at last acted on this recommenda-

I. In 1838 an Act was passed authorizing the establishment of a special prison at Parkhurst in the Isle of Wight, and giving magistrates power to commit to it boys who had been sentenced to transportation. Plans were made to accommodate six hundred, who were to be given a course of reformatory training lasting two or three years, and were then to be sent overseas with ticket-of-leave or conditional pardon.

The early reports of the prison give a pathetic picture of young prisoners at this time. The first party arrived on 26th December, 1838, and in the following June a hundred had been admitted. Of these almost a third were under fourteen years of age and several were under ten; one had been sentenced to fifteen years transportation, twelve to ten, eighty to seven, one to five and seven to two. Sixty eight had been in custody more than once, some as many as six times. Their educational attainments are shown in

the following table:

1. See Reports relating to plans for a prison for juvenile offenders, Parliamentary Accounts and Papers, 1837, Vol. XLVI, p. 269 et seq.
2. 1 and 2 Vic. c. 82.
3. Parliamentary Accounts and Papers, 1839, Vol. XXII, p. 643.

30 could not read at all,	52 could not write at all,
14 could read scarcely at all,	12 could write scarcely at all,
38 could read indifferently,	27 could write indifferently,
20 could read tolerably,	11 could write tolerably.

Such was the type of young criminal that had to be trained not only for freedom but also for useful employment in the colonies. Since the system that was adopted led to important developments in reformatory education as well as in juvenile migration, it must receive special notice. A sound general education was made the basis for reform. Training was also given in a trade and in agriculture, a farm of eighty acres attached to the prison giving ample facilities for the latter. Discipline was almost as strict as in other prisons at that time. Warders, fully armed, mounted guard over all prison activities; the time for exercise and recreation was about an hour a day and silence was insisted upon both at work and in the dormitories. The Governor in his first report naively remarked, "The system of absolute silence which we adopt whenever possible assists the intellectual and moral progress". The day was divided as follows:

6 a.m. Cells unlocked, washing, cleaning rooms, etc.  
 7.30. Instruction drill.  
 8. Inspection by Governor, morning hymn, breakfast.  
 8.30 - 9. Chapel, liturgy, psalm, exposition by chaplain.  
 9 - 9.45. Exercise and parade.

10 - 12. Farm-work, trade training or school.  
 12 - 12.45 p.m. Exercise.  
 1. Dinner  
 1.30 - 4. Tasks.  
 4 - 6 Farm-work, trade training or school.  
 6. Supper.  
 6.30 - 7.30 School.  
 7.30 Evening hymn, prayers and to dormitories in silence.

The school work, reading, writing, ciphering, grammar, geography and sacred history was, of course, elementary, but it was evidently thoroughly taught, for it was found that a number of the trainees "went for clerks and schoolmasters", and as these were thought to be callings above the station of Parkhurst boys, the time spent in school was reduced, and more attention was paid to manual work.

At first farm-work and one of two trades, tailoring or shoemaking, were taught to each boy. On the farm all the work was done with the spade or other hand-implement. Most of the prison land was cleared in this way and brought under cultivation to wheat, oats and the usual farm-crops. In wet weather the classes that would normally have been working outside were set to oakum-picking or to knitting. The training for a particular trade was found to be so effective a method of reform that, in 1842, classes for carpenters, sawyers, coopers and bricklayers were commenced, and boys were instructed in two trades as well as in agriculture, while the aimless occupation of oakum-picking was left out of the ordinary prison tasks and given only as a punishment.

It was soon found that a certain measure of freedom was beneficial, and the system of discipline which had been uniform for all -- old inmates and new-comers, the refractory and the well-

behaved — was therefore graded. For the first few months of their detention boys had separate cells and spent a great part of their time in school. They were thus encouraged to make right resolves for the future and, at the same time, were accustomed to strict discipline. When there was evidence of reform they entered the second stage, viz, probation in association with other boys, and were drafted according to their age into one of two wards, those under twelve to the junior ward, those over twelve to the senior ward, where their work was ordered according to the time-table already shown. Towards the end of their first year boys with good records passed to the third stage of discipline, in which they became eligible for rewards — badges for good conduct, more time for recreation and wages of fourpence per week payable on arrival in the colonies; even pudding on Sundays appeared in the list of rewards, until in 1851 this delicacy was added to the general diet. In the same year boys were allowed to write home, a privilege that had previously been forbidden, lest parents should get to know of the advantages of Parkhurst and incite their children to crime in order to qualify them for admittance.

Unnaturally harsh and restrictive as this discipline now seems, it succeeded beyond all expectations. Not long after the opening of the prison it was decided to remove from all boys the iron rings which they had hitherto worn on their legs, and this proved a

I. In the early stages of Parkhurst Prison, boys of eight years were often admitted, and many boys under twelve were sent overseas direct from the junior ward.

humanizing reform. The small measure of freedom allowed was too much for the most violent; one or two attacks on warders with agricultural implements are recorded, and once, when emigration was suspended for a time, there was general discontent and an attempt to burn down the prison; yet disciplinary troubles were surprisingly few. A healthy dread of stricter imprisonment and a lively realization of the advantages of emigration with ticket-of-leave over transportation as convicts were doubtless partly responsible for the general improvement, but from the beginning the training seems to have engendered a genuine desire for reform in most boys. The chaplain reported that they were, without exception, anxious to go abroad. It was probably the system of discipline, the thorough education and industrial training that contributed most to the reformation of Parkhurst boys. In 1852 the Governor was able to report that, in spite of the strictest discipline, there was not a single complaint against boys in the general wards, while reports from abroad went to show that they were the most welcome of all colonists. We must now consider their disposal in the colonies.

I.

The following table shows the number sent abroad annually and their destinations:

Some went with tickets-of-leave, some with conditional pardons

I. From the Annual Reports of these years.

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1. Report of Select Committee on Transportation and Colonization, 1851, p.8.



YEAR	Western Australia	Van Diemen's Land	Port Philip	New Zealand	TOTAL
1842-43	18			92	110
1843-44	28	51		31	110
1844-45	18				18
1845-46	12	74			86
1846-47			70		70
1847-48	51		298		349
1848-49	50	29	62		141
1849-50	53	30	85		168
1850-51	43	185			228
1851-52	59	77			136
1852-53	1	81			82
1842-53	333	527	515	123	1498

On their journey to the colonies they were under the care of the surgeon and a welfare officer, either a prison schoolmaster or, when transportation was in full swing, a clergyman, who continued their instruction. Their conduct must have been uniformly good, for many, in the later years of the experiment, were sent out in emigrant ships, one surgeon superintendent being so impressed by the good behaviour of a party under his care that he offered to take out two hundred without a guard.

Some went with tickets-of-leave, some with conditional pardons

or probationary passes, the best behaved as ordinary emigrants. The ticket-of-leave required the holder to report periodically to the police and to be indoors from ten o'clock at night till day-break; the pardon or pass imposed no restrictions beyond denying the right to return to England during the term of the original sentence of transportation. All boys were taken in charge either by the Governor of the Colony or the Comptroller of convicts, and placed in employment with suitable people.

The welcome extended to Parkhurst boys varied with the demand for labour and also with public opinion in the colonies. New Zealand received only two parties, the last in 1843; Port Philip refused to receive any after 1849, the year in which feeling against transportation ran so high that the convict ships, "Hashmey" and "Randolph", were turned away by angry crowds threatening to throw their human cargo into the sea; but these two refusals sprang from antipathy to the whole system rather than from special prejudice against boys from Parkhurst. Western Australia and Van Diemen's Land continued to receive them. A petition from the principal settlers of the former, in 1849, asked for more, and the Government appointed a Guardian of Juvenile Immigrants to look after their welfare.

Only meagre details of the careers of these boys in the colonies are available, probably because they settled easily into their new life, and being quickly absorbed in the community, were lost sight of. This is the test of successful immigration. The Guardian of Government Juvenile Immigrants in Western Australia estimated that less than three per cent slipped back into vagrancy

I.  
 or crime. The Editor of the "Australian Journal" wrote in 1847,  
 "Their conduct since their arrival at Port Philip has been all that  
 could be desired even by the most sanguine advocates of the experi-  
 ment"; and a despatch from the Governor of Van Diemen's Land to the  
 Home Secretary contained the following tribute to the superior con-  
 dition of Parkhurst boys: "They appear from close scrutiny to be  
 not only exceedingly well trained, both as regards habits and in-  
 dustry and of uniformly respectful demeanour, but the greatest  
 pains, it must be evident, must have been taken in their moral and  
 mental culture. Of their conduct in this colony I cannot speak too  
 highly, and in private service it has likewise, as far as I  
 can learn, been most satisfactory".

But the feeling in the colonies both for and against this  
 class of immigration, especially in the later years of the experi-  
 ment, is perhaps best shown in the following letter, written by a  
 committee of five Parkhurst boys to a Western Australian newspaper,  
 evidently in answer to a charge that they were undesirable immi-  
 grants. The letter is written in such excellent style and in such  
 a manly spirit as to make it worth reading for its own sake; it  
 also bears eloquent testimony to the thorough reformatory training  
 begun at Parkhurst and continued in the colonies. For these reasons:

1. Report of Parkhurst Prison, 1847, p.4.
2. Report of Parkhurst Prison, 1847, p.4.
3. Parliamentary Accounts and Papers, 1851, Vol.XLV., p.63.
4. Report of Guardian of Government Juvenile Immigrants in Western Australia, 1847. (The Guardian had satisfied himself as to the authenticity of the letter.)

it is quoted in full. There are many of us in the Colony at present,

"Sir, we apprenticed from three to four years, and at the termination

Considering the statement inserted in the Inquirer of the 15th June last, unjust towards the character of many Parkhurst boys or "gentlemen" as you are pleased to call them, as belonging to that class, we resolved to answer it in order to vindicate ourselves. You say that we are "a set of dangerous rogues and thieves." we are aware that some boys have committed themselves in the manner you have stated, but at the same time, if ten or twelve out of about two hundred have done wrong, we think that it is unfair and unjust that all should be looked upon alike. You say that we have been nurtured and tutored to vice from our earliest years: now, Mr. Editor, your statement is wrong here, for there are many of us who did not know what it was to be in prison until we were taken for the crime which was the cause of our coming to Swan River, and for which we have suffered. Now, if we had been taught to steal from our earliest years, it would have been impossible for any of us to escape until we arrived at the age of fourteen or fifteen, as many of us were when we were transferred.

You say that we are dangerous, and the Government ought to stop the arrival of any more of our class: now, if we are dangerous, how is it that all boys are disposed of so soon as they are when any of them arrive? It is because the settlers, instead of finding us dangerous, have found us serviceable and profitable servants to them. Again, if we are dangerous, why did the settlers some time back apply for convicts who would be likely to prove a great deal more so?

Now, Mr. Editor, there are many of us in the Colony at present, who were apprenticed from three to four years, and at the termination of that time, we held quite a different character to the one you have been pleased to give us; we therefore hope that when you think proper to speak about us again you will make a distinction. Although we may appear so detestable to you, we have not the least doubt but that you would be one of the first to apply for one or more of the same boys, if you were situated the same as some of the settlers are; and as we have suffered for our past crime, and reformed, as many of us are, we hope we do not deserve to be spoken of in the manner we have been by you.

(Signed)

Terence M'Grath  
 William Porter  
 George Woode  
 John Boulton  
 Henry Wilson

Parkhurst Boys".

About the middle of the century a number of events conspired to bring to an end the whole system of transportation. At home, both for adults and for juveniles it was coming to be looked upon not so much as a punishment as a means of completing the reformation of the individual after he had undergone punishment. C.B. Adlerley thus expressed the new attitude which had taken the place of the old idea of ridding the country of social danger: "If transportation be proposed after the penal sentence be wholly completed for the purpose of placing a renovated character in a new career of honest life, free alike from former temptations and incurred disgrace, such treatment is no part of punishment; it becomes part of our national system of education and of Government tutelage; it

matters not whether of children or of new-born citizens". In May, 1840, an Order in Council had been passed which limited the sending of convicts who were still serving their sentences to Van Diemen's Land and Norfolk Island. For some time the mainland of Australia continued to receive those with tickets-of-leave or conditional pardons, but public opinion against the entry of these classes grew stronger as the colonies approached the stage of self-government and demanded the right to choose settlers for themselves;<sup>2.</sup> while the discovery of gold in the early fifties brought in new population so rapidly that there was no longer any necessity to assist even free immigrants.

In 1853 an Act<sup>3.</sup> was passed abolishing prospectively sentences of transportation of less than fourteen years, and substituting sentences of penal servitude. This practically stopped the transportation of juveniles whose sentences were usually less than fourteen years. The prospect of having to dispose of criminals at home caused some dismay and led to the continuance of a modified system of transportation for some years. As a result of the report of a House of Commons committee on the working of the 1853 Act, another Act<sup>4.</sup> was passed in 1857, abolishing in name all sentences of transportation, but substituting penal servitude which might be carried out in any place beyond the seas, to which convicts had

I. See Report of Select Committee on Transportation and Colonization, 1851, also Report of Royal Commission on Acts relating to Transportation and Penal Servitude, 1852.

1. Transportation Not Necessary, C.B. Adderley, 1851, p.62.
2. See Chapter XVII, The End of Conviction in A Short History of Australia, Ernest Scott.
3. 16 and 17 Vic. C.99.
4. 20 and 21 Vic. C.3.

previously been sent and which might still be willing to take them. The colonies having the final decision in the matter were not long in refusing to receive even "exiles", as prisoners with conditional pardons came to be called, and the mere suggestion of reviving the old system in the early sixties was enough to raise a storm of protest.

Thus transportation as a means of colonization came to an end, and with it the penal phase in juvenile migration. Parkhurst Prison had not only brought about the salvation of hundreds of young lives and benefited both the home land and the colonies, it had also provided proof that the problem of juvenile delinquency might be solved by education. A Select Committee of the House of Lords, investigating juvenile crime and transportation, was driven to this

conclusion: "Lastly, upon one subject the whole of the evidence and all the opinions are quite unanimous — the good that may be hoped from education, meaning thereby a sound moral and religious training, commencing in infant schools and followed up in schools for older pupils; to these, where it is practicable, industrial training should be added. There seems, on the general opinion, to be no other means that afford even a chance of lessening the number of offenders and diminishing the atrocity of their crimes".

1. See Report of Select Committee on Transportation and Colonization, 1861; also Report of Royal Commission on Acts relating to Transportation and Penal Servitude, 1863.
2. E.g. Petitions to the Queen from New South Wales, Victoria, Tasmania, South Australia, Accounts and Papers, 1863, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 805.
3. Second Report of Select Committee of the House of Lords appointed to enquire into the execution of the Criminal Law especially respecting Juvenile Offenders and Transportation, p. 8.

## CHAPTER II.

EMIGRATION from REFORMATORIES and INDUSTRIAL SCHOOLS I.

Early reformatory education in Great Britain --- The Philanthropic Society --- Establishment of a farm-school at Redhill to train young offenders for emigration, 1849 --- Pardons conditional upon training for emigration --- Discipline at Redhill --- Sentences of transportation imposed to qualify young offenders for Parkhurst or Redhill --- Reformatory training available only after imprisonment, and then conditional on emigration --- The plight of neglected but non-criminal children --- Ragged and Industrial Schools --- The First Reformatory Act, 1854 --- Disposal of Reformatory and Industrial School children by emigration --- Legislation governing emigration of children --- The Children Act, 1908 --- Treasury contribution toward emigration --- The merging of reformatory emigration into the rescue and Empire Settlement phases of juvenile emigration --- Note on the Principal Statutes dealing with the emigration of juvenile offenders and Reformatory and Industrial School children.

As late as 1847, when a Parliamentary committee on juvenile delinquency consulted High Court judges as to the possibility of introducing a reformatory element into prison discipline, it was declared that reformatory treatment and imprisonment were a contradiction in terms and utterly irreconcilable.<sup>2</sup> The remarkable success of Parkhurst prison as a reformatory and as a juvenile migration agency contradicted this gloomy view, and further reforms were soon to show that, whereas the old harsh penal measures had utterly failed, reformatory and preventive education were most effective

1. For the information in this chapter I am specially indebted to the Children's Branch of the Home Office and to the Warden of the Philanthropic Society's Farm School at Redhill.
2. The English Prison System. E. Ruggles-Brise, p.23.



means of stemming the advance of crime. Some of the earliest reformatories under voluntary control followed the training they gave with emigration, and we must now trace the improvements which they brought about in the system of juvenile migration.

It is necessary to go back some years to consider the work of one of the earliest, if not the first of all, reformatory schools. The Philanthropic Society was founded in 1788 and incorporated by Act of Parliament in 1806, for the protection of the children of convicts and the refuge of the destitute. At Hackney Cottages, St. George's Fields, the Society maintained a school for about one hundred and fifty children. There, boys released from prison together with the sons and daughters of executed, transported or imprisoned criminals were cared for. They were taught elementary school subjects; the boys were trained in shoemaking and tailoring, and the girls in housework. At first, most were placed in employment in and around London, with the result that many returned to their old haunts and slipped back into crime. The Society, anxious to remove as many as possible from temptation, resorted to emigration and, as opportunities offered, sent parties to friends living in the colonies. By 1849, fifty five had been so disposed of.

About this time the agricultural colonies established in  
I.  
France and Germany for the training of destitute and criminal

I. E.g. M. Demetz's Colony at Mettrai, Pastor Friedner's at Kaisers-  
hert on Rhine, Herr Koph's school in Berlin, the Rauhe Haus,  
Hamburg, etc. See "The Farm School System of the Continent and  
its Applicability to the Preventive and Reformatory Education  
of Pauper and Criminal children in England and Wales". Joseph  
Fletcher.

juveniles were receiving wide attention in Great Britain. The chaplain of the Philanthropic Society's school<sup>I.</sup> visited these institutions and induced the Committee to give up their old school and establish at Redhill, near Reigate in Surrey, a farm-school modelled on M. Demetz's Agricultural Colony at Mettrai in France. The change was made in 1849, the Prince Consort assisting at the opening of the new institution. As well as the farm of a hundred and fifty acres which gave scope for agricultural training there were workshops to provide practical instruction in carpentering, tailoring, shoemaking and smith's work. The suitability of this training for colonial life led the Society to increase its emigration activities. It was fortunate in getting reliable agents to act as guardians at ports of arrival in America, Australia and the Cape. Boys were apprenticed for one or two years and soon got such a reputation for industry and ability that it was possible to send out about fifty every year. Of the first thirty sent to America only one failure was recorded.

As with Parkhurst boys, success was due mainly to careful training followed by complete removal from old temptations to the abounding opportunities for making a new start life in life which the colonies offered. But the plan of apprenticing boys to carefully selected employers and of keeping in touch with them by letters from the employers and from the boys themselves, was a great improvement on the old system, which left Parkhurst boys to fend

I. Rev. S. Turner, later the first Inspector of Government Reformatory Schools.

for themselves as soon as they obtained their freedom overseas.

The Government watched this experiment closely. As early as 1843 Sir James Graham, then Secretary of State for the Home Department, proposed to unite the Philanthropic Society's work with that of Parkhurst, the new institution to receive a Government grant and be subject to Government inspection. The Committee of the Philanthropic Society, however, refused the offer on the ground that acceptance would mean the sacrifice of voluntary action.

Another way was then devised to increase the usefulness of the Society's school and gain for it State support. Under Clause 2 of the Act for Establishing a Prison for Juvenile Offenders, which provided that boys who had been sentenced to transportation or imprisonment might receive conditional pardons if they agreed to submit to a course of training at an approved charitable institution,

I.

increasing numbers of young offenders were transferred from prison, maintained at the Philanthropic Society's school and sent overseas at Government expense. At first only very young prisoners were

2.

therefore is that you do give the necessary directions accordingly. And for so doing this shall be your warrant. Given at Our Court at St. James's, the sixth day of May, 1844, in the second Year of Our Reign.

To Our Family and Well-beloved, the Governor of Parkhurst Prison in the Isle of Wight, the Superintendent of the Philanthropic Institution in St. George's Fields, in the County of Surrey, and all others whom it may concern. By Her Majesty's Command.

- 1. I and 2 Vic. C. 82.
- 2. The consent of parents had also to be obtained.

From the records, it appears that most of these were required to consent to submit to emigration, before they were transferred from Prison.

I. Redhill was strict but in 1850 2. granted this privilege; later it was offered to older boys nominated by the prison authorities, the number taken depending on the accommodation at Redhill. Between 1850 and 1862, forty eight were received from prison. Additions were then made to the school enabling a hundred conditionally pardoned boys to be taken annually.

I. The following is the text of a conditional pardon granted to a boy of fourteen found guilty of stealing 2s. 8d., his first offence; after training he emigrated to Western Australia:

(Signed) VICTORIA R.  
1848

Whereas John M. was at a Gaol Delivery holden at Winchester in the County of Hants in February last convicted of larceny and sentenced to be transported seven years for the same -- We, in consideration of some circumstances humbly presented to Us, are graciously pleased to extend our Grace and Mercy unto him, and to grant him Our Pardon for the Crime of which he now stands convicted, on condition that he be removed to and received in the Philanthropic Institution in St. George's Fields in the County of Surrey, and that he do remain and continue therein, and be subject to all the rules and regulations thereof, until duly discharged therefrom. Our Will and Pleasure therefore is that you do give the necessary directions accordingly. And for so doing this shall be your warrant. Given at Our Court at St. James's, the sixth day of May, 1848, in the Eleventh Year of Our Reign.

To Our Trusty and Wellbeloved, the Governor of Parkhurst Prison in the Isle of Wight, the Superintendent of the Philanthropic Institution in St. George's Fields, in the County of Surrey, and all others whom it may concern. By Her Majesty's Command.

(From the original document in possession of the Philanthropic Society).

2. From the records, it appears that most of these were required to consent to submit to emigration, before they were transferred from Prison.

L. Rev. B. Turner, Chaplain of Redhill, in a paper read before the Conference on the subject of Progressive and Reformatory Schools held at Birkenhead, on the 19th December, 1851.

The discipline at Redhill was strict, but in comparison with Parkhurst there was comparative freedom. Boys arrived from prison in irons, but they were immediately freed of this mark of degradation and worked practically unguarded. Although the institution was not surrounded by a wall, the absence of which at first alarmed the neighbouring inhabitants considerably, the number of runaways was small. Work was hard and constant. The day was spent thus: Reveille at 5 a.m. Work, 6 to 8. Prayers and breakfast, 8 to 9. Work or school, 9 to 12. Dinner, 12 to 1 p.m. Work or school, 1 to 5. Supper, 6 to 7. Reading, singing and prayers, 7 to 8. Masters chosen for their skill in handling boys, as well as for their knowledge were in charge of each branch of the work, and from the beginning boys were accustomed to a measure of freedom hitherto unheard of in the treatment of criminals. But the response silenced all critics, and showed that the majority of young prisoners at that time wanted only fair treatment and a legitimate outlet for their energies to turn them into decent, law-abiding citizens. It also revealed that of all methods that might be employed there was "none so useful as a means of moral discipline as country labour, no reformatory so efficient as a free open Farm-School. The Society's School in London did little compared with what had been done since it was transferred to Redhill -- walls and gates dispensed with and the boys subjected to the wholesome influence of open air, free discipline, country associations and country habits".

I. Rev. S. Turner, Chaplain of Redhill, in a paper read before the Conference on the subject of Preventive and Reformatory Schools held at Birmingham, 9th and 10th December, 1851.

The early reports contain many pathetic instances of the beneficent influence exercised by the training given at Redhill. Wages of a penny to three pence per week were paid to boys according to their conduct; yet from this pittance subscriptions were frequently made to help old boys in special need both in England and in the colonies. Reunions of old boys at the school which had given them a new start in life came to be organized annually and Redhill became a show reformatory, a model for the many soon to be established.

It had been prophesied by many observers of the experiments made at Parkhurst and Redhill that the advantages of training and emigration at Government expense would encourage juvenile crime. There is no evidence that this happened, but there is evidence that many magistrates imposed sentences of transportation for trivial crimes in the hope that the children so sentenced would be committed to either of these institutions. It was, in fact, the only way of gaining for them the opportunity of reformatory treatment. An inspector of prisons for the Home District in 1852 estimated that two thirds of the boys transported to Australia were sentenced with this benevolent intention. I. He quoted numerous cases supporting his estimate — one at the Buckingham Assizes of a man and a child convicted of some petty theft, the man sentenced to imprisonment for one year, the child to transportation for seven years; another of a boy of ten years sentenced on his first offence of stealing four steel rings to seven years transportation. But the

I. Report of Select Committee on Criminal and Destitute Juveniles, 1852. Evidence of Captain John Williams. Parliamentary Accounts and Papers 1852, Vol.7, P.14.

accommodation at Parkhurst and Redhill was pathetically inadequate. The latter could take only one hundred boys from prisons, the former could accommodate six hundred, but as a judge at this time

I.

pointed out, the qualifications for entry which, briefly stated, were — age at least fourteen years, stature at least four feet six inches, and roguery sufficient to warrant transportation had not

Parkhurst existed — had the effect of debarring boys who most urgently needed reformatory training. The following record, that of a boy who commenced a career of crime at the age of eight, was quoted as being typical of many others:

In 1845, for stealing boxes, sentenced to one month imprisonment and one whipping; in 1846, for robbing a till, seven years transportation, commuted to three months imprisonment; in 1846, for larceny, seven years transportation, commuted to two years imprisonment; in 1848, for larceny, fourteen day's imprisonment; in 1850, for larceny, two days imprisonment and one whipping. And so the list went on; before the boy was out of his twelfth year he had been in custody a dozen times, but as his height was only four feet two inches, and his age below that prescribed for entry into Parkhurst, the judge's comment was that he would have to grow another four inches and continue in crime for another two years before he became eligible for reformatory detention and emigration.

Many witnesses before the Committee on Criminal and Destitute Juveniles in 1852 testified that the main hope of reform for ~~many~~

I. Ibid. Evidence of Mr. Serjeant Adams, Parliamentary Accounts and Papers, 1852, Vol. 7, p.214.

Reformatory Schools held at Birmingham, 9th and 10th December, 1851.

young offenders lay in emigration, but they also insisted that it should be made possible without incurring any taint of transportation. The system at Redhill was a step in the right direction, but most of the trainees from this institution left the country under compulsion, for they were pardoned on condition that they emigrated.

Thus, until the middle of the century reformatory training for the great majority of young criminals led to emigration and could be entered upon only through the gaol. "What can be done with this little child?" Thomas Beggs, the author of "Juvenile Depravity" reports a judge as saying of a boy seven years of age and two feet ten inches in height, who had just been found guilty of picking pockets. "It would be ruin to send him to prison. These scenes are positively heart-rending. Am I to change my nature and steel my feelings against the claims and helpless condition of so small a creature as that brought before the court? What can be done with this child?" The public conscience was beginning to awaken to the fact that the children who crowded the gaols of England were more sinned against than sinning, and that reformatory treatment should be available to all, not only to those who could be induced to leave the country. "Let it not be forgotten that if they remain within the city and to convey them to these so-called reformatory the criminal classes, we are the culpable classes", was a sentiment often expressed in the discussion on juvenile depravity about this time.

1. Reformatory Schools, 1851, Mary Carpenter, p. 281.
2. Op. Cit. 1849, p.11.
3. J.C.Symons, at the Conference on the Subject of Preventive and Reformatory Schools held at Birmingham, 9th and 10th December, 1851.



The plight of children not yet fallen into crime but, through through ignorance and neglect, making in that direction, was just as pitiable. Mary Carpenter, a pioneer in the reformatory and industrial school movement, might well exclaim, "The only school provided in Great Britain by the State for her children is the gaol," and quote example after example of this criminal neglect, if which the following is typical: In Liverpool a girl of six or seven years was apprehended as a vagrant and traced to her mother who was found to be supported by her five children, all professional beggars. "What a dreadful calamity is this!" the magistrate before whom the child was brought exclaimed to his colleague, "that I have no place to send this child to! I believe I must commit her to gaol for twenty one days as the safest place for the child, and removing her from the protection of her mother".

In a number of cities the municipal authorities were beginning to recognize their duty towards the less fortunate classes of children, and were making attempts to ameliorate their lot. Aberdeen attacked the problem of juvenile vagrancy by establishing Ragged Industrial Feeding Schools at which attendance was at first voluntary. This reduced, but did not remove the evil. The magistrates therefore authorized the police to apprehend all begging children within the city and to convey them to these schools. On the 19th May, 1845, seventy five small children were brought in. In the following year the number of juvenile vagrants apprehended in the

2. Section 3, Report of Conference on the Subject of Preventive and Reformatory Schools, 9th and 10th December, 1851.
3. Select Committee on Criminal and Destitute Juveniles, 1852.
1. Reformatory Schools, 1851, Mary Carpenter, p. 261.
2. Ibid, p. 218.

city had been reduced to fourteen, in 1850 it had fallen to two. Dundee, with only two industrial schools, reduced the number of young offenders from two hundred and twelve in 1846 to seventy five in 1850, and the Ragged Schools of London, if statistics of their work could have been compiled, would have shown equally astonishing results.

Thus, the reformation of the two problem classes of children, the perishing and the dangerous, as they were then called, had been shown to be possible, and a persistent demand arose that the State should undertake their care. A conference held in Birmingham in December 1851, and attended by the most prominent child welfare workers in the country, urged upon the Government the necessity for legislation to provide schools to meet the pressing needs of the time. This was followed in 1852 by a Parliamentary enquiry, some of the evidence of which has already been quoted. In 1854 the first Reformatory Act was passed, authorizing the establishment of reformatory schools and giving the court power to impose on juvenile offenders under sixteen years of age sentences ranging from two to five years detention in these schools. Industrial schools for the protection and training of neglected but non-criminal children received State aid in 1861.

1. **Social Evils, their Cause and their Cure**, by Alexander Thomson, Chairman of the Aberdeen Prison Board, p.131.
2. Section 5, Report of Conference on the Subject of Preventive and Reformatory Schools, 9th and 10th December, 1851.
3. Select Committee on Criminal and Destitute Juveniles, 1852.
4. I7 and I8 Vic. C.86.

The need that had existed for both types of institution was demonstrated both by their rapid growth and by the diminution of juvenile crime which followed their establishment. In 1854 there were eight certified reformatories to which twenty nine children had been committed; in 1869 there were sixty five such schools with one thousand six hundred and seventy children. In 1861 there were thirty eight industrial schools and four hundred and eighty eight children committed; in 1869 the numbers had increased to seventy seven and two thousand four hundred and sixty five respectively. The reports of Her Majesty's Inspector of Reformatories and Industrial Schools showed that between 1856 and 1861 commitments of juveniles to prisons had fallen from 13,981 to 5,483 (including 1,249 commitments to reformatories), i.e. a decrease of 60 per cent or, allowing for the increase of population, a net decrease of 80 per cent.

With the large number of discharges from reformatories and industrial schools, many more children had to be disposed of than could possibly be sent overseas. A number of the schools were modelled on Redhill, providing agricultural training and placing a few of their trainees in the colonies, but, as the following table shows, these numbers were not large.

I. From various reports of the Inspector of Reformatories and Industrial Schools. No particulars of emigration are available before 1858.

I. 35 and 36 Vis. C.21.

Year	From Reformatories		From Industrial Schools.	
	Discharges	Emigrants	Discharges	Emigrants.
1858	535	66		
1859	851	108		
1860	939	60		
1861	1125	110		
1862	1095	131	25	1
1863	1185	126	180	4
1864	1309	95	281	1
1865	1422	95	470	2
1866	1235	69	532	4
1867	1171	90	572	3
1868	1300	102	818	9
1869	1468	121	951	13

After 1869, a number of reformatory and industrial school children went abroad after their discharge under the care of the numerous juvenile migration societies which began at this time to take boys and girls to Canada, and which are dealt with in the next chapter. I. Though an Act of 1872 empowered prison authorities to contribute towards the expense of placing children in employment, the managers of certain industrial schools under the control of school boards seem to have doubted the legality of incurring expenditure by emigration, and would not assist in sending to the

1. Report of the Reformatory and Industrial Schools Commission, I. 35 and 36 Vic. C.21.  
2. 29 and 30 vic. c. 117 and 118.

colonies trainees who would no doubt have made suitable colonists. However, the number of emigrants from industrial schools gradually increased, while, owing to objections from the colonies against receiving convicted persons, the number from reformatories decreased.

The Commission on Reformatory and Industrial Schools in 1884 laid down three principles to be borne in mind by those undertaking the emigration of inmates of these schools: (1) The just objections of the colonies to the immigration of those whose character or antecedents make it probable that they will become paupers or criminals, and the consequent obligations resting on those who sent out children to select them with judgment. (2) The advantage of preparatory training for such children before their emigration, except in the case of very young children received in voluntary homes duly provided for them. (3) The necessity of very careful arrangements for their inspection and supervision in their new country.

Thus, the chief aim in juvenile migration was no longer to get rid of undesirables, but rather to give unfortunate children their rightful opportunities for healthy employment which had been denied them at home. Some undesirables still managed, however, to go overseas. By an Act of 1866, inmates of reformatory and industrial schools and a special emigration fund were established after eighteen months detention. This loophole was used by some to hasten their discharge, and on arriving in the colonies, particularly if their destination was Canada, they sought the first

1. Report of the Reformatory and Industrial Schools Commission, 1884, p. XXX.
2. 29 and 30 vic. c. 117 and 118.

opportunity of working their passage home again. It was estimated that twenty five per cent of those discharged by emigration thus returned. The master of a reformatory school near Birmingham described a number of his boys as "discharged to Birmingham via Canada". On account of this practice and also on account of the record of some ne'er-do-wells Canada, in 1888, refused to receive reformatory children before they had served their full sentence, and all colonies, while not refusing absolutely to afford boys and girls the chance of making good, began to make more careful enquiries into the history of every applicant. The total annual number of emigrants from both classes of schools seldom exceeded two hundred. The following schools were responsible for most of this number.

Redhill, dealing with, perhaps, the worst type of juvenile offender, continued its emigration work with uniform success. In 1896 the chaplain reported that of 4022 boys discharged, 1686 had emigrated. By means of reports from employers and by letters from the boys themselves, it was estimated that more than 90 per cent had kept clear of crime and developed into useful citizens.

Saltley Reformatory, near Birmingham, with a farm of some eighty acres and a special emigration fund, enabled about a dozen of its boys to go overseas each year, the majority to Canada, where an agent at Richmond, Que., placed them in employment and looked after their welfare.

The Church of England Waifs and Strays Society maintained a farm industrial school in Staffordshire. From this, and from their numerous other homes they sent to Canada about a hundred children

annually. The Bishop of Quebec and a local committee looked after these children.

The Managers of the Birkdale Farm Reformatory for Catholic boys and of the Shibden Industrial School, together with a number of School Boards, chief among them that of Liverpool, made use of juvenile migration societies in disposing of industrial school children under their care.

In Scotland, Tachney Industrial School near Perth placed boys with neighbouring farmers for training prior to emigration. The East Chapelton Reformatory and Maryhill Industrial School, both for girls, co-operated in sending to Canada about twenty girls annually. The Wellington Reformatory Farm School at Penicuik trained and sent boys to Canada and Australia with the aid of funds provided by an old boy, who later became a director of the school. Early in the present century the Kibble Institution, near Paisley, through the interest of a premier of New South Wales who visited the school, sent out some fifty boys, many of whom were received at the Dreadnought farms which had been established in the State for the training of immigrant boys.

The Reformatory and Industrial Schools Act of 1891<sup>I.</sup> limited the emigration of children from both types of schools by making the consent of the child, of the parents and of the Secretary of State necessary. A Home Office circular of the same year laid down that, "In order to give effect to the action of Parliament, and at the

I. Reformatory and Industrial Schools Act, 1891.

I. 54 and 55 Vic. C. 23.

same time to protect the interests of parents of good character whose children may have been guilty of only some trivial offence, and to whom the emigration of the child may, perhaps, mean a final separation and severance, the consent of the Secretary of State will in all cases of disposal by emigration depend: (1) on his being satisfied of the wish of the proposed emigrant expressed in writing, (2) on his receiving a certificate from the school authorities of the good conduct of the child and his general fitness for emigration, (3) on the written consent of the parent being forwarded to him, unless it can be shown that such consent may, through parental neglect or misconduct, be dispensed with". These regulations had the effect of improving the quality rather than of diminishing the numbers in juvenile migration, which now took place almost entirely through the migration societies recognized by the Home and Dominion authorities.

2. The Children's Act of 1908, which repealed the Act of 1891 and still governs the emigration of reformatory and industrial school children, laid down that "If any youthful offender or child detained in, or placed out on licence from a certified school, or a person when under the supervision of such a school, conducts himself well, the manager of the school may, with his own consent, apprentice him to, or dispose of him in, any trade, calling or service, including service in the Navy or Army, or by emigration, notwithstanding that his period of detention or supervision has not expired;

I. Quoted from the Reformatory and Industrial Schools Acts, F.V. Hornby, p.13.

2. 8 Edw. 7 C.67.



and such apprenticing or disposition shall be valid as if the managers were his parents: provided that where he is disposed of by emigration, and in any case, unless he has been detained for twelve months, the consent of the Secretary of State shall also be required for the exercise of any power under this section. The consent of parents to the emigration of their children, though not necessary under the Act, is still obtained, unless, of course, in cases of neglect or ill-treatment.

The Children Act also provided for the first time for a Treasury contribution towards emigration.<sup>2.</sup> The regulations issued under the Act, however, limited payments to young children except when the Secretary of State was of the opinion that a grant was necessary in order to secure emigration.<sup>3.</sup> No great advantage was taken of these provisions. Their object was, of course, to encourage the emigration of young children and save the cost of their maintenance at home. That a large saving could thus be effected was shown by the Director of Education for Liverpool before a Departmental Committee in 1913. He estimated that by the early emigration of one thousand one hundred and sixteen children sent overseas from Liverpool industrial schools the Treasury had been saved £30,213 and the Board £4,666; the total cost of emigration had only been £13,109.<sup>4.</sup>

1. 8 Edw. 7 C.67. Sect. 70

2. Ibid, Sect. 73.

3. The Treasury contribution was half of the total expense of emigration, but not more than £8 for each child under 13 years of age on 1st April of the year of emigration, and one third of the total expense, but not more than £5 for a child between 13 and 14 years of age and for a child between 14 and 16 years of age, if the Secretary of State were satisfied that a grant was desirable to secure emigration.

4. Evidence of Mr. J.G. Legge, Report of Departmental Committee on Reformatory and Industrial Schools 1913

This committee recommended that children should emigrate either young enough for adoption or boarding-out, or else be retained for further training after they had reached fourteen years of age.

The latter course was already being widely adopted in preference to the former. The average age of emigration was rising. For Liverpool Industrial school children it had risen from 9.5 years in 1892 to 13.1 in 1911,<sup>2</sup> and this increase was probably typical of the whole movement. The number of adoptions of young children had decreased, the demand from all Dominions was for boys and girls old enough to turn their hand to any branch of farm or house work.

The annual numbers of children sent overseas from reformatories and industrial schools during the first fifteen years of the present century are shown in the following table:<sup>3</sup>

YEAR	Reformatories			Industrial Schools			TOTAL
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	
1900	23	1	24	41	42	83	107
1901	29	1	30	53	35	88	118
1902	34	1	35	76	46	122	157
1903	31	2	33	113	36	149	182

1. Evidence of Mr. J.G.Legge, Report of Departmental Committee on Reformatory and Industrial Schools, 1913, p.59.

2. Ibid, p.295.

3. From Statistics made available by the Children's Branch of the Home Office.

YEAR	Reformatories			Industrial Schools			TOTAL
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	
1904	45	0	45	106	15	121	166
1905	40	4	44	192	48	240	284
1906	48	5	53	163	34	197	250
1907	51	1	52	189	35	224	276
1908	19	2	21	127	75	202	223
1909	26	4	30	144	75	219	249
1910	29	1	30	109	55	164	194
1911	26	1	27	117	62	179	206
1912	55	2	57	136	61	197	254
1913	51	0	51	128	48	176	227
1914	39	0	39	136	33	169	208

It will be noticed that industrial school children made up the greater part of the numbers. The Dominions were requiring higher standards of physical and mental fitness, and while applications from trainees of both types of institution were considered on their merits, only the most promising were admitted. Thus, by 1914 the phase of juvenile migration which we have been considering had lost all trace of its reformatory aim and had become completely merged in a wider movement which, drawing its recruits from every class of the community, was playing an increasingly important part in the problem of Empire Settlement.

From 1858, the first year in which records of emigration appear in reports of reformatories and industrial schools, up to the

I. From Statistics Department, Home Office.

end of 1914, 9,745 children had been settled overseas. Of these, 4,298 were from reformatories, 5,447 from industrial schools. Of the former number, the Philanthropic Society's Farm School, the pioneer institution in this work, had contributed almost one third.

Year and Statute.	General Purpose.
1839, 1 and 2 Vic. C.99	Giving power to commit young offenders to Parkhurst Prison for training prior to emigration, with ticket-of-leave or conditional pardon. Section 2 enabled children sentenced to transportation to place themselves at some charitable institution such as the Philanthropic Society for training with a view to emigration.
1862, 16 and 17 Vic. C.99	Abolishing all sentences of transportation of less than fourteen years.
1854, 17 and 18 Vic. C.86.	First reformatory act. Juvenile offenders might be sentenced to from two to five years detention in schools for the purpose.
1866, 29 and 30 Vic. C.117 and 118.	Giving power to licence children and dispose of them in employment at home or by emigration after eighteen months detention.
1872, 35 and 36, Vic. C.21.	Financing of emigration by school authorities
1891, 54 and 55 Vic. C.23.	The consent of the child, of his parents and of the Secretary of State made necessary for emigration.
1900, 6 Edw. 7., C.37.	Repealing the 1866 and 1891 acts (above) but prescribing much the same conditions for emigration, also first providing for a Treasury contribution towards the expenses of emigration.

Principal Statutes dealing with the Emigration  
of  
Juvenile Offenders  
and  
Reformatory and Industrial School Children.

Year and Statute.	General Purport.
1839, 1 and 2 Vic.C.99	Giving power to commit young offenders to Parkhurst Prison for training prior to emigration, with ticket-of-leave or conditional pardon. Section 2 enabled children sentenced to transportation to place themselves at some charitable institution such as the Philanthropic Society for training with a view to emigration.
1853, 16 and 17 Vic. C.99	Abolishing all sentences of transportation of less than fourteen years.
1854, 17 and 18 Vic. C.86.	First reformatory act. Juvenile offenders might be sentenced to from two to five years detention in schools for the purpose.
1866, 29 and 30 Vic. C.117 and 118.	Giving power to licence children and dispose of them in employment at home or by emigration after eighteen months detention.
1872, 35 and 36, Vic. C.21.	Financing of emigration by school authorities
1891, 54 and 55 Vic. C.23.	The consent of the child, of his parents and of the Secretary of State made necessary for emigration.
1908, 8 Edw. 7.,C.67.	Repealing the 1866 and 1891 acts (above) but prescribing much the same conditions for emigration, also first providing for a Treasury contribution towards the expenses of emigration.

CHAPTER III.

THE WORK of PHILANTHROPIC SOCIETIES: EARLY ATTEMPTS.

Early efforts of voluntary societies to overcome illiteracy and juvenile crime by the education and emigration of destitute but non-criminal children --- The Society for the Suppression of Juvenile Vagrancy --- The Ragged School Union --- State assistance for Ragged School emigrants in 1849 --- Religious influences in emigration --- Poor Law children, the need for organized emigration --- Traffic in poor children to America and the West Indies --- Legislation governing the emigration of poor children --- Irish orphan emigrants, 1848 - 1850 --- Note on the Principal Statutes dealing with the emigration of Children under the Poor Law.

In order to trace from the beginning the part played by philanthropic societies in assisting the emigration of destitute but non-criminal children, it is necessary to turn again to the early years of the last century. The reformatory methods adopted at Parkhurst and Redhill for dealing with young criminals, better though they were than the purely penal treatment meted out a century ago, were soon realized to be quite insufficient to stem the advance of crime. They came into operation only when great and often irreparable mischief had been done. People at grips with the problem of juvenile delinquency came to see that if reformatory detention was necessary as a remedial measure, education, honest employment and decent living conditions were still more urgently needed as preventive measures. Some idea of the illiteracy which still prevailed about the middle of the century and of its influence on crime may be got from such statistics as the following: in

I. Earl of Shaftesbury (then Lord Ashley) in the debate on the Condition and Education of the Poor. House of Commons, 1834.  
 I. From "Statistics of Crime, England and Wales, 1847", F.G.P. Nieson,

1846 the proportion of the male population signing their marriage certificates with a cross, i.e. unable to write, was 33 per cent; one person in every 164 suffered imprisonment, and out of the 7690 juveniles convicted during the year:

- 3242 could neither read nor write,
- 1604 could read only,
- 2650 could read or write imperfectly,
- 166 could read or write well,
- 28 not ascertained.

It was conditions such as these that drew forth Cobbett's epigram, "It is difficult to make an empty sack stand upright, but a full one has no inclination to fall", and led the Earl of Shaftesbury to inveigh against the utter inefficiency of the penal code, the folly of attempting to regenerate the hardened criminal while neglecting his pliant childhood. A favourite argument on which the latter based his appeal for the education of the masses was the influence such a reform would have on colonization. "The moral condition of England seems destined by Providence to lead the moral condition of the world. Year after year we are sending forth thousands and hundred thousands of our citizens to people the vast solitudes and silences of another hemisphere: the Anglo-Saxon race will shortly overspread half the habitable globe. What a mighty, and what a rapid addition to the happiness of mankind if these thousands should carry with them and plant in these distant regions our freedom, our morality and our religion".

I. Earl of Shaftesbury (then Lord Ashley) in the debate on the Condition and Education of the Poor. House of Commons, 28th February, 1843. Hansard, Third Series, Vol.LXVII, Column 74.

With the double object of rescuing children from vitiating environment and of providing the colonies with a better type of youthful settler, the Earl of Shaftesbury sponsored the first Ragged School emigrants. Before considering the movement he inaugurated, we must note an earlier but short-lived attempt along the same lines.

In 1830, there was established in London the Society for the Suppression of Juvenile Vagrancy, later known as the Children's Friend Society. A number of destitute but non-criminal children were gathered from the streets and placed in two homes, boys at the Juvenile Asylum, Hackney Wick, under the direction of Captain Brenton, girls at the Royal Victoria Asylum, Chiswick, under the Hon. Miss Murray. The former were given training in farm work and some trade, the latter in housework. They were then sent abroad, at first to the Cape, later to Canada, and there apprenticed to farmers. The terms of apprenticeship described in a letter from a Clerk of Peace for Upper Canada to the Children's Friend Society are interesting. "The usual and very common way of binding children in Canada is this:- The child being bound, the master together with the usual covenants of lodging, clothing, etc., enters into another, that if the apprentice, being a male, shall behave properly during his apprenticeship, he shall receive at the end of it a new suit of clothes, a pair of oxen, a yoke for the same, an axe and any other small matters that may be of use to enable him to go on his land. ----- In the case of females, the covenant usually is to give a feather bed, bedding, a cow, spinning wheel, new dress etc., as it is supposed that she will marry immediately, a matter,



which occurs so often that it is considered almost a matter of course".

1.  
However, this Society ceased after three years of active emigration work. Its failure seems to have been due to lack of public support and also to an outcry against the ill-treatment of one of its apprentices sent out to the Cape. For the next fifteen years little was done to help neglected city children to the wide opportunities which the colonies offered.

2.  
In the early forties Ragged Schools began their beneficent work among poor children in London. It is well to remember the unpromising material and the terrible condition of child-life which these early schools had to contend with. An article in the Quarterly Review of 1847 thus describes the "curious race" from which Ragged Scholars were drawn: "Every one who walks the streets of the metropolis must daily observe several members of the tribe -- bold and pert, and dirty as London sparrows, but pale and feeble and sadly inferior to them in plumpness of outline. Many are spanning the gutters with their legs, and dabbling with earnestness in the latest accumulation of nastiness, while others in squalid, half-naked groups squat at the entrances of the narrow fetid courts and alleys that lie concealed behind the deceptive frontages of our

1. Quoted from "A Paper on Reformatory and Industrial Schools" read by Mr. E. M. Hance at the 48th Session of the Liverpool Philomathic Society, March 28th, 1883.
2. Described as "absurdly unjust" by J. Fletcher in "The Farm-School System of the Continent and its Applicability to the Preventive and Reformatory Education of Pauper and Criminal Children". p.245.

larger thoroughfares. Eccentric doubts flit through our minds, and we are tempted to ask whether these nondescripts ever had a parent, or whether there be parents to be found in the district. "They look not like the inhabitants o' the earth, and yet are on 't".<sup>1.</sup>

It was children such as these that the Ragged School teachers took in hand. By systematic instruction, by medical attention, and by providing employment, even though it was only cleaning boots or sweeping crossings, they transformed many little outcasts into useful, self-respecting citizens. Because of the difficulty of placing such in any but casual occupations and, perhaps, because many had parents who had been transported to the colonies,<sup>2.</sup> emigration was suggested as the best means of disposing of Ragged Scholars. As an experiment, a party of nine promising boys were sent to Australia with funds provided by the Earl of Shaftesbury and other supporters of Ragged Schools.<sup>3.</sup>

On the 6th June, 1848, the Earl of Shaftesbury moved in the House of Commons<sup>4.</sup> "That it is expedient that means be annually provided for the voluntary emigration to some of Her Majesty's colonies of a certain number of young persons of both sexes, who have been educated in the schools, ordinarily called Ragged Schools, in and about the Metropolis."<sup>5.</sup> He reviewed the work of the schools in

1. Quoted from "Lord Shaftesbury's Legacy", David Williamson, p.39.
2. Children of convicts who had been transported appeared first on the list of the classes whom the Ragged School Union was established to aid.
3. Ragged School Union Magazine, Vol. I. p.61.
4. The Earl, as Lord Ashley, was then in the House of Commons.
5. Hansard, Third Series, Vol.XCIX, Column 455.

educating, clothing and feeding vagrant children and finding them employment. His proposal was to select boys and girls over fourteen years of age who had shown their worth and suitability in Ragged Schools, and send them out under supervision to the colonies, the boys as shepherds, the girls as domestic servants. He closed his plea for State assisted juvenile migration with the following notable utterance on new ideals in emigration:

"It will be something to have conferred a benefit on the colonies and on the Mother country by the transplantation of thousands of children untainted by crime, nay, more, trained in the habits of industry and virtue, from places where they seem doomed to idleness and consequently to misery and sin, the transplantation, I say, to regions in rivalry for their labour and abundant in assurances of reward. Thus will they bless alike the land of their birth and the land of their adoption; the boys, rescued from pernicious vagrancy, will rejoice in the fruits of honest labour; the girls, not recovered, thank God! but saved altogether from prostitution, will walk in the happy, holy dignity of wives and mothers. It will be something to have established a new system of colonization, and no longer regarding it merely as the drainage of our gaols, or the outlet for the off-scouring of the feeble, the mischievous or the distressed, to hold it up as an object of ambition, the recompense of moral exertion".

The House received the proposal sympathetically, but after discussion the motion was withdrawn mainly on account of its

discrimination in favour of London children. However, in the following year the Earl of Shaftesbury succeeded in obtaining Government assistance and on the 2nd August, 1849, the Land and Emigration Commissioners were instructed to provide free outfits and passages to Australia for one hundred and fifty Ragged Scholars at a cost of not more than £10 each. They were selected with extreme care by a Committee composed of Ragged School officers and Government representatives. The qualifications were sound health, regular attendance at a school for at least six months, ability to write a sentence from dictation, to work the four simple rules of arithmetic, to read fluently, to repeat the Lord's prayer and the Ten Commandments, a certificate of attendance at an industrial class for four months, or proof of knowledge of a practical occupation.

The hundred and fifty were despatched to Port Philip and Adelaide, travelling in small parties under the care of the ship's chaplain. Both on the voyage out and in their new homes they justified the Earl of Shaftesbury's faith in them. The Ragged School Magazine of 1850 quotes this tribute from the South Australian Gazette, "Captain Freeman brought out sixteen fine manly lads from

1. Report of the Land and Emigration Commissioners, 1849, p.6.
2. Sixty Years in Waifdom, C.J.Montague, p.204
3. At this time in answer to an offer from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel free passages on emigrant ships were granted to clergymen and other educated persons willing to supervise education and religious instruction during the voyage. An interesting side-light on the value of their work is given in the following extract from the letter from the Captain of an emigrant ship, quoted from the 1849 report of the Land and Emigration Commissioners. "We had the schools strictly attended to; and before they left, all over six years of age could read a chapter of the New Testament, some of whom scarcely knew their letters when they came on board".



the Ragged Schools of the London Union, and we have his authority to say that better disposed or conducted youths have never been placed on board any ship.<sup>I</sup> All boys and girls were given letters of introduction to agents of the Union in the colonies, who either employed them or placed them with trusted friends in the country. Wages of £12 per year, with board and lodging, seem to have been usual, and letters from the children often contained expressions of delight at this wealth.

Despite the low cost of sending abroad such suitable young settlers, the Government grant was not renewed. The Ragged School Union therefore appealed to the public for funds, and more than a thousand pounds was subscribed in 1850 towards the emigration of London children, which was thereafter carried on by voluntary aid. At first it was proposed to establish in London a Colonial House of Reform, where destitute boys and girls might be lodged, educated and taught some useful trade, and thus qualified for emigration. But this proposal was abandoned on account of the expense it would involve, and each school sent forward through the Union such pupils as were suitable and wished to emigrate. Some of the lads were so successful as shoe blacks and messengers that they had enough money to pay half their fares, "which they did with a dignity and pleasure that would have been creditable to a training superior to that which they had enjoyed". The remainder was lent to them, to be repaid out of wages earned in Australia. In 1851, the Committee of the Grotto Passage Ragged School noted that all their emigrants had repaid their loans.

The success of these efforts was due to the careful training and the strong religious bias given to emigration, which was held up as a prize to be bestowed only on the most worthy. An allegorical drawing in an early magazine showed the Ragged School Tree with emigration high among the branches representing the many attainments open to industrious scholars. Another significantly depicted a signpost, one arm marked "School" pointing to an emigrant ship, the other marked "Gin" pointing to a convict ship. The following simple but shrewd parting counsels were delivered to all emigrant boys: **O. B.**

**On Board:-** Be civil and obliging to your fellow-passengers. Be firm and manly when exposed to temptation. Never be idle. Read your Bible every day. Begin every day with prayer to God. Take great care of your new clothes.

**On Land:-** Go straight to Mr. — to whom you have a letter. Be most careful of every penny of your money. Be faithful. Never tell any one too much of your mind. Be ashamed to be seen in a public house. Strive to be always improving. Do not think of returning home until you have a large farm and a hundred pounds in the bank. As soon as you get settled, find out a proper place of worship and go to it every Sabbath. Remember, time is short, eternity long. Strive so to live on earth that we may meet again in heaven. Read Deuteronomy, Chapter XXX, verses 15 to the end, and Ezekiel, Chapter XXXVI, verses 25 to 29.

The passage recommended from the Book of Deuteronomy contains Moses' final exhortation to the children of Israel, the aptness of which may be judged from the following verse: "See, I have set

before thee this day life and good, death and evil; in that I command thee this day to love the Lord thy God, to walk in His ways, and to keep His commandments and His statutes and His judgments, that thou mayest live and multiply: and the Lord thy God shall bless thee in the land whither thou goest to possess it." The passage from Ezekiel contains equally apt exhortations.

Something of the spirit of this phase of juvenile emigration may perhaps be caught from this verse of "The Song of the Emigrant,"<sup>I</sup> written by a keen supporter of Ragged Schools, Judge Joseph Payne, and recited by him with great acclamation to a meeting of Ragged School pupils and supporters:-

To seek for employment  
Where work can be found;  
To meet with enjoyment  
On less crowded ground,  
We cross the broad ocean  
With gladness and glee;  
And when in devotion  
We're bending the knee  
This, this shall our prayer be at the close of each day,  
God prosper the people who sent us away.

By 1853, three hundred Ragged Scholars had emigrated through the Union funds, the majority to Australia, practically all were corresponding with their benefactors at home, and failures were estimated at less than two per cent. On account of the gold rush and the consequent <sup>unsettled</sup> conditions in the Australian colonies, a Ragged School committee on emigration recommended Canada as a more suitable field. Thereafter, a score or two of boys and a similar number of girls were sent to British North America annually, the

I. Quoted from the Ragged School Union Magazine, 1857, p.158.

latter under the care of conductresses appointed by the schools. After 1860, though emigration through the Ragged Schools continued, special records of this branch of the Union's work no longer appeared in ~~the~~ <sup>its</sup> publications.

Simultaneously with these early efforts towards organized juvenile migration, less happy attempts to dispose of poor children were being made by a number of parish authorities. In the early years of last century there was a rapid rise in the population of Great Britain,<sup>1</sup> a great part of which could well be borne by the increasing national wealth and the demand for labour in the factories which were springing up so rapidly. The demand for child labour, by making children profitable to their parents, accelerated the increase of population. But these same factors, combined with the terrible conditions of poverty and overcrowding then so common in great cities, brought into being a large pauper class which filled the workhouses to overflowing. For a time the pressure on these institutions was relieved by apprenticing many child inmates to manufacturers. But the inhuman treatment of many of these little workers led to legislation regulating their employment and gradually closed this outlet. As early as 1815 London parishes were forbidden to send their children more than forty miles from the Metropolis.<sup>2</sup>

From that time there appears to have been a clandestine traffic in Poor Law children to America and the West Indies, a kind

1. From 8,872,986 in 1801 to 11,977,663 in 1821, i.e. an increase of 35 per cent, in spite of the intervening wars.
2. By Act, 56 Geo. 3, C.139, see Report of Emigration from the United Kingdom, 1826, p.83.



of slave trade in which unwanted children were transported under the most appalling conditions to any colony requiring child labour. Fares for such unfortunates were usually only a few shillings per head, the traffickers recouping themselves by charging oversea employers as much as they could for each apprentice. This traffic seems to have continued even beyond the middle of the century.

S.C. Johnson, in his "History of Emigration from the United Kingdom to North America", notes an application made in 1851 by a sea-captain to the Marylebone Board of Guardians asking for as many boys and girls as they could let him have, to be conveyed at six shillings per head to Bermuda, there to be apprenticed as servants. This application was refused, though the captain bore a recommendation from another Board of Guardians whom he had relieved of a ship-load of children.<sup>1.</sup>

However, there were early attempts to put the emigration of pauper children on a sound and humane basis. The Poor Law Amendment Act of 1834<sup>2.</sup> empowered parishes to assist in the emigration of poor people dependent on them and was followed by other amending acts in 1844,<sup>3.</sup> 1848,<sup>3.</sup> 1849 and 1850,<sup>4.</sup> the net result of which was to

1. Op. cit. p. 277.
2. 4 and 5 Will. 4, c. 76, sect. 62.
3. Poor Law Amendment Act, 1844, sect. 29.
- "   "   "   "   1848, "   5.
- "   "   "   "   1849 "   20.
- "   "   "   "   1850 "   4.
4. Taking account of the provisions relating to children only.

The central authority to whom individual Boards of Guardians were responsible.  
 History of Emigration from the United Kingdom to North America, S.C. Johnson, p. 277.  
 Report of Land and Emigration Commissioners, 1844, p. 2 and types six 18.

empower Guardians to spend money on the emigration of orphan or deserted children only if the consent of the children had been given before Justices in Petty Sessions, and if the Poor Law Board were satisfied that provision was made for the welfare of the children on the voyage and overseas. With these safeguards emigration came to be used openly by many Boards of Guardians, but, except in the following instance, the number of children so disposed of was not large.

The potato famine in Ireland left the parishes burdened with large numbers of destitute children. Between 1848 and 1850, 4715 Irish orphan girls were sent out to New South Wales and South Australia at the joint expense of the Boards of Guardians concerned and the Land and Emigration Commissioners.<sup>2.</sup> Apparently the venture was successful. At first there was a strong prejudice against receiving the children in South Australia, but the first party conducted themselves so well that all were speedily engaged as domestic servants, and the Children Apprenticeship Board, to whom they were entrusted, asked for more, recommending only that a due proportion of English and Scots girls should be included.<sup>3.</sup>

The next period in this phase of juvenile migration began some years later, when co-operation between Poor Law authorities and voluntary agencies brought about further improvements in the system of transfer, and made emigration an unmixed blessing to thousands of dependent children.

1. The central authority to whom individual Boards of Guardians were responsible.
2. History of Emigration from the United Kingdom to North America, S.C. Johnson, p.275.
3. Report of Land and Emigration Commissioners, 1849, p.3 and appendix 18.

## CHAPTER IV.

Principal Statutes dealing with the Emigration  
of

## Children under the Poor Law. (continued)

## The MOVEMENT to CANADA.

Date and Statute.	General Purport.
1834, 4 and 5 Will.4, 6.76.	Enabling parishes to raise money for the emigration of poor people.
1844, 7 and 8 Vic. C.101	Making the consent of the Poor Law Board necessary for the emigration of poor children.
1848, 11 and 12 Vic. C.110 } 1849, 12 and 13 Vic. C.103 }	Financing of emigration at the cost of the poor rates.
1850, 13 and 14 Vic. C.101.	The consent of the children, given before Justices of the Peace in Petty Sessions, made necessary before emigration.

The severe financial crisis of 1846-47, coupled with the last

great outbreak of cholera in England, caused conditions of poverty and distress, especially in the poorer parts of London, such as are now hard to imagine, while throughout the country unemployment was rife. On the 1st January, 1847, 1,040,103 paupers were receiving relief. In these circumstances emigration was once more widely

proposed as a means of relief, and numbers of societies were established in London with the object of assisting the destitute to settle in the colonies.

A prominent social worker in the East End of London, Miss [Name], directed her attention especially to children. She was supported by the Church of England Waifs and Strays Society and

1. The headquarters of the various societies and the Ministry of Health gave valuable help in the compiling of this chapter.  
2. State Emigration, E. Jenkins, 1869, p. 21.

CHAPTER IV.THE WORK of PHILANTHROPIC SOCIETIES:(continued)The MOVEMENT to CANADA.

Efforts to alleviate distress among poor city children by emigration in 1869 ---- Miss Rye, London slum children and Poor Law children ---- Miss Macpherson, improvements in system of emigration, preliminary training, receiving homes in Canada, after-care ---- Other juvenile migration societies ---- Supervision by Canadian Government in 1878 ---- Opposition to juvenile migration in Canada ---- Standards adopted by Dr. Barnardo to overcome opposition ---- Conditions regulating the emigration of Poor Law Children, 1888 ---- Arrangements for inspection by branch of the Ministry of Interior in Canada, division of cost of inspection, 1898 ---- Numbers of Poor Law Children emigrating to Canada ---- Total numbers of juvenile immigrants ---- Dr. Barnardo's contribution.

The severe financial crisis of 1866-67, coupled with the last great outbreak of cholera in England, caused conditions of poverty and distress, especially in the poorer parts of London, such as are now hard to imagine, while throughout the country unemployment was rife. On the 1st January, 1868, 1,040,103 paupers were receiving relief.<sup>2</sup> In these circumstances emigration was once more widely proposed as a means of relief, and numbers of societies were established in London with the object of assisting the destitute to settle in the colonies.

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Parliamentary Accounts and Papers, 1878, Vol. XXXI, p.32.

several other philanthropic bodies. A number of parishes also entrusted dependent children to her, paying an agreed sum for the emigration of each child. In the six years 1869 to 1874, 1,100 children were thus sent to Canada, the elder ones for employment with wages, the younger for adoption or boarding-out. Apparently arrangements for their reception and after-care were not as thorough as they should have been, for numerous charges of neglect and ill-treatment were sent back to England. Following on an official enquiry, the findings of which were not at all favourable to Miss Rye's work, the Local Government Board decided that if the emigration of Poor Law children were to continue, systematic superintendence and control were necessary not only as regards arrangements for the voyage to Canada and for due care on landing there, but also for regular supervision of the children when placed out in service or taken into the homes of Canadian settlers. It will be remembered that, about this time, the State was beginning to recognize its duty to the less fortunate classes of its children. Industrial schools had been established for the protection and training of the neglected. In 1870, the First Education Act had made a measure of education available to all children, and it is a sign of the times that the public should at last lose its apathy with regard to the welfare of pauper children and regard them, not as encumbrances to be got rid of with as little trouble as possible, but as fellow subjects whose helpless condition demanded more than ordinary consideration and justice. Miss Rye met opposition in her first attempts to ameliorate their lot, but as a pioneer in

this work she was bound to have her methods criticized. However, she had many imitators, among them the Misses Macpherson and Bilbrough, Mrs Birt, Miss Fletcher, Rev. Styleman Herring, Rev. George Rogers, Rev. Bowman Stevenson and Dr. Middleton, who were all actively promoting juvenile emigration in the early seventies of last century. It was left to these, particularly to Miss Macpherson, to improve the system inaugurated by Miss Rye.

Like Miss Rye, Miss Macpherson was a social worker in the slums of London during the distress of 1866 and 1869. Through a religious paper, "The Revival", she appealed for money to enable her to give the destitute a new start in the colonies and received enough to send abroad some five hundred people in the summer of 1869. She also established four "Revival Homes", where neglected children might get food and shelter, and a "Home of Industry", where they could earn their living at such work as matchbox-making or sewing. These institutions were quickly filled, and the problem of disposing of the children in order to make room for the many others that clamoured for admittance was solved by emigration.

Miss Macpherson set about removing the abuses that attended the system of juvenile migration. The first improvement she effected came through her insistence upon preliminary training before emigration. Her children were first restored to health and self-respect at one of the London institutions. Then those who were judged suitable for colonial life were given enough training in some trade or in simple home duties to test their character and

inculcate regular habits of living. Even this measure of discipline was difficult to impart, for most of the children had spent their lives in the streets and many could not remember sleeping in a bed. However, Miss Macpherson allowed no child to go abroad who did not give promise of becoming an honest, useful citizen.

Another advance made by Miss Macpherson was the institution of receiving and distributing homes for her children in Canada. In 1870 she wrote, "We feel that it is not enough to cleanse, clothe and pass them away into strangers' hands. What we wish and hope to do this spring, the Lord willing, is to establish a branch home to this institution in Canada, having a like-minded agent there to care for and watch over the welfare of each boy as he is placed out, saving for him his wages, counselling him, and if sick, caring for him"; and later, "From the time that we became residents in Canada, and had a home from which to distribute them, we followed our original plan of becoming parents to these rescued children rather than simple emigration agents to supply the labour market".

A third reform for which Miss Macpherson was responsible had to do with supervision in Canada. Employers and foster-parents in Canada were required to render periodical reports on the progress of the children, and it was stipulated that representatives of the home should have the right to visit them regularly.

All these reforms were not only accepted, but soon came to be insisted upon both by the Canadian Government and by the Poor

1. The biography of Miss Macpherson, "The Children's Home Finder", by L.M.Birt, p.61.
2. Ibid, p.70.

Law authorities in England. They form the principles on which juvenile migration to Canada has proceeded ever since.

Miss Macpherson sailed with her first hundred boys in 1870. The coming of this large party seems to have caused some alarm in Canada. An invasion of undesirable street-arabs was expected, and the immigration officers at Quebec were advised to scrutinize them with special care. However, as all members of the party were found to be healthy, well-cared for and intelligent, they were allowed to go on to Belleville in Ontario, where the local authorities placed a house at Miss Macpherson's disposal as a distributing home. Applications were invited from surrounding farmers willing to employ or adopt the children, and within a few days the whole party was satisfactorily disposed of. Three other parties were brought out in the same year, and thereafter British children have regularly formed a part of the stream of immigrants entering Canada every year. Miss Macpherson's careful organization, the keenness of the children and the generosity of the Canadian settlers combined to make the movement a success.

In 1873, at the invitation of Colonel Laurie, Governor of Nova Scotia, Mrs Birt, a sister of Miss Macpherson, brought seventy six children to that province. Colonel Laurie personally supervised the allotment of these children and of subsequent parties, inaugurating a system of quarterly reports and other safeguards, such as the accompanying of children to their new homes, which did much to remove any remaining prejudice against juvenile migration

- I. Of the first 388 children placed out from the Knowlton Home, (opened in 1872), 143 children under nine years of age were adopted by settlers. Ibid, p. 246.



both at home and in the colonies. The system was specially commended in a Provincial Government report, while an enquiry carried out by the Local Government Board in Great Britain in 1877 led to the following conclusion: "We are at once enabled to see the great advantage resulting from the system introduced by Colonel Laurie and Mrs Birt. His system of quarterly reports sent in from every child is the brightest spot in his whole management, and the only plan by which perfect success can be assured ---- Miss Macpherson appears to have placed her system of juvenile emigration on such a footing as to entitle it to the support of all persons who take an interest in the welfare of the most helpless of the poor".

A number of other child-welfare workers in Great Britain now made use of Miss Macpherson's organization; Dr. Barnardo from his Homes in London, Mr Quarrier from the Orphan Homes of Scotland, Dr Guthrie from the Original Ragged Industrial Schools of Edinburgh, Mrs Blaikie from her Girls' Home in Edinburgh, and Mr. Leonard Shaw from the Boys' and Girls' Refuges in Manchester, all sent children to Canada under the care of this benefactress of the poor. It soon became necessary to found other distributing homes in Canada. A home with a farm of one hundred acres was established at Galt in West Ontario, another at Knowlton in Quebec. Other pioneers in this work were Mr. (afterwards Sir) John Middlemore, and the National Children's Homes and Orphanage, their Canadian branches at Fairview (Nova Scotia) and Hamilton (Ontario) respectively being founded in 1873.

About this time philanthropists of Liverpool began to look to emigration as the most likely means of relieving the distress among children living in slums, which at that time earned for the city the terrible title of "the black spot on the Mersey". In 1872 two prominent citizens, Mr. Alexander Balfour and Mr. William Houghton, convened a public meeting and invited Mrs Birt, whose good work for child immigrants in Nova Scotia has already been noted, to speak on juvenile emigration. A strong committee was formed; Mr. Houghton granted Byrom Hall rent free as a training centre, and Mrs Birt consented to take charge. In the first year, six thousand children applied for admission; only three hundred and sixty could be taken. They were trained for some months, the boys in carpentry, dairy and stable work, the girls in housework and the care of children. Thus were founded the Liverpool Sheltering Homes, which up to their amalgamation with Dr. Barnardo's Homes in 1926 sent sixteen thousand children to Canada. Most were placed on farms in the province of Quebec through the Knowlton distributing home, founded in 1872.

In 1878, the Federal Government of Canada, in order to supervise the immigration of pauper children more closely, decided to institute a regular inspection of such children in their homes. This was to be carried out by the immigration branch of the Department of Agriculture, the results were to be published annually, and the Local Government Board in Great Britain advised accordingly. I. The following information was to be elicited by the inspector

Canadian Privy Council Order, No. 5, Jan. 7th, 1878, annexed sched-  
I. Canadian Privy Council Order No. 5, Jan. 7th, 1878.

concerning each child visited:

Name of child.

When brought to Canada.

By whom brought

Child's age when landed.

When first placed out.

Name and address of child's first home.

Occupation of foster parent or employer, and how long said employer has lived in his present neighbourhood.

On what terms is child placed out?

Is child at present in his first situation; if not, why not?

Give address of second home.

What place of worship does child attend?

Does child attend school? If not, why not?

Can child read?

Can child write?

Is child's health good?

A.I.

Are you satisfied with child's position and prospects?

Thus to the supervision exercised by the voluntary societies was added the safeguard of regular Government inspection.

The following contemporary description of a party of British immigrants written by an independent observer, a German immigration delegate to Canada, is particularly interesting as showing the high standard attained so early in the movement. "At Montreal there arrived during my stay two large groups of immigrants. The first was a batch of English children, orphans and children gathered

I. Canadian Privy Council Order, No.5, Jan.7th,1878, annexed schedule.

up from the streets. They had formerly been in a children's home in their own country, and now arrived under the direction of a clergyman and a female assistant en route for Hamilton. ---- These children are essentially different from those found in similar institutions of our own country; they have not that exaggerated, hypocritical or meaningless smile: they all behave themselves with a certain self-consciousness which presupposes a certain education. They were not the short, thick, fat forms of our orphan children (arising from the excessive farinaceous and potato diet of our asylums), but stout, healthy children with bright eyes and an air of something about them that would not seem to admit of the thought that they came from a poor-house. Society owes them the same thing which the family of which they are deprived owes them. Only in this manner can there be developed in these children a feeling of duty towards society, so that they do not later on feel themselves to be with false pride proletarians.

"The children remained about two hours. They received a substantial meal consisting of meat, soup, potatoes, tea, bread and butter, and some cakes. After that they were conducted to the railway station and placed in a first-class carriage. But as the seats had already become somewhat hard with use, Mr. Daly, the Government Immigration Agent, requested that a newer carriage should be attached, and this was done. And these were poor children! I could not help admiring the State, which in such a manner does its duty by the future generation. I could not resist the temptation to take in my arms the youngest of the children which stretched out

Canadian Sessional Papers 1878, Vol. XII, p. 145, the report of Dr. Hahn, a delegate sent from Wurttemberg to report on Canada as a suitable field for German immigration.

I.  
its arms to me".

Inspection of juvenile migrants by the Canadian Government was made necessary not only to guard against exploitation, but also to detect and turn back undesirables. The movement had grown very rapidly and in some quarters it was thought that Canada was being used as a dumping ground for Great Britain's unwanted children. This feeling was strong in the early eighties, and there is no doubt that in spite of the great improvement in the standard of juvenile migration generally, some children who were unlikely to become good citizens had slipped through the net of voluntary and Government control. It was inevitable that the standard adopted by British philanthropists should differ from that demanded by Canadians; the former saw in emigration a chance of giving unfortunate boys and girls a new start in life, and were willing to take risks for the sake of the great good that might accrue to the individual; the latter for the good of their country wanted only the best in physique and character, and were apt to magnify individual failures into a condemnation of the whole movement.

Towards reconciling these two points of view and ensuring that the juvenile migration movement should continue with the approval both of Canadians and of those interested at home, probably no other child welfare worker did as much as Dr. Barnardo. The first homeless boy to enter his "ever open door" was his first emigrant to Canada, and from this successful beginning Dr. Barnardo looked

I. Canadian Sessional Papers 1879, Vol. XII, p.143, the report of Dr. Hahn, a delegate sent from Wurtemberg to report on Canada as a suitable field for German immigration.

more and more to emigration as the surest means of establishing his protégés in independence and freeing them from the interference of criminal relatives or the influence of vicious environment, which, in the case of home-disposals, so often thwarted his best endeavours. During the first fifteen years of his work, 1868 to 1882, he sent overseas some seven hundred children, most of them through Miss Macpherson's agency. In the latter year he organized independently his first party of fifty one boys, of whom thirty one were complete orphans, thirteen had mothers only, five fathers only (only one traceable), five had aged or destitute grandparents and eleven had no friends. But they were the best of Dr. Barnardo's older boys, chosen with regard to physique and character only, and specially trained for the work ahead of them. Of this party every one made good. Senator George Cox placed a suitable house at Peterborough in Ontario at Dr. Barnardo's disposal, and with this as a receiving home, one hundred more boys and seventy two girls were sent out in the following year.

In 1884, owing to the gathering opposition to juvenile migration in Canada, Dr. Barnardo visited the Dominion to investigate conditions for himself. Recognizing with gratitude the hospitality which the Dominion had previously extended to his wards, and realizing that the outlet of emigration was far too valuable to societies such as his own, he took sides with those who were advocating a still higher standard both in the selection and in the supervision of British juvenile immigrants. During his visit he laid down the following six principles on which he pledged himself to carry

I.

out his migration work:

- (1) That no child be sent out manifesting criminal or vicious taint.
- (2) That no child be sent out who is not at the time in excellent health and without tendency to disease.
- (3) That all such children (excepting, of course, the very young ones who go out for adoption) must have passed through a period of most careful training, not only in industrial pursuits, but also of a moral and religious character.
- (4) That as regards all children who come up to the standard of the previous conditions, only the flower of the flock are to be sent to Canada.
- (5) That upon reaching Canada, all children are to come under the care of properly qualified persons connected with our institution on the Canadian side, by whom they are to be distributed carefully into well selected homes; and that even then our work is not to be considered complete, but that regular communication shall be maintained with these children for years, by personal visitation of experienced assistants, and by a system of written reports from the child and its employer. That careful statistics shall be kept showing frequent reports of their whereabouts, progress and general welfare, until they shall have reached the age when they no longer require our supervising care.
- (6) That if, in spite of these tests, precautions and safeguards, it should be found by experience that some particular child, after having been placed out in Canada, becomes definitely immoral or criminal, then every legitimate means is to be adopted to recover possession of that child, and to return him or her at the earliest opportunity to the old country.

Adherences to these principles turned public opinion definitely in favour of carefully regulated juvenile migration. They were soon incorporated in regulations issued by the Federal Government and in legislation passed by several provinces. In 1885, a representative of the Toronto Globe, investigating the problem, wrote, "We cannot but believe that in the case of children sent out from Dr. Barnardo's Home, the sending out of them is not only a blessing for the children and an advantage to Great Britain, but

I.  
also a great advantage to Canada".

These improvements in the arrangements for guarding the welfare of children in Canada, both by the Government and by the voluntary societies, led to an increase in the number of Poor Law children sent to Canada. The Local Government Board circulated to all Boards of Guardians a statement of the conditions under which they would sanction the emigration of children under their care and in April, 1888, when the system appeared to be working satisfactorily, and agreement was drawn up between the Local Government Board and the responsible Canadian Department, setting forth very fully the conditions that were henceforth to govern the movement. As this agreement has remained in force with very little alteration and still constitutes the poor child's charter for emigration to Canada, it is quoted in full.

"Memo of Conditions upon which the Local Government Board assents to the Emigration of Orphan and Destitute Children to Canada.

"The Local Government Board have been furnished with a copy of a dispatch from the Governor-General of Canada, forwarding a copy of a report of a committee of the Privy Council from which it appears that the Minister of Agriculture will cause an inspection of pauper children brought to Canada by voluntary agencies, to be made annually by the immigration officers of the Department of Agriculture, or other such person as he shall instruct. The Minister, however, requires, as a condition of undertaking the responsibility of such





- (3) The person proposed to be entrusted by the Guardians with the emigration of a child shall have notice from the Guardians whether the child is Protestant or Roman Catholic, and he shall give an undertaking, if the child is a Protestant that he shall be placed with a Protestant family, or if the child is a Roman Catholic that he shall be placed in a Roman Catholic home.
- (4) A child before being sent to Canada shall have been under previous instruction for at least six months (a) in a work-house or separate school under the Guardians, or in a district school, or at a public elementary school at the cost of the Guardians, or (b) in a school certified by the Board under 25 and 26 Vic. C.43. It will not be regarded as essential that such period of instruction shall immediately precede the emigration.
- (5) The Guardians shall instruct one of their medical officers personally to examine each child proposed to be sent to Canada and to report in writing as to its health, both of body and mind, and to certify whether in his opinion the child is in all respects a suitable subject for emigration to that country. A copy of this report and certificate must be forwarded to the Local Government Board.
- (6) The Guardians must have such evidence as they deem satisfactory that the person taking out the children has a reasonable prospect of finding suitable homes for them in Canada. The Board consider that, as a general rule, girls should not be sent out above the age of ten years, and in no case, except

in very special circumstances, above the age of twelve years".

Under these conditions the emigration of several hundred Poor Law children annually has proceeded fairly regularly ever since 1888. Previously a few had gone to the United States, but owing to the objections from the immigration authorities, the Local Government Board ceased assisting paupers to emigrate to that country. Poor Law Emigration to Australia and New Zealand has never been large on account of the distance and the expense of removal. Thus Canada has received practically the whole stream of juvenile emigrants coming from British Poor Law institutions. The above agreement had the important effect of merging this class into the general movement of needy children proceeding to Canada under the care of voluntary societies.

Several other child-welfare organizations now entered the field of juvenile migration. Mr Fegan's Homes began sending out parties of well trained boys in 1884. Mr Quarrier, who had previously used Miss Macpherson's home at Belleville in Ontario, opened his own centre at Brockville in 1888, and various Roman Catholic organizations in Liverpool and in Midland towns began operations which were later centralized in the Catholic Emigration Association home in Ottawa.

An interesting experiment carried out by Dr Barnardo must here be noticed. In 1888 he purchased ten thousand acres of prairie land at Russell in Manitoba, and established an industrial farm for the training of boys and young men. The normal course

I. Then follow directions as to the cost of transport, etc. Quoted from Poor Law Orders, H.J.Fust, p.655 et seq.

thorough. A report on each child was to be prepared and lasted for a year; besides general farming operations, trades such as carpentering and shoemaking were taught. This farm continued successfully until it was sold in 1907. In all, seventeen hundred trainees passed through this centre and were settled in the West. A similar experiment was tried by Miss Macpherson's committee in 1877. A Scots supporter in Manitoba gave two thousand acres, which were divided into farms of eighty acres and let to the most deserving boys on the share system. Unfortunately wheat prices at the time were low, and there were difficulties of management which led the committee to give up the venture and sell the property.

Except for these two experiments juvenile migration to Canada was confined almost entirely to the Eastern provinces and proceeded along the lines already described until the close of the century. In 1897, the Provincial Government of Ontario passed an Act<sup>I.</sup> which brought the juvenile migration societies under the supervision of the Provincial child-welfare authorities. Numerous provisions were laid down for the proper care of children, and heavy penalties prescribed for introducing diseased or criminal children. Manitoba and Quebec also passed similar legislation, the former in 1897, the latter in 1898.

In 1898, the Federal Government established a special branch of the Ministry of the Interior to supervise British juvenile immigrants and placed in charge Mr. G. Bogue-Smart, who still continues this work. The inspection of children was rendered still more

I. An Act to regulate the Immigration into Ontario of certain classes of children, No. 65, 1897.

thorough. A report on each child was to be forwarded annually, through the Local Government Board, to the appropriate Board of Guardians, and arrangements were made for the cost of inspection to be divided between the Home authorities and the Dominion. The cost of the first inspection was to be borne by the Canadian Government. All subsequent ones were to be paid for by the Board of Guardians from which the child had come. The following sums were agreed upon as being the average cost of inspecting each child until he reached the age of sixteen years.

							2.	
For each child of 14 years but under 15 years							6.00	\$ 9,169
"	"	"	13	"	"	"	11.75.	7,540
"	"	"	12	"	"	"	17.25.	9,163
"	"	"	11	"	"	"	22.50.	8,899
"	"	"	10	"	"	"	27.50.	
"	"	"	9	"	"	"	32.25.	
"	"	"	8	"	"	"	36.75.	
"	"	"	7	"	"	"	41.00.	
"	"	"	6	"	"	"	45.00.	
"	"	"	5	"	"	"	48.75.	
"	"	"	4	"	"	"	52.25.	

Between 1888, the year in which juvenile migration from Boards of Guardians was put on a sound footing, and 1914, when the period covered by this chapter ends, 9470 dependent children were enabled

1. During the war, from 1915 to 1919, 257 children were assisted by the Canadian Government.  
 2. Age of entry into Canada.

I. to emigrate to Canada. The following table shows the annual numbers. 2. "country had become a pauper and a charge on the Canadian people".

Annual Numbers of Children Emigrating to Canada from Boards of Guardians of Great Britain.

Year	Number of Children	Year	Number of Children	Expenditure to Rates	Year	Number of Children	Expenditure to Rates.
1888	596	1898	78	£ 1,054	1908	391	£ 6,092
1889	428	1899	143	1,962	1909	422	6,531
1890	375	1900	173	2,471	1910	534	8,387
1891	296	1901	174	2,601	1911	617	9,169
1892	322	1902	141	2,038	1912	492	7,640
1893	360	1903	398	5,826	1913	568	9,163
1894	299	1904	374	5,581	1914	422	6,899
1895	246	1905	491	7,571			
1896	207	1906	441	6,742			
1897	85	1907	397	6,242			

These figures represent only a seventh part of the total number of children, i.e. paupers and others, assisted to settle in Canada by juvenile migration societies, the total for all classes until the war put a stop to the movement being not far short of seventy four thousand, and of these the Supervisor of British juvenile immigrants was able to say, "I have no knowledge of an old

1. During the war, from 1915 to 1919, 257 children were assisted at the cost of the Poor Rates.
2. From the Annual Reports of the Local Government Board. There is no record of expenditure prior to 1898.
3. About seventy five per cent were boys, twenty five per cent girls.

country had becoming a pauper and a charge on the Canadian people".

The following table, compiled from the reports of the supervisor, shows the record of the main societies engaging in the work before the war:

Society.	1894	1895	1896	1897	1898	1899	1900	1901	1902	1903	1904	Date of Commencing.	Numbers Emigrated.
Miss Macpherson and Mrs Birt												1868	13,735
Miss Rye and Church of England Waifs and Strays Society												1869	3,620
Sir J.F.Middlemore												1873	4,769
National Children's Home and Orphanage												1874	2,612
Mrs Bilbrough-Wallace												1878	5,529
Cardinal Manning												1880	1,403
Dr. Barnardo												1882	24,346
Mr Fegan												1884	2,698
Mr Quarrier												1890	3,916
Catholic Emigration Association												1897	5,544
Salvation Army												1905	538
Minor Agencies												1897 &c.	5,260

change is reserved for the next chapter.

Dr. Barnardo's Homes, by far the largest contributors to the movement, sent the following numbers annually to Canada:

1. Till 1894, solely through Miss Macpherson's agency.
  2. From "Homes of Dr. Barnardo", supplemented by figures supplied by the Chief Migration Officer of Dr. Barnardo's Homes.
- I. Report on Juvenile Immigration, Department of the Interior, 1914-15, p.10.
2. Besides some five hundred to Australia, South Africa and New Zealand.

CHAPTER V.

Year	Number of Children	Year	Number of Children	Year	Number of Children.
1867-84	1181	1894	724	1905	1314
1884	252	1895	733	1906	1171
1885	393	1896	678	1907	902
1886	624	1897	664	1908	944
1887	412	1898	613	1909	968
1888	489	1899	647	1910	951
1889	503	1900	931	1911	996
1890	291	1901	1013	1912	911
1891	422	1902	1053	1913	816
1892	727	1903	1237	1914	608
1893	834	1904	1266	Total to 1914, 25,268. <sup>2.</sup>	

During the decade immediately preceding the Great War, both the reformatory and the rescue aim in juvenile migration were being merged in the wider view of the movement as a very important factor in Empire Settlement. Discussion of the events leading to this change is reserved for the next chapter.

Attempts were made to bring about co-operation between the Home and the Dominion Governments in order to increase the volume of juvenile migration, to maintain such standards in the selection, place-

1. Till 1882, mainly through Miss Macpherson's agency.
2. From "Memoirs of Dr. Barnardo", supplemented by figures supplied by the Chief Migration Officer of Dr. Barnardo's Homes.

1. From 1900 to 1914, 21,110 children emigrated to Canada. The responsible societies received 268,301 applications for their services. Department of the Interior, Report on Juvenile Immigration, 1914-15, p. 9.



The GROWTH of JUVENILE MIGRATION in the DECADE  
preceding  
the OUTBREAK of WAR in 1914.

Attempts to bring about co-operation between the Home and Dominion Governments in increasing the emigration of children dependent on the State ---- Dr. Barnardo's boarding-out system ---- Mrs Close's scattered cottage homes ---- Sir Clement Kinloch Cooke's colonial orphanages ---- Kingsley Fairbridge, the Farm-school System ---- Australia and New Zealand begin to attract older boys of good education and physique ---- The Dreadnought Trust in New South Wales ---- Mr. F.E.Sedgwick's Town Boys in New Zealand ---- Apprenticeship of boy immigrants under the guardianship of the Government ---- The imperial outlook on emigration.

Though most of the early attempts at organized juvenile migration had been inspired by pity and by the desire to better conditions of child-life, it was realized that the problem was economic as well as social. Along with a surplus of children in Great Britain there persisted an unsatisfied demand for young farm and home workers of both sexes in every Dominion, especially in Canada, where, for years, the demand had exceeded the supply in the ratio of seven or eight to one. The economic aspect received special emphasis in the early years of the present century, when a number of attempts were made to bring about co-operation between the Home and the Dominion Governments in order to increase the volume of juvenile migration, to maintain such standards in the selection, placement and supervision of those transferred, as would make the move-

- I. From 1900 to 1914, 31,110 children emigrated to Canada. The responsible societies received 265,381 applications for their services. Department of the Interior, Report on Juvenile Immigration, 1914-15, p. 9.

movement acceptable to all the countries concerned, and thus to bring about a more economic distribution of juvenile labour throughout the Empire.

At home the surplus of children and the problem of their education and disposal in employment pressed most hardly in the institutions appointed by the Government to look after the poor. In 1903 (3rd March) the Local Government Board issued a circular to all Boards of Guardians, pointing out the desirability of sending suitable children overseas. The arrangements just described provided for the emigration to Canada of only a few hundred orphan or deserted children annually. Yet over forty thousand were maintained by the State. Of these about twelve per cent were under five years of age, ten per cent were invalid or defective, leaving a total of 35,000 potential juvenile migrants, from which an annual quota of 3,000 might be sent abroad. This, of course, was an extreme calculation, but it showed the needs and the opportunities facing this class of emigration. We must notice four plans put forward before the war to bring about an increase in the number of State children going overseas.

Dr. Barnardo's plan was, in his own expressive words, "to place the solitary in families", in common parlance, "boarding-out". This system was practised widely in England, 8,372 orphan and deserted children from Poor Law authorities being boarded-out in

1. 44,851 under 16 years of age on 1st January, 1914. About four times this number received <sup>out-door</sup> relief along with their parents.
2. From data supplied by Boards of Guardians in 1914 to the Royal Commission on the Natural Resources, Trade and Legislation of Certain Portions of His Majesty's Dominions, Final Report 1917-1918 Cd. 8462 p.98.

private families on January 1st, 1914. Dr. Barnardo had done a great deal towards ridding the system of abuses; he had extended it with equal success to Canada, where a large number of his children, many of them State-wards, <sup>were</sup> placed with carefully selected foster-parents. For those under twelve years of age, unless the child was legally adopted, a boarding-out fee was usually paid; for those between twelve and fourteen no payment was made, it being considered that the child's value as a help in the home or on the farm balanced the expense of his board and lodging. It was contended that this was the ideal way of fitting the child to his new environment; it avoided all trace of the institution and allowed education and training under the conditions that would have to be faced in later life. It was also much less expensive than maintaining the child in an institution in England. Dr. Barnardo therefore urged wide extension of the boarding-out of State-wards in Canada, provided due care was taken in choosing foster-homes and in regularly inspecting the children so placed out. He summed up his arguments in the following words:

"I regard with amazement the unwillingness of a great administrative department of the State to sanction a small expenditure for the maintenance of its child clients in one of our colonies at half the annual cost that is already being incurred in maintaining the same children in England".

"Well-planned and wisely conducted child-migration, especially to Canada, contains within its bosom the truest solution of some of the Mother country's most perplexing problems. First, it relieves the overcrowded centres of city life and the congested

labour market at home, while at the same time it lessens in a remarkable manner the burden of taxation. Second, it supplies what the colonies are most in need of - an increase of the English-speaking population. Third, it confers on the children themselves unspeakable<sup>I.</sup> "blessing".

Dr. Barnardo, who in all his work for neglected children, strove to bring them up under conditions approaching as nearly as possible family-life, opposed the other schemes put forward to facilitate child-emigration from state institutions; first, on the ground of "collectivism", and secondly, because he believed that not new organizations, but an extension of the existing boarding-out system was all that was needed.

The second scheme for the emigration of children under the Poor Law was formulated by Mrs Close in 1904. She proposed farm-homes in such Dominions as would co-operate, the farms to consist of two or three hundred acres with suitable buildings and stock; each was to take from fifteen to twenty young children under the care of two ladies. The children would thus be brought up under home-like conditions and in the healthiest possible manner. The boys would help in all farm-work and in the gardens, the girls in the dairy, the farmyard and the house. They would be educated in the elementary schools along with the children born in the district, and on leaving school would be placed in employment in the neighbourhood where they could be easily supervised until they came of age.

I. Memoirs of Dr. Barnardo, Mrs Barnardo and J. Marchant, p.154.

The capital expenditure of establishing these homes would be heavy, but, Mrs Close contended, less than it would be in England, where, at this time, cottage-homes on this principle were being established by several Boards of Guardians. The cost of a home to accommodate twenty children in Canada, compared with that for a similar establishment in England was estimated as follows:

	<u>Canada</u>	<u>England</u>
Capital Expenditure	£2,030	£5,000
Maintenance	£320 per annum	£600 per annum

The Maritime provinces of Canada were judged to be the most suitable for the experiment, and New Brunswick consented to grant two hundred acres of land for each group of twenty children, to waive the usual conditions of settlement for a period of two years, and to grant free education to the children, provided that the Government had the right periodically to inspect the home.

Mrs Close started her work in 1906 on a farm of one hundred and eighty five acres at Rothesay in New Brunswick. Her children, though from good institutions, were of poor physique, and were described as having that look of fatigue and dullness characteristic of urban children of the lowest class. The local doctor in a few months reported a remarkable change in height, weight and mental alertness; this improvement continued steadily, and the farm turned out healthy and efficient workers.

In spite of its success, this system of juvenile migration did not grow. Boards of Guardians appear to have been satisfied with existing arrangements for boarding-out young children in Canada and for placing older ones directly in employment. They were also

unable legally to contribute to the cost of establishing homes or maintaining children outside Great Britain, consequently practically all support for Mrs Close's work had to be got from the public, and the outbreak of war in 1914 caused the experiment to lapse.

At the same time as Mrs Close was trying to interest the public in her plan another, proposed by Sir C. Kinloch-Cooke, was being widely discussed. His scheme, as outlined in the Empire Review in 1905, was briefly as follows:

Each Colonial Government was to undertake:

- (1) To provide one or more agricultural homes or farms where the children would be educated, brought up and trained under direct Government supervision for work in the Colony; and to place out the children in suitable situations.
- (2) To pass such local acts as may be required to meet the new circumstances, and to draw up rules and regulations (approved by the Local Government Board) for observance in the administration of the homes.
- (3) To institute an adequate system of Government inspection until the child reaches the age of eighteen.

Each Board of Guardians to undertake:

- (1) To hand over the children where possible at the age of ten years.
- (2) To allow representatives of the Colonial Government to select the children.

I. See Proceedings of Royal Colonial Institute Vol. XXXVI, p. 282, also The Times, circ. 27/5/04 and 18/10/04, also The Empire Review, April 1905, from which these proposals are quoted.

(3) To pay to each Colonial Government in a manner hereafter to be arranged,

- (a) A sum of money annually, or otherwise, equal to the sum paid in Great Britain for bringing up the children, the amount not to exceed in any case the expenditure for four years.
- (b) An agreed sum, annually or otherwise, for the cost of inspecting each child until the child reaches the age of eighteen years.

It was claimed that these arrangements would overcome one of the chief defects in the existing system of Poor Law emigration, viz, that, unless sent out under the boarding-out system, the children got no special training for the work they were to be called upon to do immediately on their arrival in the colony. In addition, the children would have their early recollections associated with the country of their adoption, and would thus come to look upon the Dominion as their home.

Sir C. Kinloch-Cooke pressed for reform along these lines not only because private institutions were already overburdened, but because it was as wrong that private subscriptions should aid State children to emigrate as that ratepayers' money should further the work of private institutions. He believed that the expenditure of public money on such institutions as he proposed was allowed under a section of a Poor Law Act of 1879. However, the law officers of the Local Government Board ruled against this, and could point to no other means by which guardians could legally provide funds for the furtherance of the proposed scheme. Thus, although the

colonial authorities and individual Boards of Guardians were generally favourable, the difficulty of finance proved insuperable, and nothing came of these constructive proposals.

It remained for Kingsley Fairbridge, the first Rhodesian Rhodes Scholar, one of the few who had met the founder of that great trust, and probably the most remarkable of all its beneficiaries, to propound a practicable scheme for the education of State children in the Dominions, and to carry it through innumerable difficulties to ultimate success. As his plan of child-emigration is the only one that has remained in successful operation, special notice must be given to its founder and to the manner of its founding.

Kingsley Fairbridge was born in Grahamstown, and as a boy of eleven went to Rhodesia, where he was brought up "in the rough fashion of frontier life". His school was the veldt; as his father's assistant in land survey work he was accustomed, before he entered his teens, to camping out for weeks at a time with no one but his dog, Vic, and a native boy to help in the building of huts and the erecting of beacons. Before he was sixteen he had gone as far north as the Zambesi River. These expeditions impressed upon him the need for settlement, which soon became to him almost an obsession. Every stretch of grass land suggested a farm, and every spring prompted him to ask, "Why is there no home here?" One day, as he trudged homeward, worn out by an attack of malaria and by insufficient food, a vision of the country-side dotted with farms, of smoke coming from the homestead chimneys, and of cattle grazing in the tall grass, came to him with such compelling force that he



spoke aloud the resolve that henceforward guided his whole life:  
"Some day I will bring farmers here"<sup>1</sup>.

A journey to England strengthened this resolve. "Yet", he says, "it began to be borne in on me that long training would be needed to fit clerk or casual labourer, or even farm hand, for the constant calls upon the initiative, patience and knowledge required for agriculture in Rhodesia. Farming is supposed to be easy, yet by the side of agriculture, <sup>medicine</sup> is child's play. A farmer should know biology, chemistry, botany and bacteriology. Geology and meteorology will be necessary to him, a sound working knowledge of engineering and carpentry will be among his best assets. Every successful farmer must have a knowledge of markets, finance, food-values, horse-management, butchering, dairying, and so on. Eight years' schooling would barely give a man a glimpse of the possibilities which lie before a farmer"<sup>2</sup>.

Some time after his return to Rhodesia another vision gave Fairbridge the solution of this problem of training farmers for the waste lands of the Empire. His own words must again be quoted. "That day I saw a street in the East End of London. It was a street crowded with children - dirty children, yet lovable, exhausted with the heat. No decent air, not enough food. The waste of it all! Children's lives wasting away, while the Empire cried aloud for men. There were workhouses full, orphanages full - and no farmers. 'Farmers - children, farmers - children....' the words ran in my head as I pushed my bicycle along the dusty road.

1. Autobiography of Kingsley Fairbridge, p.29.  
2. Ibid, p. 131.

"And then I saw it quite clearly: Train the children to be farmers! Not in England. Teach them their farming in the land where they will farm. Give them gentle men and women for their mentors and guides, and give them a farm of their own, where they may grow up among the gentle farm animals, proud of the former, understanding the latter. Shift the orphanages of Britain north, south, east and west, to the shores of Greater Britain, where farmers and farmers' wives are wanted, and where no man with strong arms and a willing heart would ever want for his daily bread.

"I saw great Colleges of Agriculture(not workhouses) springing up in every man-hungry corner of the Empire. I saw little children shedding the bondage of bitter circumstances and stretching their legs and their minds amid the thousand interests of the farm. I saw waste turned to providence, the waste of unneeded humanity converted to the husbandry of unpeopled acres".

Thus a young colonial reformer came to face the problem that had exercised the minds of home philanthropists for almost a century. Approaching it from the opposite side to them, and wrestling with it alone, he conceived the same idea of ameliorating the lot of unfortunate children by training them to be farmers in the colonies. The plan which he set himself in order to accomplish his aim was to qualify for a Rhodes Scholarship, study at Oxford and investigate, at the same time, the problem of child emigration. He therefore again journeyed to England, this time via New Zealand and Canada; for he wanted to see for himself the possibilities of each Dominion. Arriving in London, he engaged a tutor to help him

pick up the threads of his education interrupted when he was eleven years of age. After several failures in responsions - at the age of twenty one he had no Greek, then an obligatory subject - he regained his scholarship and entered Exeter College in 1909 to study forestry. Before a meeting of the Colonial Club in 1909 he read a paper on "The Emigration of Poor Children to the Colonies", and at the same meeting the Child Emigration Society was founded, with the object of taking young children dependent on the State, educating and training them for life on the land under conditions as like as could be to those they would have to face in getting a living from the soil.

Kingsley Fairbridge's scheme<sup>1.</sup> differed considerably from those we have just noticed. He proposed not the boarding-out system of Dr. Barnardo, nor the scattered Farm Homes of Mrs Close, nor the Colonial Orphanages of Sir C. Kinloch-Cooke, but large Farm-Schools in such colonies as would co-operate. The children would be housed in cottages, grouped together, about a dozen boys or girls to each cottage under a house-mother. They would be brought up in families; at the same time they could be educated at a central school, and the one farm would provide training in all the work that usually falls to children brought up in the country.

It is also important to note that the children were not to be trained merely as country-workers: their training was to fit their boys to be farmers, the girls to be farmers' wives. If they were

1. See Juvenile Emigration and the Farm School System (1910) by Kingsley Fairbridge, also the Autobiography of Kingsley Fairbridge, and the Annual Reports of the Child Emigration Society.

to have the chance of realizing this ambition the farm-school must be placed where land suitable for settlement was plentiful. Kingsley Fairbridge negotiated with several oversea Governments. He received an offer of fifty thousand acres in Newfoundland, but eventually decided upon the wider, sunnier land of Western Australia, which with an area eight times that of Great Britain, with immense areas of unalienated crown lands, and a population of only a quarter of a million, offered boundless opportunities to young settlers.

Fairbridge set out from London in 1912, with thirteen small boys bound for a bush farm of one hundred and sixty acres at Pinjarra, forty miles from Perth. Twenty two more children were added to his family some months later. The war prevented the coming of more; it also depleted his staff and reduced voluntary support until the carrying on of the experiment seemed almost impossible. But Fairbridge persisted, and was rewarded by seeing every one of his first two parties of children turn out well. The rapid growth of his school after the war must be left for a succeeding chapter.

It will have been noticed that, up to this time, by far the greatest number of juvenile migrants had gone to Canada, but in the few years immediately prior to the war Australia and New Zealand began to compete for this type of settler, especially for older lads of good physique and education, who wanted wider opportunities than Great Britain could offer. Several schemes to encourage their emigration, the fore-runners of the systems that were to be established and grow so rapidly ten years later, came into operation about this time and must now be noted.

In 1909, when the question of naval defence was being very

keenly debated in Australia and New Zealand, the citizens of New South Wales voluntarily subscribed £90,000 towards providing a Dreadnought for the British Navy. At the Conference of Premiers held in London in August of that year, it was decided to maintain a fleet in Australian waters, and the public subscription was no longer required. To return it to the thousands of donors scattered throughout the State was impossible, and a meeting was therefore convened to discuss the uses to which it might be put. Two proposals appealed to the imagination of all subscribers, first, to train and assist boy immigrants from Great Britain and second, to found a naval college for the training of Australian naval cadets. Both were akin to the original purpose of the subscription, viz, the security of Australia against foreign aggression. At the end of 1909, one half of the fund was vested in trustees, "to equip a farm or farms upon which worthy British boys can be received, taught and boarded free for six months or a year, and distributed to the farmers of the State". Thus, for a small fraction of the cost of a battleship, 1787 boys were settled in the State before war broke out. They were recruited mainly by the county colonization societies that were then springing up in England. The boys benefiting by the scheme came very appropriately to be known as "Dreadnought boys", and they merited the name both by their record in Australia and by their war service. Almost every one enlisted in Australia

- I. A speaker, referring to juvenile immigration at the first meeting of subscribers to the Dreadnought Fund, aptly said, "It is the highest form of selfishness, the most alert commercialism to throw wide our doors at once to this kind of British immigrant and make him as good a farmer as possible for our undeveloped areas".

or worked his way back to England, to enlist in his own county  
regiment.

The pioneer of organized juvenile migration to New Zealand was  
Mr. T.E.Sedgwick, a prominent worker in Boys' Clubs in London, who  
gave up a colonial appointment in order that he might help deserv-  
ing city boys to emigrate. Going to New Zealand, he induced the  
Government to take fifty of his boys, to sail at the end of 1910.

These were chosen with great care; not only physique and education  
but character and temperament were taken into account. Every boy  
was informed of the conditions under which he would emigrate, and  
the application form contained these, among other warnings against  
lightly making the change from city life at home to country life in  
the farthest Dominion of the Empire.

"The work will be hard, dull and monotonous, the hours long and  
Sunday work unavoidable; boys will have to do housework when re-  
quired.

"The life is lonely, neighbours are often miles apart; there  
are no lights, streets or places of amusement sometimes within a  
hundred miles.

"The movement for migrating lads is in its infancy; those who  
apply and are selected must remember that they have the good name  
of town lads to keep up, and must make a success of the experiment"

Each boy was apprenticed<sup>2.</sup> by the Secretary of Labour, on behalf  
of the New Zealand Government, to a farmer of good standing. The

People also began to see in juvenile emigration a remedy for unem-  
ployment in Great Britain, which though slower in its working than

1. Town Lads on Imperial Farms, by T.E.Sedgwick, p.42.

2. Under the Master and Apprentice Act, 1908.

employer agreed to teach the boy the business of farming, to give him opportunities for recreation and divine worship and to pay an agreed wage of which one shilling per week was to go direct to the boy, the remainder to the Government to be held in trust until he came of age. The boy, on his part, agreed to repay out of his wages the ten pounds which had been lent to him for his passage, and to serve his employer faithfully for the number of years specified in the agreement. The Secretary of Labour retained the right periodically to visit the boy, to terminate the agreement and place the boy in another situation if conditions were unsatisfactory. This was the first attempt at apprenticing boy-immigrants with the Government as a party to the agreement and acting as guardian to the boys. The arrangements worked very well; of the first party of fifty town boys, forty eight were successful; only one disappeared without repaying his passage-money. The New Zealand Government then brought out several parties of rural boys who did equally well, being apprenticed under the same conditions.

In 1914 Mr Sedgwick had schemes pending for every Dominion. A party of boys whom he sent to Ontario were not quite as successful as those he had settled in New Zealand, due to less care in placing and supervision. But these experiments had shown that there were in Great Britain thousands of enterprising boys of the best type, who with proper training and guidance, could be turned into the kind of settlers which the Dominions most urgently needed. People also began to see in juvenile emigration a remedy for unemployment in Great Britain, which though slower in its working than adult emigration, was likely to be more sure and more lasting in

its results. Professor W.L. Grant, at an emigration conference convened by the Royal Colonial Institute in May, 1910, went so far as to say, "The only way in which emigration can hit right at the roots of unemployment here is by furthering the emigration of children ---- Only by systematic, ordered and cared-for emigration of children can we not merely palliate, but actually solve the problem of unemployment".<sup>I.</sup> A number of private organizations began to interest themselves in this work just before the war intervened. The Public Schools Employment Bureau established its migration branch, a Colonial Training Farm was opened for Public School boys at Woking and another for Boy Scouts at Wadhurst; the Church Army Farm at Hempstead had been operating since 1906.

The outlook on emigration, not only of juveniles, but of all classes, was becoming more Imperial. The main aim was no longer to get rid of the surplus population of the Mother country; it was to bring about a more economic distribution of the whole population of the Empire. Attempts were being made to keep emigrants in the Empire. Whereas from 1891 to 1900 only 28 per cent of British emigrants had gone to the Dominions, in the next decade the percentage had risen to 63, and in 1913 it was as high as 78 per cent.<sup>2.</sup> And this change had been brought about without direct State assistance for emigration. The Emigrants' Information Office, with a small Government grant, was responsible for directing great numbers of prospective migrants to the Dominions. Throughout the country

1. Report of the Conference on Emigration Convened by the Royal Colonial Institute, May, 1910, p.88.
2. Final Report of the Royal Commission on the Natural Resources, Trade and Legislation, Certain Portions of His Majesty's Dominions, 1917-18. Cd.8462, p.85.



philanthropic bodies were actively engaging in migration work, forty nine being represented at the Royal Colonial Institute's emigration conference in 1910, while a Central Emigration Board, with which were affiliated a number of these migration agencies, was directing a strong movement towards the co-ordination of all emigration activities under some department of the State. It was at last coming to be realized that only with the Home Government acting in conjunction with the Governments of all the British Dominions and with the voluntary migration societies at home and abroad, could a truly Imperial system of migration within the Empire be instituted.

- VIII. Canada: Increased Government Assistance and Closer Supervision.
- IX. Canada: Voluntary Societies Approved by the Federal Government. The Growth of Juvenile Immigration through Provincial Organizations.
- X. Australia: Systems Adopted by the States.
- XI. New Zealand and South Africa: Various Systems of Juvenile Immigration.

## CHAPTER VI.

PART II.GREAT BRITAIN: CHANGES BROUGHT ABOUT BY THERECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN JUVENILE MIGRATION.

## CHAPTER

- VI. Great Britain: Changes Brought About by the Empire Settlement Act.
- VII. Canada: An Outline of the System of Juvenile Immigration.
- VIII. Canada: Increased Government Assistance and Closer Supervision.
- IX. Canada: Voluntary Societies Approved by the Federal Government. The Growth of Juvenile Immigration through Provincial Organizations.
- X. Australia: Systems Adopted by the States.
- XI. New Zealand and South Africa: Various Systems of Juvenile Immigration.

1. A great deal of the information in this chapter was supplied by the Overseas Settlement Department of the Dominions Office and by the voluntary societies whose work is described.

CHAPTER VI.

GREAT BRITAIN: CHANGES BROUGHT ABOUT by the  
EMPIRE SETTLEMENT ACT.<sup>I.</sup>

Brief review of the previous policies governing emigration from Great Britain ---- Events leading up to the passing of the Empire Settlement Act, 1922 ---- State assistance and increased voluntary effort lead to wide extension of juvenile migration ---- Increased facilities for training ---- The various systems adopted ---- Collective nomination, its value in juvenile migration ---- Juvenile migration agencies in Great Britain ---- Notes on the emigration of children from Home Office Schools and from Poor Law Institutions.

The pressing need of a better distribution of the white population of the Empire which, after the Great War, came to be more generally realized than ever before, precipitated revolutionary changes in both adult and juvenile emigration. It is therefore well, at this point, to glance back and review, very briefly, the systems that had governed the flow of settlers from Great Britain to the oversea Empire.

Throughout the last century there was strong opposition to any wide system of state-aided emigration. A plentiful supply of labour was regarded as the nation's wealth, and attempts to drain off more than the bare surplus were looked upon with disfavour. Even during the distress following the Napoleonic Wars, Government

I. A great deal of the information in this chapter was supplied by the Oversea Settlement Department of the Dominions Office and by the voluntary societies whose work is described.

grants towards emigration were few, and they were always directed to relieving some specially pressing need. Thus, for many years, most assisted emigrants were paupers, their transference being financed by parish funds or by private charity. "Pauper shovellings" was the term Edward Gibbon Wakefield applied to these early parties of poor colonists, and, indeed, the departure of <sup>such</sup> emigrants differed but little from that of transported convicts. ~~the funds resulting~~

The first step towards a better system came with the plan of colonization formulated by Wakefield in 1829. Previously land in the colonies had been granted to settlers either free, or at a nominal price. This, he contended, was the prime cause of the shortage of labour, the careless agriculture and the stagnation so often witnessed in new colonies. The remedy proposed was the restriction of the sale of new lands by charging a "sufficient" price, i.e. a price high enough to prevent the labourer becoming a land owner before he had served an apprenticeship to the new methods of agriculture, and yet, a price low enough to afford every thrifty immigrant a prospect of ownership and ultimate independence. The proceeds of the sale of lands were to be devoted to (1) the development of the colony, and (2) the assistance of carefully selected immigrants.

This system was gradually introduced from 1831 onwards. The Commissioners for Emigration in 1832 issued a warning to emigrants that land in the colonies would no longer be granted free, because "when it was taken by poor people, they found that they had not the means of living until their land brought forth its first harvest, and further, that they knew not enough of farming in the colonies to make any progress". In 1834, the Wakefield system was applied

to the new colony of South Australia, in 1838 it was recommended for Canada, and in the early forties the colonization of New Zealand was commenced on the same principle.

For the administration of these schemes, the Government appointed the Colonial Land and Emigration Board in 1840. Thus, State superintendence of emigration was established, and with it State assistance, which, however, depended on the funds resulting from the sale of colonial lands. This factor caused the flow of migrants to be irregular and made a settled progressive policy impossible. As the various colonies became self-governing and took control of their own lands, the need for the Board decreased, its few remaining duties were taken by other Government departments and in 1878, after having enabled some three hundred and fifty thousand emigrants to settle overseas, it was abolished.

Henceforward, very little was done in the way of state-aided emigration. An Emigration Information Office was established, but, as the name implies, its duty was to provide information and not financial assistance. However, by the publication of hand-books, and by diffusing information as to opportunities in the Dominions, it performed the very useful service of keeping many migrants within the Empire.

From 1914 to 1919 emigration, which in the decade before the war had been proceeding at an average rate of three hundred thousand souls annually, ceased almost completely. Thus, even allowing for the loss of half a million men which Great Britain suffered, the population after the war was over a million more than it would have been had emigration gone on at its previous rate, a fact which

State-aid for juvenile migration was considered necessary as apart altogether from industrial disturbance and distress, the usual aftermath of war, made emigration more necessary than ever. also because the return of large numbers of soldiers to civil life was causing wide-spread juvenile unemployment. In 1919, ocean migration was therefore confined to ex-servicemen who were the new spirit pervading all migration within the Empire. This committee made a number of recommendations of which the following bear most directly on our subject of juvenile migration:

- (1) That the migration of population from the United Kingdom to other parts of the Empire is calculated to promote the economic strength and well-being of the Empire as a whole and of the United Kingdom in particular, provided the flow at any time is not in excess of what the Dominions can conveniently absorb.
- (3) That there is, at present, no sufficient reason for the direct grant of State-aid to emigration in general, beyond the aid involved in the improvement and cheapening of inter-Imperial communications.
- (4) There are, however, special grounds for granting State-aid to the emigration of women, and for supplementing the existing provision for the emigration of juveniles, more particularly of girls, by direct Government grants.
- (9) That all arrangements with regard to emigration should be the subject of the closest consultation and co-operation with the responsible Government authorities in the several Dominions.

State-aid for juvenile migration was considered necessary as a compensation for the distress caused among the young by the war, and also because the return of large numbers of soldiers to civil life was causing wide-spread juvenile unemployment. In 1919, ocean transport was practically monopolized by returning oversea troops, and emigration was therefore confined to ex-servicemen who were granted free passages to the Dominion they intended to settle in. However, in the following year the old-established migration societies recommenced their work in Canada. The Church Army reopened its farm at Hempstead in Essex, taking boys, unemployed or in casual occupations, and training them for farm-work in Australia. The Child Emigration Society, at the same time, prepared to extend its farm-school in Western Australia to take several hundred State children. Both of these organizations were aided by grants from the Joint Committee of the National Relief Fund and the Oversea Settlement Committee, while the Canadian Societies received increased assistance from the Federal Government.

Secondary and Public Schools were also moving to secure suitable openings for boys in the Dominions. The Secondary Schools Headmasters' Employment Committee passed a resolution inviting the co-operation of the Oversea Settlement authorities in training boys and placing them on farms in the Dominions. Christ's Hospital took the initiative by providing at the school suitable training in agriculture and handicrafts, and sending overseas each year a number of their boys through the migration section of the Public Schools' Employment Bureau. The 1921 Report of the Oversea Settlement Committee specially commended these efforts and noted the general

agreement that these and other similar schools, indeed all public and secondary schools throughout the country, could provide the Dominions with admirable recruits for their farming population, provided that the difficulty of the want of capital could be overcome.

The altered industrial situation in Great Britain, where widespread depression was taking the place of the short-lived post-war prosperity, was now causing greater attention to be paid to emigration, both adult and juvenile, and leading to an extension of State aid. Early in 1921, a conference between representatives of Great Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand was held in London to discuss the question, and at this conference a number of important principles were laid down. These may be briefly stated thus: Oversea settlement was the problem of distributing the population of the Empire in the manner most conducive to the welfare of the whole; it was not a means of relieving abnormal unemployment although it could be made to minimize future risks of unemployment; and finally, it called for the closest consultation and the widest co-operation between the Home and Dominion Governments.

The Conference of Prime Ministers held in July of the same year endorsed these recommendations, and expressed the hope that the Government of the United Kingdom would, as soon as possible, secure the necessary powers to enable it to carry out its part in any schemes of co-operation which might subsequently be agreed upon. Following on this resolution a bill embodying the measures



resommended by the two conferences was introduced into Parliament, and passing almost without opposition, became law on the 31st May, 1922, as the Empire Settlement Act, 1922.<sup>I.</sup> It empowered the Secretary of State to co-operate with any British Dominion, or with public or private bodies throughout the Empire, in assisting the settlement overseas of suitable people. The expense borne by His Majesty's Government was not to exceed one half in any of the schemes agreed upon, nor the aggregate to exceed £3,000,000 per annum for a period of fifteen years.

Thus, in a few years the policy of the State with regard to emigration had changed from non-participation to active assistance. The effects of this change were specially marked in the migration of juveniles. The granting of free or reduced passages enabled increasing numbers to go overseas, while the greater security offered under schemes which earned the approval of the Government allayed the fears of parents, and attracted a type of boy who would not ordinarily have considered seeking a career overseas. It must also be remembered that the requirements of the Dominions, being mainly for agricultural and domestic workers, could not be met directly by the existing surplus of labour in Great Britain, which was mainly city-bred and industrial. There was, however, a persistent demand from overseas for young land-workers. Under the Empire Settlement Act training was regarded as a form of assistance for migration, and therefore eligible for State-aid. This brought about a remarkable growth in facilities for training, first for juveniles, and some years after the passing of the Act, for young adult migrants.

I. 12 and 13 Geo.V. C.13.

Special notice must be given to another aspect of the Empire Settlement Act, viz., the retaining and the supplementing of the voluntary aid so long given to migration by religious and philanthropic bodies. It was felt that their personal way of handling migration was now more necessary than ever, that through them the individual could be more happily fitted to his new life, and would not be led to feel that he was <sup>simply</sup> being got rid of. The Government contribution of not more than one half of the total cost of any one scheme was equivalent to a pound for pound subsidy on private giving, and was expected to encourage rather than to supplant voluntary effort. That it has done so is beyond question; all the churches and most philanthropic bodies have come, directly or indirectly, to assist in migration within the Empire. We must now consider these last two provisions, training and co-operation between the Government and private societies.

Several methods of training juvenile migrants were proposed. There was first the training farm at home; second, the training farm in the Dominions; and third, a system of apprenticeship with selected farmers in the Dominions.

Training on special farms at home had obvious limitations. Even if Dominion instructors and equipment were employed, the different seasons, soils and agricultural methods, combined with the necessary shortness of the course, made it impossible to give the trainees an adequate introduction to oversea farming conditions. For this reason the Dominion Governments were not willing to share the cost of maintaining such farms. However, it was admitted that

a brief period of testing would eliminate the unfit and save further waste of money on undeserving cases. This has since been the main aim of farm training courses in Great Britain. The period of hard manual labour, the daily round of necessary but often uninteresting duties, soon revealed those who were physically or temperamentally unfit for life on the land. At the same time it improved the physical condition of those who were suitable, prepared them for their new work, and gave them some insight into the basic principles of agriculture which are the same the world over.

The duration of these courses was governed by a number of factors, chief among them being expense, the demand for labour overseas, and the adaptability of the trainee. The period which gave the best average results was soon found to be three months. As to the training itself, it was made as wide as possible in order to give an introduction to all the ordinary branches of farm work. Milking, the care and feeding of stock, harnessing and driving, the use of farm tools and implements, the cultivation of the usual farm crops, were the essentials. By the end of 1923 there were established, besides the Church Army Farm already noted, the Salvation Army Farm at Hadleigh in Essex and the Cossar Boys' Farm at Craigie-linn near Glasgow. Each of these centres was subsidized by the Oversea Settlement Committee, and together were able to train over a thousand boys annually.

Other juvenile migrants went directly to the Dominions under the care of voluntary societies, and were there either trained in special institutions, or apprenticed immediately on arrival. As examples of the former system may be mentioned the experimental

farms in New South Wales, used as receiving and training centres for Dreadnought boys; Flock House Station in New Zealand, established by the Sheepowners' Fund for the education of the sons of British Seamen and the Salvation Army training farm at Putaruru in New Zealand. In Canada a system was established by which British boys were admitted to the Provincial Agricultural Colleges, where they either took the ordinary course or underwent special training during the winter, followed by summer employment with selected farmers.

However, facilities for special training both at home and in the Dominions, were limited both by the heavy expense involved, and by the smallness of the accommodation available. The majority of young settlers had to be placed directly in employment chosen for them by the societies under whose care they emigrated. With due care in selection, placement and supervision, this last method proved as efficient as any. In order to ensure thorough supervision, New Zealand and several of the Australian States instituted in 1923 systems of apprenticeships under Government control. Canada continued her policy of supervising the activities of juvenile migration societies and granted them increased financial assistance. All these systems will be examined more closely in the chapters dealing with the Dominions.

Collective nomination, widely extended in 1923<sup>1</sup>, wrought a great improvement in the placement and supervision of both adult and juvenile migration clearing-house, where overseas applications for

- I. Largely due to the efforts of Major C.W. Bayin, Migration Secretary of the Y.M.C.A., who visited Canada, Australia and New Zealand in 1922 and 1923, interesting societies in this system of Oversea Settlement.

and juvenile settlers. Previously, State-assisted migration had been conducted mainly under two systems, requisition and individual nomination. Under the former, the Dominion Government estimated the numbers and classes of immigrants required and requisitioned for them through the migration representative in Great Britain. They were selected and despatched at assisted passage rates, and on arrival overseas were placed in employment by the immigration authorities. This class of migrant is often referred to as "selected".

Under the second system, individuals in the Dominions, through the Government Immigration Department might nominate for migration relatives or friends in Great Britain. If they passed the required tests, the nominees were granted assisted passages, and their nominators assumed the responsibility of placing them in satisfactory employment, or of maintaining them until so placed.

The aim in collective nomination was to extend this privilege to voluntary societies, and to allow them to nominate not only individuals but groups, not necessarily by name, but by the numbers and classes of settlers they considered they were able to place in employment. It can be understood that the system was specially applicable to Empire-wide societies, like the Churches, the Y.M.C.A. and the Boy Scouts Association. Branches in the Dominions would have first-hand knowledge of local opportunities for settlers; branches at home would be in touch with deserving or needy people likely to profit by migration. By means of a central organization, a kind of migration clearing-house, where oversea applications for immigrants could be fitted to the home applications from would-be settlers, the placing of migrants in suitable employment overseas

would be made more simple and more likely to result happily for all concerned. The influence on Empire settlement of such organizations as the Church of England Council of Empire Settlement, the Catholic Emigration Association, the Migration Departments of the Salvation Army, the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. can hardly be over-estimated.

Not only in<sup>s</sup> placement facilitated, but after-care is likewise made easier. The migrant retains his connection with the society under whose auspices he migrates, he finds himself immediately among friends, his welfare guarded by a special committee; while the employer, being responsible to this local committee and not to some far-distant authority, is less likely to take advantage of the newcomer. The advantages of this system of collective nomination in juvenile migration can readily be understood. Parents were less reluctant to send their sons overseas when they knew that they would be received and taken care of by people of like mind to themselves. Consequently, from 1923 onwards we find further improvement in the standard of juvenile migration. Not only charitable institutions, but the schools of Great Britain, public, secondary and elementary, contributed of their best to the movement.

The Boy Scouts Association evolved a very efficient system under which boys were sent out in parties under a scout-master, met by local representatives at the port of arrival, and entertained in the homes of brother-scouts for a few days before going to their employment. They then either joined the local scouts, or if too far away to attend, were entered on the roll of the nearest troop, which looked after the interests of the newcomers. Every year since 1922 about one thousand scouts have been enabled in this way

to settle in Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

Many other organizations also commenced to draw young settlers from every strata of society. The same standards of physical, mental and moral fitness were required of all, the same measure of protection and supervision was accorded to all in the Dominions, and juvenile migration developed into one of the most successful forms of Empire Settlement. The following voluntary societies, with headquarters in the United Kingdom, now co-operate closely with the Oversea Settlement Department in assisting juvenile migrants:-

- Salvation Army:**  
Provides farm training, conducts parties and arranges all matters pertaining to settlement in all Dominions.
- Big Brother Movement:**  
Arranges for the settlement and after-care of boys until they reach the age of twenty one, in Victoria, New South Wales and South Australia.
- Young Men's Christian Association:**  
Advises intending migrants, conducts parties and arranges settlement and after-care in all Dominions.
- Boy Scouts Association:**  
Gives advice and help, conducts parties and arranges with its branches in all Dominions for placement and supervision.
- Young Women's Christian Association:**  
Advises and arranges settlement and after-care of girls and women in all Dominions.
- Catholic Emigration Association:**  
Arranges for the settlement of boys and girls in Canada.
- General Settlers Association:**  
Arranges for the training and establishment on the land of Public School boys in South Africa and Rhodesia.
- Church of England Council of Empire Settlement:**  
Arranges for the settlement of all classes of migrants through the Churches in all Dominions.
- Church Army:**  
Provides farm training and arranges for the settlement of boys in all Dominions.
- British Immigration and Colonization Association:**  
Arranges for the nomination, settlement and after-care of juvenile settlers in Canada.
- Robert Boys' Training Farms:**  
Trains boys at home and in Canada, and arranges for their settlement.
- Dreadnought Trust:**  
Arranges for the training of boys in New South Wales, and for their settlement.

settlement and supervision.

Girls Friendly Society:

Arranges for the settlement of girls through branches and hostels in all Dominions.

New Zealand Sheep-owners' Fund:

Trains the sons and daughters of British Seamen in New Zealand, and supervises them until they come of age.

Public Schools' Employment Bureau:

Advises public and secondary school boys, and has correspondents in all Dominions.

Salvation Army:

Provides farm training, conducts parties and arranges all matters pertaining to settlement in all Dominions.

Young Men's Christian Association:

Advises intending migrants, conducts parties and arranges settlement and after-care in all Dominions.

Young Women's Christian Association:

Advises and arranges settlement and after-care of girls and women in all Dominions.

1820 Memorial Settlers Association:

Arranges for the training and establishment on the land of Public School boys in South Africa and Rhodesia.

Church Army:

Provides farm training and arranges for the settlement of boys in all Dominions.

Cossar Boys' Training Farms:

Trains boys at home and in Canada, and arranges for their settlement.



- Child Emigration Society: Educates boys and girls in Western Australia, and settles them on the land.
- Dr. Barnardo's Homes: The work of these societies is more
- Mr Fegan's Homes: fully dealt with
- Orphan Homes of Scotland: in the chapters
- Church of England Waifs and Strays Society: dealing with Can-
- National Children's Home and Orphanage, etc. ) ada.
- Newcastle-on-Tyne Migration Committee: Arranges training
- Liverpool Corporation Migration Committee: for boys, and
- Welsh Council of Empire Settlement: settlement in all
- Hull Migration Committee: Dominions.
- Bristol Migration Committee:

The last five municipal organizations have made one of the most important of recent contributions to the problem of juvenile migration and unemployment. In 1927 an experiment at Newcastle-on-Tyne showed the value of municipal effort in encouraging oversea settlement. Owing to the severe depression of trade in Northumberland and Durham a large percentage of boys, on leaving school, failed to find work, or drifted into casual labour. Many were anxious to migrate but were prevented, some by sheer poverty, some by poor physique due to lack of good food and exercise, others by the reluctance of parents, and doubt as to their suitability for farm life.

Colonel H.C.H. Hudson, afterwards Director of Voluntary

1. His death early in 1922 was a great loss not only to the organization of Empire Settlement generally.  
 2. Notes for the Information and Guidance of Local Migration Committees. O.S.D. Issued by the Oversea Settlement Department, Dominions Office, pp.18, 19.

## I.

Organization at the Oversea Settlement Office, conceived the idea of getting local authorities to co-operate in establishing a hostel where boys could be tested, trained and equipped for farm work in the Dominions. He enlisted the support of a number of county and municipal bodies, such as the Northumberland and Durham County Councils, the Newcastle City Council, the Newcastle and Tynemouth Board of Guardians <sup>and</sup> the Trustees of the Northumberland Miners' Welfare Fund. Prominent citizens, local Rotary Clubs and many social organizations also contributed, while the Oversea Settlement Committee, under the Empire Settlement, provided half the cost of maintenance.

Boys live at the hostel. Each morning at seven they go to farms or stables in and around Newcastle, where they get instruction in general farm work, the care of stock, harnessing and driving. In the evenings they are instructed in harness and boot-repairing, carpentry, milking and in simple agricultural subjects. The open-air life, the regular habits of living, medical and dental attention combine to work a wonderful improvement in the physical condition of all the trainees. After three months training they go overseas under the care of an approved migration society.

The success of this experiment led to the establishment of a number of other municipal training centres in areas where juvenile unemployment was a serious problem. At the beginning of 1929 the following centres were operating:

## 2.

1. His death early in 1929 was a great loss, not only to the organization he had created in Newcastle, but also to the cause of Empire Settlement generally.
2. Notes for the Information and Guidance of Local Migration Committees, O.S.D. Issued by the Oversea Settlement Department, Dominions Office, pp.18, 19.

### Training Centres Under Municipal Migration Committees (1929)

Centre	Annual Capacity.
Newcastle-on-Tyne, Migration Committee	200 boys.
Liverpool, Corporation Migration Committee	180 "
Hull, Migration Committee	200 "
Cardiff, Welsh Council of Empire Settlement	180 "
Bristol, Migration Committee	160 "
Glasgow, Parish Council	150 "
Greenock, Parish Council	100 "

## I.

In the meantime, as the following table shows, facilities for training under voluntary societies had also increased.

### Training Centres Under Voluntary Migration Societies, (1929)

Centre	Annual Capacity.
Hadleigh, Salvation Army	1,000
Hempstead, Church Army	200
Goudhurst, Mr Fegan's Homes	40
Liverpool, Dr. Barnardo's Homes	150
Staffordshire, Church of England Waifs and Strays Society	60
Craigielinn, Dr. Cossar	200

Thus, migration training centres were able to test and partially train some three thousand boys annually for life overseas.

The annual numbers of juveniles assisted under the Empire Settlement Act to settle in the Dominions is shown in the following table:

2. The following is a brief outline of the course at Claydon.

1. Ibid, p.19.
2. Supplied by the Oversea Settlement Department, Dominions Office.

Numbers of Unaccompanied Juveniles between the ages of 12 to 18 years, inclusive, who have been assisted to migrate under the auspices of the Empire Settlement Act up to Dec. 1927.

Year	<u>Australia</u>		<u>Canada</u>		<u>New Zealand</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1922	1088	66	-	-	6	5	1094	71
1923	3800	272	878	133	112	87	4790	492
1924	976	236	1602	276	496	129	3074	641
1925	1927	238	1419	160	635	144	3981	542
1926	3215	547	1654	99	972	256	5841	902
1927	2972	627	2259	84	484	174	5715	885
Totals	13978.	1986	7812	752	2705	795	24495	3533

The rapid growth of training facilities for older candidates for migration is interesting as showing the increasing importance of preliminary training for oversea settlement. At the end of 1925 the Ministry of Labour, which since the war had trained many men and women for home employment, extended its work in order to encourage oversea settlement. Agricultural training centres at Claydon in Suffolk and Brandon in Norfolk for young unemployed men between the ages of nineteen and thirty five were opened. The following is a brief outline of the course at Claydon.

I. Information supplied by the Manager.

## Section I.

### General Operations. Eighteen Days.

- (a) Practical tree-felling, use of cross-cut saw, axe, wedges, etc.
- (b) Cleaning land for cultivation, use of spade, mattock, bill-hook, scythe.

This is the testing part of the course, which with its hard manual, tests the trainees' will to work, and eliminates those who are temperamentally or physically unfit for agricultural work.

## Section 2.

### Care of Stock. Eighteen Days.

- (a) Erection of wire-fencing, gate-hanging, construction of rough shelters, practice in milking on dummy udders, practice in harnessing on dummy horses.

The trainees have constructed from timber grown on the farm cow-bails and implement sheds, etc., such as may be seen on any Canadian or Australian back-block farm. The dummy animals referred to are necessary to prevent the deterioration of farm stock at the hands of inexperienced men. The wooden horses, hewn in life-like form to fit the various sets of harness, are also made on the farm.

- (b) Milking, feeding and care of cows, butter-making, feeding and care of pigs.

## Section 3.

### Ploughing, etc. Eighteen Days.

- (a) Riding, driving, harnessing, stable-work; feeding, watering and grooming of horses.

(b) Harnessing; ploughing with walking and riding ploughs, harrowing and drilling; the use and care of farm machinery.

Instructors are from the Dominions, and all farm implements are of the type in most common use overseas.

In addition, all trainees are required to attend evening classes in such subjects as English, practical farm arithmetic, elementary agriculture.

Unemployment benefit is not paid during the course, but each man receives free board and lodging, an allowance of five shillings a week, and such working clothes as he may need.

It was soon found necessary to increase the accommodation at Claydon and Brandon, and also to establish a number of other centres. In 1929, the Ministry of Labour was able to train some seven thousand men at the following centres:-

Centre	Annual Capacity.
Brandon, Norfolk	3,400 men
Claydon, Suffolk,	1,000 "
Carstairs, Lanarkshire,	480 "
Testing centres on Forestry Commission Land in various countries,	1,200 "

The numbers of men who have passed through the training centres up to the end of December 1928 are as follow:

1. Notes for the Information and Guidance of Local Migration Committees, O.S.D. 23, issued by the Oversea Settlement Department, Dominions Office, p.18.
2. Report of the Ministry of Labour 1928, Cmd.3333, p.35 et seq.

laundry was provided, followed by Claydon training of Brandon.

Number of men passed through centre	1791	2077
Dismissals and withdrawals during training	310	404
Completed training	1500	1701
Proceeded overseas	1481	1673

three hundred have thus been enabled to go overseas. They are re-

Only about twenty of the 3154 men who have gone overseas after training have returned home. Investigations carried out in Canada in 1929 indicated that 78 per cent of the men were making good on the land; the remaining 22 per cent had either left the farms on which they were placed or their success in farm life was doubtful.

The Ministry of Labour of Northern Ireland have established a farm at Richhill, County Armagh, to train 350 men annually. There are also a number of centres under voluntary control, e.g. that under the Church of Scotland at Cornton Vale near Stirling, for 140 men, and Brogborough Park in Bedfordshire, under the Hudson's Bay company for 250 men.

Nothing has yet been said of the training of girls and women for migration. The importance of this branch of Empire Settlement will be more fully discussed in a later chapter. Here the few attempts already made must be noted.

I.

The British and Australian Governments in 1927 established a training centre at Market Harborough for women from eighteen to thirty five years of age, who were willing to take up domestic work overseas. A free course of instruction in cookery, housework and

I. The Australian Government withdrew its support early in 1930; the centre now trains domestic workers for all Dominions.

laundry was provided, followed by the granting of free travel to Australia and the guarantee of employment. This offer attracted a remarkably fine type of migrant, many of whom in the ordinary course of events would never have thought of undertaking domestic service, either at home or abroad. In the first two years some three hundred have thus been enabled to go overseas. They are required to remain in domestic service for one year. Many then pass to other occupations, or marry and settle in homes of their own.

Voluntary societies soon followed this lead, domestic training centres being opened at New castle and Liverpool under the local migration committees, and at Cardiff under the Church Army.

The system adopted by the Scottish Council on Women's Trade deserves special notice. This organization takes city girls who are either unemployed or in unsuitable employment, and places them for a six months' course of training in carefully selected farm homes or in country manses. All expenses connected with their migration are then paid from a fund given by Sir Leybourne Davidson in aid of oversea settlement. These girls are, by their training, specially fitted for farm-household work, and it is in this sphere that their services are most urgently needed in the Dominions.

12	27	10	11	12
13	28	11	12	13
14	29	12	13	14
15	30	13	14	15
16	31	14	15	16
17	32	15	16	17
18	33	16	17	18
19	34	17	18	19
20	35	18	19	20
21	36	19	20	21
22	37	20	21	22
23	38	21	22	23
24	39	22	23	24
25	40	23	24	25
26	41	24	25	26
27	42	25	26	27
28	43	26	27	28
29	44	27	28	29
30	45	28	29	30
31	46	29	30	31
32	47	30	31	32
33	48	31	32	33
34	49	32	33	34
35	50	33	34	35
36	51	34	35	36
37	52	35	36	37
38	53	36	37	38
39	54	37	38	39
40	55	38	39	40
41	56	39	40	41
42	57	40	41	42
43	58	41	42	43
44	59	42	43	44
45	60	43	44	45
46	61	44	45	46
47	62	45	46	47
48	63	46	47	48
49	64	47	48	49
50	65	48	49	50
51	66	49	50	51
52	67	50	51	52
53	68	51	52	53
54	69	52	53	54
55	70	53	54	55
56	71	54	55	56
57	72	55	56	57
58	73	56	57	58
59	74	57	58	59
60	75	58	59	60
61	76	59	60	61
62	77	60	61	62
63	78	61	62	63
64	79	62	63	64
65	80	63	64	65
66	81	64	65	66
67	82	65	66	67
68	83	66	67	68
69	84	67	68	69
70	85	68	69	70
71	86	69	70	71
72	87	70	71	72
73	88	71	72	73
74	89	72	73	74
75	90	73	74	75
76	91	74	75	76
77	92	75	76	77
78	93	76	77	78
79	94	77	78	79
80	95	78	79	80
81	96	79	80	81
82	97	80	81	82
83	98	81	82	83
84	99	82	83	84
85	100	83	84	85



The decrease in NOTE I.

Emigration From Home Office Schools.

With the constantly improving standards in juvenile migration in the decade following the war, there has been a decrease in the number of boys and girls going overseas directly from reformatories and industrial schools. Each application for assistance is considered on its merits by the authorities of the Dominion concerned, and migration, if allowed, takes place under the aegis of a recognized society. The following table shows the numbers sent overseas annually from both types of schools.

Disposals by Emigration from Home Office Schools.

YEAR	Reformatories			Industrial Schools.			TOTAL
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	
1919	4		4	6	1	7	11
1920	9		9	42	7	49	58
1921	13	4	17	53	10	63	80
1922	6		6	64	9	73	79
1923	12		12	97	15	112	124
1924	5		5	64	20	84	89
1925	6		6	27	10	37	43
1926	7		7	39	4	43	50
1927	11		11	23		23	34
1928	5		5	18	3	21	26

I. From the third and Fourth Reports of the Children's Branch of the Home Office, supplemented by information supplied privately.

The decrease in emigration, once an important outlet for trainees of these schools, is not felt so seriously as might be expected, for the number of juveniles detained has decreased from 21,397 in 1919 to 8,232 in 1928, i.e. by over 60 per cent in ten years, and the problem of disposal has lessened correspondingly.

ferred, reminded Boards of Guardians of their powers with regard to emigration, especially of children, also of the conditions governing it, which have been dealt with in a previous chapter. Another circular of the 6th May, 1923, specially commended Dr. Barnardo's and Kingsley Fairbridge's work in Australia, and stressed the possibilities of the extension of rate-aided emigration of children which increased, though it did not attain its pre-war level. The following numbers have been assisted to emigrate annually since 1920:

Year	Numbers	Year	Numbers
1920	214	1925	193
1921	237	1926	147
1922	315	1927	156
1923	391	1928	137
1924	326		

The sudden decrease in 1929 was due to the decision of the Canadian Government to allow the immigration of children under fourteen

1. 30th July, 1920.

2. From the Reports of the Ministry of Health for these years. During the war years, 1916 to 1918 inclusive, 257 children in

NOTE 2.Emigration of Children and Juveniles under Boards of Guardians.

Early in 1920 the emigration of children under the Poor Law was resumed. A memorandum, issued by the Minister of Health,<sup>I.</sup> to whose department the administration of the Poor Law had been transferred, reminded Boards of Guardians of their powers with regard to emigration, especially of children, also of the conditions governing it, which have been dealt with in a previous chapter. Another circular of the 5th May, 1922, specially commended Dr. Barnardo's and Kingsley Fairbridge's work in Australia, and stressed the possibilities of the extension of rate-aided emigration of children which increased, though it did not attain its pre-war level.\* The following numbers have been assisted to emigrate annually since

1920:<sup>2.</sup>

Year	Numbers	Year	Numbers.
1920	214	1925	195
1921	237	1926	147
1922	315	1927	156
1923	391	1928	187
1924	326		

The sudden decrease in 1925 was due to the decision of the Canadian Government to allow the immigration of children under fourteen

1. 30th July, 1920.
2. From the Reports of the Ministry of Health for these years. During the war years, 1915 to 1919 inclusive, 257 children in all were assisted to emigrate.

years of age only in special circumstances, and then only at the cost of the Boards of Guardians.

In 1923, the Canadian Government had decided to make a free grant of forty dollars for each child entering Canada under the care of an approved society, and from the 1st January of that year the inspection fees paid by the Board of Guardians since 1898 were stopped. Inspection by the Juvenile Immigration Branch of the Canadian Department of Immigration and Colonization went on as before, and was continued until the boy or girl reached the age of eighteen. The following are the conditions that must now be fulfilled before emigration at the expense of the Poor Rates is sanctioned.

PROCEDURE in APPLICATIONS for SANCTION to EXPENDITURE  
on  
MIGRATION.

1. It has been arranged that in all cases where migration is considered desirable by Boards of Guardians, the Oversea Settlement Department should conduct the preliminary investigations and make a recommendation to the Minister of Health. It will be convenient if applications for sanction are sent in the first instance to the Oversea Settlement Department, Caxton House, Tothill Street, Westminster, S.W.1. The attention of Boards of Guardians is accordingly invited to the amended procedure laid down in the following paragraphs.

2. No person, whether an adult or child, can be migrated against his or her will, and in the case of an orphan or deserted child, the child's consent must be given either before the Justices in

1. Memorandum (Appendix I.). Circular concerning the migration of Poor Persons at the cost of the Poor Rates, to Boards of Guardians in England and Wales, March 1929.

Petty Sessions or before a Stipendiary Magistrate, and a certificate of the consent, signed by two of the Justices or by the Stipendiary Magistrate, must be forwarded to the Overseas Settlement Department.

3. Before recommending expenditure upon migration the Overseas Settlement Department will require to be satisfied -

- (a) that suitable arrangements are being made for the protection of the migrants (see paragraphs 4 and 5 as to the arrangements prescribed in the case of children migrated without their parents); and
- (b) that no objection to the migrants is raised by the representative in this country of the Dominion or Colony to which the migrants are to go.

4.-(a) The migration of Poor Law children without their parents has hitherto been practically confined to migration to Canada through recognized Child Migration Societies, and, for the protection of this class of migrant, it is necessary that the following documents, in addition to the consent referred to in paragraph (2) above, should accompany the Guardians' application, namely:-

- (i) a definite assurance that the persons to whom the care of the children is to be entrusted have a reasonable prospect of finding homes for the children in Canada, and will comply with the requirements of Canadian Provincial Immigration Acts, and that they have been informed of the religious creed of the child and have undertaken that, if a Protestant, the child shall be placed in a Protestant, and, if a Roman Catholic, in a Roman Catholic Home;

(ii) an undertaking that immediately after a child is placed out the Department of the Interior at Ottawa and the Guardians will be furnished with a report containing the name and age of the child and the name and full postal address<sup>I.</sup> of the person with whom the child is placed. A copy of the report received should be sent by the Guardians to the Oversea Settlement Department;

(iii) a further undertaking in the case of a girl above the age of 12 years that she will be visited twice yearly, and that one at least of these visits shall be made by a lady visitor;

(iv) a statement with respect to any child who is not an orphan or deserted, showing that the parents or surviving parent consent to the migration, or that the Guardians have assumed parental rights and powers under the Poor Law Act, 1927, and

(v) a written report, made after examination by one of the Guardians' Medical Officers or by the Medical Officer of the Institution in which the child resides, giving full particulars of the child's health and certifying that in his opinion the child is in all respects a suitable subject for migration to Canada.

(b) Each child before migrating must have been under instruction for at least six months -

(i) in a Poor Law school or institution; or

(ii) at a public elementary school at the cost of the Guardians;

or

(iii) in a school certified under the Poor Law (Certified Schools) Act, 1862.

I. The address, when a rural area is concerned, must specify the nearest Post Office, the lot, the concession, and the name of the township of residence.

(c) Yearly inspections of children sent to Canada are made, until they reach eighteen years of age, by the Immigration Officers of the Dominion Government. The reports of these officers will be communicated to the Oversea Settlement Department and transmitted to the Guardians as received.

5. In the case of the migration of a child without its parents to a Dominion in which provision has not been made for Government inspection of children placed in homes the instructions given in paragraph 4 should be observed as far as they are applicable.

6. Any applications for the recommendation of the Oversea Settlement Committee to expenditure on migration should be submitted in duplicate on the following forms:-

Form A. 59 for the migration of Poor Law children to Canada.

Form A. 54 for the migration of other Poor Persons.

Forms may be obtained from the Oversea Settlement Department.

7. An application for sanction to expenditure for migration should, if possible, be made not less than three weeks before the date proposed for the departure of the intending migrant".

Then follows a list of the recognized Child Migration Societies.

Canada was ready not only to resume her pre-war system of juvenile immigration, but also to expand it. Hitherto, only children who had been a charge on Boards of Guardians in the United Kingdom came under the direct supervision of the Canadian Government.

1. The Supervisor of British Juvenile Immigrants, the Provincial Immigration authorities and a number of the societies mentioned in this and succeeding chapters supplied the following information:-

CHAPTER VII.

CANADA: An OUTLINE of the SYSTEM of JUVENILE IMMIGRATION 1.

Government assistance and supervision extended to all juvenile immigrants, 1920 ---- The duties of the voluntary societies and of the Juvenile Immigration Branch of the Department of Immigration and Colonization ---- Arrangements for selection, reception, placement and supervision.

During the great war the shortage of adult labour had made it easy to place in employment at home many boys and girls who ordinarily have migrated to Canada; the numbers therefore dwindled from 1799 in 1914-1915 to 821 and 251 in the following two years, while in 1917 and 1918 the movement ceased altogether. But with the signing of the Armistice and the re-absorption of armies into civil life, there was once more a surplus of juvenile labour in Great Britain, and the old-established societies, whose early work in juvenile migration we have already noted, began once more to seek abroad an outlet for their protégés.

Canada was ready not only to resume her pre-war system of juvenile immigration, but also to extend it. Hitherto, only children who had been a charge on Boards of Guardians in the United Kingdom came under the direct supervision of the Canadian Government.

- I. The Supervisor of British Juvenile Immigrants, the Provincial Immigration authorities and a number of the societies mentioned in this and succeeding chapters supplied the following information.



Other inspections were made if required, but it was only for its care of this class that the Dominion Government was reimbursed by the Home authorities. In the few years preceding 1914 we have seen that the standard of juvenile migration was improving and beginning to include the best of British youth. One of the chief obstacles to obtaining more of the best was the anxiety of parent or guardian as to welfare arrangements overseas. It was for this reason that the Canadian Government decided to extend its supervision to all juveniles entering the Dominion. The following order was therefore made and approved by the Privy Council on 29th May, 1920. Both as a considered estimate of the past value of juvenile migration, and as a statement of the policy contemplated for its continuance, the order deserves careful notice. "The committee of the Privy Council have had before them a report dated May 20th, 1920, from the Minister of Immigration and Colonization, submitting that for many years the Department of Immigration and Colonization has encouraged a movement of juvenile immigrants from the United Kingdom to Canada, the net result of which has been of great value to the Dominion. This movement is undertaken by various philanthropic societies and organizations of the United Kingdom, which also maintain Receiving and Distributing Offices and Homes in various parts of Canada.

"The Minister further observes, as an indication of the extent to which this movement has grown, that during the past seventeen years the total immigration of this class has amounted approximately to thirty four thousand boys and girls. The children are transferred in parties from training centres in the United Kingdom to Canadian Receiving and Distributing Homes through which they are

placed in situations. The course of training prior to embarkation is intended to fit the boys and girls for farm work and domestic service. In very few cases are boys placed otherwise than in farm homes, the girls being placed either in farm homes or in the smaller centres of population.

"These juvenile immigrants belong (so far as concerns care and training in the United Kingdom) to two classes:-

- (a) Poor Law Children, who are a charge on the Local Government Board;
- (b) Children whose care and training and maintenance have been undertaken by philanthropic societies.

Both these classes are emigrated to Canada by the same societies, and during the past two decades the Government has carried on an annual inspection in their Canadian homes of children belonging to class (a), the cost of such annual inspection being borne very largely by the Imperial Government. The societies are required to maintain receiving and distributing homes in Canada, and also to provide for a regular inspection of their wards. Recent enquiries indicate that, as a result of conditions largely growing out of the war, there are many thousands of most desirable boys and girls in the United Kingdom who might be secured for Canada, and who migration would be of great advantage to this country.

"The Minister, after careful consideration of the history of this movement and the results of federal inspection of juvenile immigrants from the date of their arrival in Canada until they attain the age of eighteen years, or such further period as may be considered necessary, observes that only by maintaining oversight and inspection can the Federal Government (a) offer that protection which

is due these orphan children, (b) detect those who, within the first few years after arrival, show their unfitness to become permanent residents of Canada, and (c) assure philanthropic societies and individuals in the United Kingdom interested in this movement, that every reasonable safeguard is taken to insure the success of those for whose immigration to Canada they contribute so generously.

"The Minister further observes that the cost to philanthropic societies for the maintenance of offices and homes has entailed greatly enlarged expenditure, which burden is further increased by recent advances in transportation. For a number of years a bonus of two dollars per capita has been paid to these homes on all approved juvenile immigrants. The Minister is of opinion that the time has arrived when in the interests of the movement some further assistance should be granted to these homes and agencies.

"The Minister therefore recommends that the bonus be discontinued and a grant be made for the present fiscal year to such homes or agencies as bring to Canada within the fiscal year one hundred or more juvenile immigrants (no grant to be made to homes or agencies which bring to Canada less than one hundred juvenile immigrants); the grant to be one thousand dollars on the basis of the first hundred juvenile immigrants, and an additional grant of five hundred dollars for each additional hundred or fraction thereof exceeding fifty; these sums to be paid out of the vote for immigration contingencies".

The order is important, too, as marking a further advance in

the status of the juvenile migrant. It merged the migration of state-children into the main stream of young people entering the Dominion. Despite the kindly feeling of the majority of people to the "home" child, an indefinable taint, relic of less charitable days, clung to the name. Government inspection, though wisely and kindly carried out, had often reminded the child of this, and led him to attempt to evade supervision, but under the new regulation there was to be no discrimination between the "home" boy or girl and the boy or girl coming with the consent of his parents; the same system to cover both; the same measure of protection was to be the right of both, rather <sup>than</sup> an irksome reminder to one of early and unmerited misfortune.

The system must now be examined more closely. In essentials it has changed but little since its inception. Only societies approved by the Government are permitted to engage in the work; each is required to maintain a receiving home in Canada, and must be prepared to receive back any child who through sickness or unsuitable placement temporarily needs special care. The homes provided by employers and the working conditions of the children must conform to certain standards; <sup>2.</sup> each society employs a staff of inspectors who, by personal visits, see that these standards are maintained. In a word, the societies have to act as parents and provide not only employment but suitable homes for all children immigrating under their auspices.

Turning now to the part of the Government in supervision, we

1. See list of approved societies, p. 15<sup>2</sup>.
2. See specimen of application form, p. 164.

find that all the arrangements just outlined are subject to inspection by the Superintendent of Juvenile immigration, an officer of the Department of Immigration and Colonization. Through his staff of inspectors he carries out an annual inspection of each child, as far as possible in his home or at his work. He has power to remove any child who, because of unfavourable conditions or unsuitable work, is considered to be badly placed. There is thus a double line of defence in the child's interest, the responsible society and the Government Department. The latter, besides protecting the child, has the important duty of protecting the Canadian public by keeping out or sending back to their country of origin, undesirable immigrants.

Working under these regulations, the recognized societies renewed their activities as soon after the war as conditions became favourable. Dr. Barnardo's Homes, early in the year 1920, led the way with a party of 155 children; in the following year ten societies were acting, and the total number of young migrants was 1426. In view of the allegations of careless selection, placement and supervision of juvenile migrants that came to be made some years later in Canada, we shall trace each part of the system in some detail. As before the war, parties were selected in Great Britain at the homes of the various societies. Each child was examined by the home medical officer, and particulars of those who were considered suitable were sent to the Superintendent of Emigration for Canada in London. His report for the year 1919-20 gives some indication of the precautions taken at that time to ensure a high standard of physical and mental fitness. He says, "We shall continue to

exercise every reasonable precaution in the way of inspection of such children and of their family records, which may disclose conditions that are latent as well as patent. In this way it is hoped that the stream of splendid young children may be continued in the future in larger numbers, to the satisfaction of all concerned and to the welfare of the children themselves." <sup>I.</sup> And in the report of the following year: "Special care is taken to examine all these children before they leave the home institution here for the ship's side, and rejections are made at such preliminary inspection. They are further inspected before embarkation, and sometimes rejections take place there also. We have not hitherto had the assistance of a medical practitioner in these inspections to apply his skill and knowledge, but our experienced officers, men and women, seem to have been able to apply more than usual sagacity in these inspections, seeing that none were rejected on arrival in Canada". It was not until 1925 that the Canadian authorities made provision for the medical inspection of all intending migrants in Great Britain. Previously the port of landing in Canada was the only place where rejection or acceptance could be finally decided.

A conductor, usually <sup>an officer</sup> of the society, travels in charge of each party. Before the voyage ends arrangements have to be made for reception and distribution by the Canadian representative who, from the moment of landing, assumes the responsibility of guardianship. <sup>2.</sup>

1. Report of Department of Immigration and Colonization, 1919-20, P. 44
2. Though cases of dispute are rare, there is some doubt as to the legality of this guardianship. It would seem to depend on whether the society has been constituted the legal guardian of the child before his departure from England. See Publication No. 39 of the Canadian Council on Child Welfare, pp. 29, 35 and 38.

Full particulars of each migrant have preceded the party, and every effort is made to effect suitable placement as soon as possible after arrival. Apart from the question of the expense of maintenance, prolonging community life for more than a few days makes the change to the comparative solitude of the country more keenly felt. Hence, the majority of the societies take only two or perhaps three days for the distributing process; one society even carries it out direct from the boat and thus saves the expense of extensive accommodation, an arrangement that is practicable and without objection if the numbers dealt with are small. However, the few days spent at the receiving home are valuable in introducing the children to those under whose care they will be, and in revealing personal characteristics, knowledge of which will be useful in placement and in problems that may arise later. The applications for the services of these children have always far exceeded the supply. These are the figures for the first five years after the war<sup>I</sup>.

YEAR	Number of Juvenile Immigrants	Number of Applications Received.
1919-20	156	10,235
1920-21	1,426	19,841
1921-22	1,211	15,371
1922-23	1,184	17,005
1923-24	2,080	22,193

I. Quoted from the Reports of the Supervisor of Juvenile immigration of the various years.

That is, for 6056 children 8464<sup>1</sup><sub>5</sub> applications were made. Even allowing for unsuitable applicants, as well as for applications made to more than one society and perhaps repeated from year to year, it will be seen that there is no difficulty in finding homes: the difficulty comes in choosing them. Personal inspection is the best method of all, but in a country of great distances this is not always possible. Usually an application form is sent, with the request for complete information as to the home and circumstances of the applicant. Besides the necessary enquiries as to situation, type of farm, age of child required and wages, such questions as the following are asked: Are there any other children in the family? Will the child have a room to himself? Will he be treated as a member of the family? Is there any other hired labour on the farm? What is the religious denomination of the employer, and will opportunities for attendance at Church or Sunday School be given? References are also sought from neighbours or people of standing in the locality, such as clergymen, doctors or schoolmasters, the societies, in effect, trying to find out whether such people, if required to place one of their own children in the applicant's home would do so with an easy mind. The home is the supreme consideration; for a good home and a considerate employer are worth more than high initial wages.

To the most suitable homes the superintendent of the society now tries to fit the most suitable children, and for this their histories, characteristics and qualifications must be known. Much

1. It is estimated by some societies that only a quarter of the homes applying for children are suitable.



of the success of juvenile immigration depends on the careful choice of home and employment. To place a bright, sociable boy with an old childless couple, a small boy where heavy work is required, or a quick tempered girl with an exacting mistress is to risk immediate failure, yet there are probably physiques and temperaments that would fit into each of these situations. When this sorting process has been finished, the prospective employer is furnished with particulars of his young employee, notified where he may be met and when he will arrive. If young, the child is accompanied; if old enough to travel alone, he is put on board the train, carrying a letter of identification to his employer, who notifies the receiving home immediately on arrival.

In the years previous to 1924, when children of all ages were admitted to Canada under the care of recognized societies, several systems were in operation for the care and maintenance of these children until they came of age. Those under fourteen were dealt with in one of three ways. They might be legally adopted. Though many interesting and successful cases could be quoted, this had become comparatively rare. Adoption could too easily become a cloak for obtaining cheap labour, which might continue after the age of fourteen was reached, the children growing into drudges, without either the rights of independent workers or the privileges of members of the family. The societies themselves preferred either of the following two methods of boarding-out, as better safeguarding the child's interest and easier to work under.

Children under twelve years of age were usually boarded out for cash payment. For boys from five to eleven the payment made by

Dr. Barnardo's Homes was six and a half dollars per month, for girls from eight to eleven, six dollars, these amounts covering board, lodging, washing, school books, etc. This method was practised principally by Dr. Barnardo's Homes, some two hundred and fifty of their children being so maintained in 1924.<sup>2.</sup> For children between twelve and fourteen years of age no payment, as a rule, was given, but in return for board, lodging and clothing they were expected to do light duties about the home or farm. It will be seen that in both these boarding-out systems careful inspection and supervision was necessary to ensure that undue advantage was not taken of the child. There was special danger of this in country districts where school attendance was not compulsory. In 1924, the supervisor of juvenile immigration had in his care one thousand and forty three children of school age,<sup>3.</sup> practically all of them under boarding-out arrangements.

Boy and girl immigrants over fourteen years of age who, in the same year numbered one thousand eight hundred and eighty one,<sup>2.</sup> were and still are, placed in employment under an apprenticeship system. Indentures guaranteeing continuity of employment are specially necessary in Canada, where severe winters practically suspend farm work and cause seasonal unemployment. Boys are therefore apprenticed for a period of one year at least. The agreement, however, is not entered into until they have been at least a fortnight in their employment. The time usually allowed is a month, during

1. Information supplied by the Manager of Dr. Barnardo's Homes in Canada.
2. Report of the British Oversea Settlement Delegation to Canada, 1924, Cmd. 2285, p.4.
3. Report of the Department of Immigration and Colonization, 1923-24, p.54.

which an inspection is arranged by the responsible society and, if possible, by Government inspector. If conditions are found to be satisfactory and agreement is drawn up, signed by the superintendent of the society and forwarded to the employer for his signature. <sup>I.</sup> considered to be unsatisfactory. The effective supervision of

the society. Wages for beginners vary from ten to fifteen dollars per month. As board and lodging are included most of this can be saved. The system generally adopted is to allow about a quarter of the wage as pocket money, the remainder being paid to trustees and allowed to accumulate at the ordinary Savings Bank rate of interest until the boy or girl reaches the age of eighteen years. In most cases the employer makes the necessary purchases for the replacement of clothing and other necessaries, either deducting these amounts from the part of the wages paid directly to the boy, or rendering the accounts to the Receiving Home, where payment is made and accounts adjusted accordingly. Any loans which have been incurred in respect of passage money or outfit are gradually paid back out of wages.

Boys are visited by representatives of the society at least once a year, girls at least twice, and of course, on the slightest hint of trouble an inspector must personally investigate. The Government inspector's visit is annual. Even this entails strenuous work for the usual staff of four men and two women, the number of juveniles under supervision having increased from four hundred and forty eight in 1920 to seven thousand nine hundred and eight in 1928. Officers of other Government departments are occasionally

I. See specimen, page 190

able to assist in the inspection of children in remote districts. A full report on the child and on the conditions under which he is living is rendered to the Department of Juvenile Immigration, and it is in the power of the supervisor to order removal if conditions are considered to be unsatisfactory. The effective supervision of the societies seldom renders this necessary.

Until the **age** of eighteen years is reached, boys and girls are thus cared for by the societies and by the Government Department. Even beyond this age the societies endeavour to exercise guidance, but as neither they nor the immigration authorities **continue** to have any legal hold over them, the majority prefer to fend for themselves.

In 1923, by an agreement between the Imperial and Canadian Governments, a free grant of eighty dollars was made in respect of each juvenile immigrant entering Canada under the care of an approved society. This increase in the expenditure of public money, together with allegations of careless selection and supervision, caused a more strict scrutiny of the system. In spite of all the safeguards just outlined, some unfortunate placements had gone unnoticed. In the autumn of 1923 a child immigrant in Saskatchewan died in circumstances that pointed to neglect if not to cruelty, and this tragedy was followed by two suicides in other parts of the Dominion, happenings which fixed public attention on both sides of the Atlantic, and precipitated the public and private enquiries which are touched upon below.

In Canada the Social Service Council and the Council on Child Welfare instituted, or rather, renewed investigations. Some remarkable statistics were gathered in Toronto, which, as capital of

CHAPTER VIII.

CANADA: INCREASED GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE and CLOSER

SUPERVISION.

Increase in the assistance granted by the Home and Dominion Governments in 1923 — Public demand for greater care in the selection and supervision of juvenile immigrants — Investigations by Canadian Social Welfare Agencies and by the British Oversea Settlement Delegation in 1924 — Raising of the age of entry to fourteen years — Provincial legislation — Recently established immigration agencies — The Child Welfare Council enquiry, 1927-1928.

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In Canada the Social Service Council and the Council on Child Welfare instituted, or rather, renewed investigations. Some remarkable statistics were gathered in Toronto, which, as capital of

the Province that had received most juvenile migrants, was the centre to which the undesirable elements gravitated. Figures from the Toronto General Hospital were quoted as showing that, between 1917 and 1924, one hundred and twenty five girls brought to Canada as children by one agency had come under the care of the hospital. It was alleged that seventy seven were mentally defective, five showed signs of dementia praecox, six were normal, the remaining thirty seven cases were undiagnosed. Even more terrible charges regarding the morality and physical health of this group followed. These figures were soon challenged; the agency whose wards the groups were supposed to have been was unable to identify forty six of them, and the British Delegation, which soon afterwards investigated the whole question, not only found no basis in fact for such allegations, but even recommended that the number of girl-migrants be increased. However, the public were uneasy; the matter was discussed in the Federal Parliament, and controversy regarding the merits and demerits of juvenile migration, as then conducted, became widespread.

At the same time there was friction between the Federal Juvenile Immigration Department and the Provincial Child Welfare authorities. The British North America Act lays the responsibility for child welfare on the Provinces. It was alleged that many children brought in by the Federal Department were likely to become a burden

1. Figures quoted from Canadian Council on Child Welfare Publication, No. 15, p.7.
2. Report of British Oversea Settlement Delegation to Canada, 1924, Cmd. 2285, pp.7 and 20.
3. House of Commons, 26th April, 1924.

on the Provinces, that they were sometimes placed in homes that the Provincial authorities would not approve for their own wards, and that the Provinces already had dependent children of their own who had a better claim to agricultural and domestic employment than im-

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migrants. The following figures were quoted by the Council on Child Welfare in support of the claims of the local dependent child

PROVINCE	Number of dependent children	Adequate and satisfactory placements possible per annum as estimated by the Provincial authorities.
Alberta	966	200
British Columbia	723	850
Manitoba	1315	250
Ontario	2533	1000
Quebec	15667	2
Saskatchewan	353	150

The Winnipeg Conference of the Canadian Council on Child Welfare held in September 1923 discussed the question of Federal and Provincial activities in child migration, and passed the following resolutions:

1. Some Angles of Discussion in the Juvenile Immigration Problem, Published by the Canadian Council on Child Welfare, 1924, p.8.
2. Due to the large families in the Province and the presence of 15,667 dependent children in 79 institutions, Quebec cannot place her own dependent children, and is opposed to juvenile immigration on a large scale.

"That a committee be appointed by this conference to take up with the Federal Government and the Provincial authorities the question of some procedure whereby the Department of Neglected Children of the various Provinces shall be notified as to the names, addresses and religions of all immigrant children placed in these Provinces, and that steps be taken immediately to bring about such co-operation between the Federal and Provincial authorities as may ensure adequate supervision of these children.

"That the Provincial Government be asked to pass legislation providing that immigrant children be properly inspected, homes properly selected, and children cared for the same as is the practice with children dealt with within the Province, and

"That the societies and institutions placing children from outside the Province be licensed, and every placement be authorized by the Provincial authorities".

Following this agitation, the Ontario Government passed an act embodying most of the Council's recommendations. All the Provinces now exercise some control over juvenile immigration, either under special acts, or under general child welfare acts and

- I. An Act to regulate the Immigration into Ontario of Certain Classes of Children, 1897, had been repealed in 1912. Another Act for the Better Protection of Immigrant Children was passed in 1924, and this was incorporated in the Children's Protection Act, 1927, Chapter 78, sub-sections, 19, 30 and 31.



I. regulations, which accord to immigrants the same protection as to children born in the Province.

But it was the allegations of lack of care in selection and supervision, and the subsequent fall of the children into vice and misery, that caused the gravest disquiet. The Poor Law authorities and the philanthropic societies in Great Britain were reluctant to send out children under a system attended by such risks; while the Canadian public began to fear that they were receiving an undue proportion of children who were either mentally defective or, through heredity and early environment, specially prone to vice. It should be remembered that many of the complaints referred to migrants who were brought in as children before the war, e.g. the Toronto Hospital records already quoted referred to girls, the majority of whom, at the time of enquiry, were from eighteen to twenty one years of age. All except two had come from Great Britain prior to the war, the average age of entry, as far as it was possible to calculate, being eleven and a half years. It was admitted

that in the meantime the examination of incoming children had been made more searching, but there was still an insistent demand for

1. Manitoba - Child Welfare Act, Consolidated Amendments, 1924, Chapter 30, part 8.
- Alberta - An Act Respecting the Welfare of Children, 1925, Chapter 4, part 4.
- Nova Scotia - An Act Respecting Immigrant Children, 1926, Chapter 7.
- Prince Edward Island - An Act Relating to Immigrant Children, 1910, Chapter 16.
- New Brunswick - Immigrant Children's Act, 1905, retained in the Revised Statutes, 1927, Chapter 83.  
(Information supplied by the Executive Secretary of the Canadian Council on Child Welfare.)
2. "Canada's Child Migrants" Social Service Council Publication, pp. 4, 39.

greater stringency. During the year 1924, the matter was discussed and resolutions pressing for further action were passed by a number of social service agencies, including the National Council of Women, the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire, the Council for Social Service of the Church of England, and the Association of Child Welfare Officers. I. Such demands called for an impartial enquiry. Early in 1924, the Canadian Government invited the Oversea Settlement Department of His Majesty's Government to investigate the whole system of Child Migration and Settlement in Canada.<sup>2.</sup> A delegation was accordingly appointed, with Miss Margaret Bondfield as chairman; it arrived in Canada on 24th September and spent some six weeks<sup>3</sup> investigating the problem in every Province. Its Report, presented to Parliament on 1st November, 1924, was more favourable than the above adverse criticisms would lead one to expect. It contained a number of constructive suggestions, among which must be specially noted the recommendation with regard to age of entry; for it led to the exclusion of young orphan children who, for more than fifty years, had been the class of migrant which appealed most to the imagination of philanthropic workers on both sides of the Atlantic. The delegation, in discussing the question, says,<sup>4.</sup> "In the first place the comparative helplessness of the child makes this form of migration to most liable to abuse, there is the possibility years from 1st April 1925, fixed the age limit at fourteen years.

- The restriction is still in force and seems likely to remain. It
1. See Publication No. 14 of the Canadian Council on Child Welfare.
  2. The Oversea Settlement Department had in the same year been conducting an enquiry into the method of selecting children in Great Britain.
  3. Report of the British Oversea Settlement Delegation to Canada, 1924, Cmd. 2285.
  4. Ibid, pp. 12 and 13.

of the loss of certain educational advantages, there is the danger of overworking. The idea of those who apply for children is, no doubt, that they shall be useful workers, whether in the home or on the farm; as a matter of fact, many of the farmers with whom the younger children have been placed informed us that they would have preferred an older child. Thus the demand for older children seems to be greatly in excess of the supply. It seems to us that, recognizing that the children are sent to Canada for working purposes, the general principle to be adopted is that the children should not leave this country until they have arrived at working age. At the same time there should be no undue interval between the date at which a child finished school in the United Kingdom and the date of departure for Canada. The longer the interval in this case, the more difficult will be the process of adaptation". The following

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recommendation was accordingly made: "That except in the case of children accompanying their parents, Government assistance should be confined to children who have reached the school leaving age in the United Kingdom before sailing for Canada, and that the migration of such children should be definitely encouraged".

The Oversea Settlement Committee acted immediately in accordance with this finding, while the Dominion Immigration authorities concurred by passing a regulation which, for a period of three years from 1st April 1925, fixed the age limit at fourteen years. The restriction is still in force and seems likely to remain. It caused a serious curtailment in the activities of a number of

I. Ibid, p.20.

societies, especially in the emigration of children dependent on the State; the only oversea outlet for young institutional children now being the Fairbridge Farm School in Western Australia and Dr. Barnardo's Home in New South Wales. Owing to the increase in the number of juveniles over fourteen years of age entering Canada, the total annual number of young migrants was not greatly reduced.<sup>2.</sup>

With regard to the serious indictment of juvenile migration as contributing largely to delinquency and immorality in Canada, the delegation stated: "After carefully considering the statements we are of opinion that they are founded on data insufficient to justify any such general conclusion."<sup>3.</sup>

The other findings of the delegation are interesting as showing the importance attached to juvenile migration in the problem of Empire Settlement, and as indicating the trend to yet more careful selection and supervision. It was agreed that selection was a matter entirely in the hands of the Dominion Government, but a suggestion was made as to the advisability of strengthening the girls under supervision numbered 975 out of a total of both

1. As the following table of juvenile emigration from Boards of Guardians shows:-

1920	214	1925	195
1921	237	1926	147
1922	315	1927	156
1923	391	1928	187
1924	326		

From Reports of Ministry of Health for these years.

During 1922-23, the number of children under supervision in Canada fell into the following age groups:

Under 5	6
5 to 14 years	765
Over 14	1784

Report of Supervisor of Juvenile Immigration, 1922-23, p.20

2. See page 179.

3. Report of the British Oversea Settlement Delegation to Canada, 1924, Cmd. 2285, p.7.

of Immigration to enquiry of Canadian Council on Child Welfare concerning the recommendations of the British Delegation (C.C.C. Publication, No. 15)

psychological test. With regard to placing, it was recommended that prior inspection of the home should always be carried out, that the child should have a separate room, that the provision of suitable reading matter should be insisted upon and that the first visit of inspection should be made within one month after placement. Other suggestions were made for co-operation between the societies in the maintaining of Receiving Homes and in the work of inspection, for uniform rates of wages and systems of payment, and finally the Societies were urged to increase the proportion of girls in their quotas.

The Canadian authorities were in favour of practically all these conditions, and wherever the recommendations touched them directly, sought to advance along the lines laid down, the only exception being the migration of girls. The difficulties in the way of adequate supervision made the Government reluctant to encourage any increase in their number, which has decreased considerably. In 1923, girls under supervision numbered 975 out of a total of both sexes of 3613, i.e. 27 per cent. Since 1925, the percentage of girls arriving in Canada under the care of migration societies has fallen to 12 per cent.

An objection which is frequently raised, and which, perhaps, is the basis of most of the adverse criticism against the immigration of British children into Canada, is that the movement has been too long in the hands of British societies which, while fully cognisant of conditions at home, do not sufficiently realise the

I. Reply of Deputy Minister of Immigration to enquiry of Canadian Council on Child Welfare concerning the recommendations of the British Delegation? (C.C.C.W. Publication, No. 15)

present needs and ideals of Canada in immigration. Because of this lack of knowledge, criticism is apt to be construed as interference and resented as such by the societies. There is a conflict of ideals in this work which is bound to cause some friction. The welfare of the child is the main consideration of the emigration agency; is he likely to fare better overseas? The welfare of the country is the chief care of the Dominion critic; is the country likely to benefit by this type of immigration to a degree commensurate with the expense of the system? Looking back over the endeavours of sixty years, any observer must be astonished at the rarity of open conflict, and at the way in which the two ideals have been united in the juvenile immigration policy of Canada.

#### I.

Since the inception of the system, 87,699 children have been transferred from a state of dependence or destitution in the old country to a condition of independence, often of affluence, in the Dominion, and no one questions the resulting economic advantage of this migration to both countries. Recurring periods of criticism have not stemmed the flow, they have rather tended to improve its quality, and to better the system of control in Canada.

This tendency towards constant improvement may be observed following on the recent charges and counter-charges in connection with the movement. With the object of better fulfilling Canadian requirements and maintaining Canadian standards, two new types of juvenile migration agency have been brought into operation. The first, a society entirely under Canadian control is designed to meet the criticism directed against selection and welfare; the

The report entitled "Several Years After", Department of  
Child Welfare Publication No. 39 was issued in 1928.

second, a three-party scheme arranged between the Imperial, the Dominion and the Provincial Governments, gives full control of selection, placement and welfare to the Province, and overcomes the friction between Federal and Provincial authorities. Fuller details of these two types of agency are given in the following chapter.

Before considering separately the migration agencies at present operating in Canada, mention must be made of an investigation which the Canadian Council on Child Welfare carried out in 1927. This had its origin in the 1925 conference of that body, when it was recommended "that the Council should undertake a detailed study of a representative group of immigrant children for the purpose of obtaining a reliable body of data for guidance in the revision of Federal and Provincial laws relating to such children". The study was entrusted to Mrs MacGregor, a graduate of Toronto University, with training and experience in child-welfare that specially fitted her for the task.

It was proposed to make an analysis of the histories, before and after migration, of two groups of juvenile immigrants, one brought to Canada in 1910, the other in 1920, both groups to be selected at random, so as to represent a fair sample of the movement at each of these periods. The Department of Immigration and Colonization agreed to make available the files of four hundred children from the 1910 and 1920 quotas, one third were to be girls and the

- I. The report entitled "Several Years After", Canadian Council on Child Welfare Publication No. 39 was issued in 1928.

wards of the various agencies were to appear in each group in the following proportions, which was considered to represent the share of each in juvenile immigration to Canada:

Dr. Barnardo's Homes	33 per cent
Salvation Army	20 " "
Catholic Emigration Association	10 " "
Middlemore Homes	10 " "
National Children's Homes	7 " "
Quarrier's Homes	7 " "
Church of England Homes	7 " "
Mr Fegan's Home	6 " "

A searching enquiry into such a representative sample as this would prove very valuable, but for its success there must be available full knowledge of all the cases under review, and this condition is found to be impossible of fulfilment. In the first place, control by the Immigration Department ceases at the age of eighteen, and many juvenile migrants take this opportunity of disappearing from the ken of their guardians as well as from the supervision of the Government. For reasons that any one can well understand, connection with a charitable organization may be very irksome; it may be especially galling to an ambitious boy anxious to make his own way in the world. The superintendents of any of the old-established British <sup>M</sup>igration Societies can tell of many of their best boys who wish to remain unknown, and whose wish they respect by holding no official communication with them. Thus, knowledge is kept of only a small proportion after the age of eighteen is reached; and this is the testing time, in fact, the only time



The final report was issued early in 1933. While hardly full when success or failure can be gauged.

In the second place, the societies regard the early records of their wards as confidential, and are loth to divulge any facts concerning them, even for a confidential investigation. If one adds to these two difficulties the fact that the investigator in this particular case, though of undoubted capability and impartiality, was appointed by the critics of juvenile immigration, there will be little surprise that a number of the societies refused access to their records, and so further limited the available knowledge of the groups under review. Dr. Barnardo's Homes, the Salvation Army, the National Children's Home and Orphanage and Mr Fegan's Homes, whose children, it will be seen by the table given, made up two thirds of the total number of juvenile immigrants, refused to cooperate in the investigations.

I. At a meeting of Superintendents in Canada of British Juvenile Migration Societies, the following resolutions were unanimously passed:-

- (a) That the Migration Societies cannot recognize the authority of any voluntary organization whatsoever to "survey" the work of the Migration Societies, their wards, or ex-wards, the latter now men and women.
- (b) That they protest against the Immigration Department of the Federal Government giving out to the public or any representatives of any voluntary organization, information which they supplied to the Department in confidence, and which so far had always been treated by all parties as confidential.
- (c) That the Migration Societies have always been glad to cooperate with the Immigration Department in furtherance of the welfare of their wards, as properly authorized representatives of the Government, and have welcomed the Government inspection of their wards.
- (d) That if an investigation of the operations of the Migration Societies is felt to be necessary, they would welcome an official enquiry by a properly constituted Federal Parliament Commission.

(Quoted from "Several Years After", Canadian Council on Child Welfare Publication No. 39, p.59.)

The final report was issued early in 1925. While hardly full enough either to answer the criticisms that had been made, or to form a basis for estimating the success of juvenile immigration, it revealed some very interesting tendencies. It was found that there had been a decided improvement in every phase of the work in the ten years covered by the study, and with certain further improvement, greater control of the factors contributing to failures could be obtained and consequently a higher proportion of successful and happy settlements ensured. Perhaps the most urgently needed improvement was found to be in the selection of the juveniles. It was pointed out that the children entering Canada under the auspices of the various migration societies were commonly regarded as orphans. This was true only in a very small percentage of cases. Of the 1920 group of two hundred and thirteen children, only five were known to be full orphans, sixty one had lost one parent, while in one hundred and thirty six cases there was no record of parents. The immigration of children without adequate knowledge of their heredity and early environment involves considerable risk, and hardly justifies the expenditure of public money on their transference. The safeguards suggested were:-

- (1) That the work of interview and selection of juvenile immigrants be placed in charge of a Canadian official thoroughly familiar and sympathetic with life in Canada and Canadian conditions.
- (2) That no child be passed for Canada without:-
  - (a) A health certificate signed by a Canadian doctor on the Oversea Canadian Department of Health Staff.
  - (b) A favourable report on tuberculin, Wasserman and psychiatric tests.
  - (c) A complete social history of the child and his family background.

(3) That copies of these documents be filed in the Juvenile Immigration Branch of the Department of Immigration and Colonization.  
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These conditions, while excluding for a time a certain number of promising dependent children about whose antecedents little is known, would probably lead the societies to keep fuller records, and thus make selection and placement in the future more efficient.

With regard to the care of the juveniles in Canada, the report recommends closer co-operation between the Federal Immigration Department, the child welfare and immigration departments of the Provincial Governments, and the societies themselves. It also urges that an inspection be made of each home prior to placement. Another recommendation is that each juvenile should, on arrival in Canada, stay long enough in the Receiving Home to allow something to be learnt of his temperament and character. Failing this, the officer responsible for placement should accompany the party during the voyage to Canada. Either of these alternatives raises difficult problems; the first would add considerably to the cost of upkeep in a system where overhead charges are already very high. The British Delegation criticized the expensive system of Receiving Homes, and recommended distributing boys and girls direct from the boat. On the other hand, the second alternative imposes additional burdens on the staff of the homes. As arrangements for placing have usually to be carried out while the party is on the water, duties either in placing or in conducting must be delegated.

Probably the best working plan is that an officer of the Canadian staff should conduct the party, so that his first hand knowledge of its members may be available, should any of them later present special problems. This is the system adopted by Dr. Barnardo's Homes. The Manager and the Lady-superintendent travel to England and bring back each party of boys and girls.

The next suggestion is "that a substantial addition be made to the present inspection staff or the juvenile immigration branch, or a satisfactory working arrangement be established with the provinces whereby the services of the child-caring resources could be utilized in some co-operative way".<sup>I.</sup>

Again, the second alternative seems to be the most efficient. Canada's system of juvenile migration already necessitates large inspectional staffs. As already explained, supervision is exercised by the Federal Government, by the society and to some extent by the Provincial Government. This multiplicity of arrangements is, of course, explained by the genesis of the system, by the unpromising material at first dealt with, and by the extension of the work through a process of trial and error. But with the minimum age limit of fourteen years now in force, and with the present high standard in selection, the time would seem opportune for curtailing Federal supervision, not for extending it. The Canadian Council on Child Welfare holds that sixty children is as many as one inspector can care for. This would place an impossible burden on the system. Australia and New Zealand have successfully relied on local and

I. E.g. The New Settlers' League, the Y.N.C.A. and the Churches.  
I. Ibid, p.37. on Australia and New Zealand.

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voluntary workers for after-care, rather than on an elaborate system of official inspection.

Other recommendations deal with the formation of Canadian Advisory Committees for the development of a better understanding between the old country and Canadian interests, advisability of continuing the fourteen year age-limit, and the need for uniform legislation to determine the guardianship exercised by societies over their wards. Special commendation is given to the Provincial Training and Settlement Schemes which, being under Canadian control and attracting the best type of British boy, seem to allow the least chance of failure. The extension of this system will probably limit the demand for institutional children, but there does not seem to be sufficient justification for the concluding recommendation of the report, that the numbers of such children entering Canada be limited by a quota to be fixed annually. For sixty years they have proved their worth as settlers; at present their high standard of physical, mental and moral fitness makes them indistinguishable from the more fortunate classes of juvenile immigrants. There is no doubt that with certain minor improvements in the system of selection and supervision, the number of dependent children entering Canada might be increased with advantage both to the Home country and to the Dominion.

The Church of England Waifs and Strays Society.

The British Immigration and Colonization Association.

Dr. Barnardo's Homes.

The National Children's Homes and Orphanages.

- I. E.g. The New Settlers' League, the Y.M.C.A. and the Churches.  
See Chapters on Australia and New Zealand.

Mr. Oliver Hind (Dakynne Boys' Farm)

The United Church of Canada.

## CHAPTER IX.

CANADA: VOLUNTARY SOCIETIES APPROVED by the  
FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. The GROWTH of JUVENILE  
IMMIGRATION through PROVINCIAL ORGANIZATIONS.

A Summary of the work of the voluntary societies — The work of the Fellowship of the Maple Leaf — Recently founded societies under Canadian control — The Agricultural Colleges as training centres for juvenile immigrants — Macdonald, Quebec — Vermilion, Alberta — Guelph, Ontario — Provincial Government Reception Farms — The Boys' Land Settlement Scheme — Statistics of Juvenile Immigration 1919 - 1928 — Specimens of forms used by voluntary societies and by the Government.

to the old country, to the new, and to the children themselves.

Twenty six thousand seven hundred and ninety children have been

The following societies are at present acting with the approval of the Federal Department of Immigration and Colonization:—

The Church of England Council of Empire Settlement.

The Church Army.

The Salvation Army.

The Catholic Emigration Association.

The Orphan Homes of Scotland (Quarrier's Homes)

Dr. Cossar's Boys' Training Farms.

Mr Fegan's Homes.

The Church of England Waifs and Strays Society.

The British Immigration and Colonization Association.

Dr. Barnardo's Homes.

The National Children's Homes and Orphanages.

The Middlemore Homes.

Mr Oliver Hind (DeKeyne Boys' Farm)

The United Church of Canada.

The old migration societies are so similar in aims and methods that the general description of the system already given fits them all. It will therefore be sufficient to note the most important of them along with a brief resumé of their achievements, and any special features that have not already been touched upon.

The name of Dr. Barnardo's Homes now suggests the open spaces of Canada as readily as the pitiable condition of the slum children which called the homes into being sixty years ago. It was the founder who first laid down the standard to be aimed at juvenile migration, the standard which was adopted by the Canadian Government and ensured that the movement should be one of lasting benefit to the old country, to the new, and to the children themselves. Twenty six thousand seven hundred and ninety children have been settled in Canada. Professor Carless has estimated that Barnardo children and their descendants form one per cent of Canada's population, a remarkable contribution to come from a movement of such humble origin.

For several years after the war two receiving homes were maintained, one at Toronto for boys, the other at Peterborough for girls. The difficulty and expense of administering both led to the decision to centralize the work in Toronto. Old boys and girls contributed over £3000 towards the purchase of the present beautiful home at 538 Jarvis Street, and on the 21st May, 1923, it was dedi-

1. Unless otherwise stated, the numbers of children and other statistics are given up to the end of the Canadian fiscal year on 30th March, 1928.

2. See p.

2. Including the work of Mrs Bilbrough-Wallace and of the Macpherson-Birt Home, both of which have been incorporated, the total is 46,897; Macpherson-Birt:14,587; Mrs Bilbrough-Wallace:5,529.

1. From the mural tablet erected to their memory in the hall of the Receiving Home.

since the war being just over two hundred. St. George's Home in  
 cated as a memorial to the "five hundred and thirty one Barnardo  
 boys, who, out of six thousand two hundred and eleven serving in  
 the Canadian Expeditionary Forces, laid down their lives for King  
 and Country in the Great European War". This home serves as a soc-  
 ial centre for past and present wards, as well as a receiving and  
 distributing centre for boys and girls on their arrival in Canada.  
 Children are placed within a radius of about a hundred miles in  
 homes provided with telephones, so that immediate communication with  
 the centre is possible. The record of Barnardo children has brought  
 a large circle of employers ready to provide home and situations  
 for the children. The management is therefore able to place most  
 of their wards with old and trusted friends. In some cases fam-  
 ilies to the third and fourth generations continue to take Barnardo  
 children, while many old boys, now successful farmers, employ boys  
 and girls from their early home, and thus help forward the work to  
 which they owe their prosperity.

Special commendation must be given to the Wages Trust Fund of  
 the Barnardo Homes in Canada. Not only is a proportion of wages  
 held in trust for each boy and girl, but individual accounts are  
 kept. Every one thus has the satisfaction of having his own pass-  
 book supplied by the bank and periodically brought up to date. At  
 the end of 1927, with 2857 children under care, the Wages Trust  
 Fund stood at \$269,983.

The Catholic Emigration Association and amalgamated societies  
 have since 1897 brought 7,237 children to Canada, the annual average

- I. From the mural tablet erected to their memory in the hall of  
 the Receiving Home.



since the war being just over two hundred. St. George's Home in Wellington Street, Ottawa, is a commodious and central distributing centre. It was recently enlarged and renovated through the generosity of previous wards. Both boys and girls are placed in carefully selected homes in Ontario and Quebec. Supervision is carried out by the staff of the Home and by local clergy. The arrangements in Great Britain as to selection and assistance have, for many years, been in the hands of Rt. Rev. Mgr. Canon G.V. Hudson, Coleshill, Birmingham. their success may be gained from the fact that during The Church of England Waifs and Strays Society are the founders of the juvenile migration movement to Canada, their earliest activities, under the direction of Miss Rye, having commenced in 1868. Since that date, 4218 children have been brought to Canada, the post-war numbers being a few less than one hundred annually. Two centres are maintained, the Gibbs Home, Sherbrooke, Quebec, for boys, and the Elizabeth Rye Home, 661 Huron Street, Toronto, for girls. After-care is carried out along the usual lines. This society makes it a rule never to place a girl in any home until a representative has personally inspected it. to homes previously

The National Children's Homes and Orphanages which commenced their emigration work in 1873 have been responsible for the migration of 3206 boys, including 600 since 1921. They all have a special training before emigration at one of the English farms managed by the Trustees. The Canadian Home in Main Street East, Hamilton, Ontario, is a large residence with several acres of orchards and gardens. It is used purely as a distributing centre. from Miss

Mr Fegan's Home is at 295 George Street, Toronto. Since 1884, 3080 Fegan boys have settled in Canada. Regularly each year some

fifty boys are sent out; every one is specially trained in England, first for a number of years at the Stony Stratford Home, and then for some months at the special training farm at Gondhurst, Kent. The consequence is that the boys go out with the Tegan mark upon them, upright, capable and confident. Anyone who has seen even photographs of these "hiving-off parties", as the Canadian contingents are aptly called, must have been struck with their appearance and bearing. In Canada they are systematically visited and advised. Some indication of their success may be gained from the fact that during the last forty years they have voluntarily contributed out of their own earnings no less than £24,444 towards the support of their old Homes.

Sir J.T. Middlemore commenced his work among Birmingham boys in 1873. Since then 5109 have been assisted to emigrate. The annual numbers since the war have dwindled from 91 in 1920-21 to 12 in 1927-28. The Canadian Home is at Fairview Station, Halifax, Nova Scotia, most placements being made either in that province or in New Brunswick. This is the society already referred to as distributing its wards directly from the ship's side to homes previously selected for them, a system considered so efficient by the British Oversea Settlement Delegation in 1924, as to earn its special commendation.

The Orphan Homes of Scotland, better known as the Quarrier Homes, commenced their emigration work in 1887, though previous to this Miss Macpherson had taken a number of their children overseas. The Fairknowe Home at Brockville, Ontario, was acquired from Miss Macpherson. A total of 4340 boys and girls have been settled in Canada, including an annual average of fifty since the war. These

children, though given no special training in Scotland, have been most successful in Canada. The family system in operation at the homes leaves no trace of the "institution" upon them, while the strong religious influences under which they are brought up, and the habits of thrift and perseverance which are inculcated by their training, make them particularly desirable settlers. The Canadian Distributing Home has a small farm attached, but is not used as a training centre. The usual arrangements are made as to placement and supervision.

The Salvation Army's work among child migrants was for a long time carried out as an integral part of their general migration plans. Since 1905, 3149 boys and girls have been settled in Canada, including a large number of young children for adoption or boarding-out. The special juvenile branch of the Army's work was established in 1923, the annual numbers since then being 308, 519, 634, 464 and 96. The widespread organization of the Army is available for their supervision. Special hostels for their use are situated at Smith Falls, East Ontario, at Woodstock, Ontario and at 1225 University Street, Montreal.

Dr. Cossar commenced helping Glasgow boys to emigrate to Canada in 1911, and since then has brought 711 boys to the Eastern Provinces. In 1924, his farm at Craighielinn in Scotland was subsidized by the Oversea Settlement Department, and in 1928 his farm at Lower Gagetown, New Brunswick, was made the Provincial receiving centre for juvenile migrants. It is beautifully situated on the North bank of the St. John River. There is an orchard of six thousand apple trees, a herd of pedigree dairy shorthorn cattle, and all the

stock and equipment of the general farm. Boys who need training are kept for some weeks, others are placed in good homes immediately <sup>on arrival.</sup> Local clergymen undertake the work of supervision. Dr. Cossar's boys are becoming widely known as efficient farm workers who are likely to turn into equally efficient farmers.

Mr Oliver Hind carries out a similar work at Falmouth, Nova Scotia. His Dakeyne Farm was established in 1913, and named after the street in Nottingham where a branch of the Boys' Brigade has been the main recruiting ground. One hundred and ten boys have been settled in Canada.

These are the principal agencies which were established before the war and have continued their work to the present. Most of them work in the Eastern Provinces. In 1926, the Church of England Council of Empire Settlement began to send boys to the Prairie Provinces. Though farming conditions are more strenuous, there is abundance of land ready for settlement. With the large foreign population there is especial need to encourage the settlement of British boys. Hostels similar to those in the East have been opened at Edmonton, Alberta, and at Melfort and Indian Head, Saskatchewan. The Church Army, also looking west, has a hostel at Winnipeg, Manitoba. These two organizations have placed 139 and 459 boys respectively, and the movement appears to be growing rapidly. In 1929, the superintendent of emigration for Canada in London remarked especially on the large number of boys offering for Western Canada.

Though not in the strict sense of the term a juvenile migration agency, the Fellowship of the Maple Leaf deserves special notice because of its important work among the children of foreign

immigrants in Western Canada. The population of the Prairie Provinces is already not much more than half British; it consists of twenty eight races, leaving out of account those included in the census under the heading "various"; it speaks at least thirty five languages. Moreover, by the continual influx of Central Europeans, by their higher rate of natural increase, and by their lower standard of living, which makes it difficult for the British agriculturist to compete with them, there is the danger, as the following table shows, not only that this part of the Dominion will remain a heterogeneous collection of colonies, but that the leavening British element will grow less.

Racial Composition of Population, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta

PROVINCE	1921			1926.		
	British Populatn.	Foreign Populatn.	Percentage British	British Populatn.	Foreign Populatn.	Percentage British
Manitoba	350,992	259,126	57.4	355,353	270,847	56.8
Saskatchewan	400,415	357,094	52.9	416,721	391,016	51.6
Alberta	351,820	236,634	59.8	350,086	244,286	58.7

This general table does not illustrate the full extent of the danger to British settlement. Foreign immigrants tend to settle in colonies of a single race or of several races, to the exclusion of the British settler. Their whole life and that of their children

1. The Manitoba Free Press in 1929 printed its New Year Greeting to readers in this number of languages.
2. From Censuses of the Prairie Provinces, 1921 and 1926.

is thus spent in an atmosphere, and under standards of living, resembling Central European peasantry rather than a British colony.

The assimilation of these foreign colonies will be a slow process; it is chiefly a problem of education. Mixed schools, for example, one of forty Galicians, four half-breeds and three English children, or another of thirteen children speaking seven different languages, present difficult problems to the teacher, but they also present very great opportunities for making English a common language, for inculcating Canadian ideals of citizenship, encouraging <sup>Canadian</sup> institutions and welding later generations, if not the first, into one Canadian race. It will be seen that the need for capable British teachers is urgent, and this need the Fellowship of the Maple Leaf, working in co-operation with the Overseas Settlement Committee seeks to fill by arranging training for suitable candidates and assisting them to settle in Western Canada.

The agitation for stricter Canadian control of juvenile immigration has led to the establishment of two new types of agency, first, the Canadian voluntary society and second, the Provincial juvenile immigration department. The two most prominent societies belonging to the first type are the British Immigration and Colonization Association in Quebec and the United Church Agency in Ontario. The first has been active in boy migration since 1924. It has Canadian representatives in Great Britain, who try to get the best type of boy available. They are received at Osborne House, Montreal, and placed thence in approved situations in Quebec and Ontario. The minimum commencing wage is \$10 per month with board and lodging. Only one third of this wage is paid to the boy, the

remainder being held in trust until the boys come of age. It is the aim of the Association that most, if not all, of their boys should qualify for a loan under the Government Land Settlement Scheme. A training farm has been established on the Island of Montreal. This Association has rapidly increased the number of migrants it receives. In the year 1927-28 the total reached 818, the highest for any single society operating in Canada.

The second entirely Canadian juvenile immigration agency was set up by the Board of Home Missions of the United Church of Canada in 1927. The Young Men's Christian Association has charge of the selection of boys in Great Britain. The Receiving Home is at Norval, Ontario, and boys are placed throughout the Province. It is in the arrangements for placing and supervision that this agency excels.

In work where apparently insignificant personal factors may make all the difference between success and failure, a system has been evolved which reduces the chance of failure to a minimum. To describe the whole system would be to recapitulate; it follows those already described with added attention to details. In the first place, the most searching enquiries are made into every application for a boy's services. A series of confidential reports are obtained from persons qualified to judge the suitability of the home. Those that appear to be suitable are then personally inspected. Equally searching information is obtained about the boys themselves, and they are allotted by the superintendent after consultation with his inspectors. Each boy is given letters of introduction to the minister of his Church and to friends in the locality. In order to make

1. See report form at the end of this chapter.

a welcome more sure these people are advised of the boy's arrival, and asked to introduce him to congenial friends, and to include him in the Church and social activities of the district. With all this personal attention there is no coddling. Every boy is placed in employment within three days of arrival, and should change of employment be necessary, it is effected without returning to the hostel. The terms of indenture are clear and include an agreement to treat the boy as one of the family. Pocket money does not exceed two dollars per month. It is in examining such a system as this that one realizes the value of the personal touch in migration, and perhaps no body can administer this to such advantage as the Church of one's upbringing. This is the principle on which the United Church of Canada bases its work. So far numbers are not large, but they give promise of showing the highest percentage of successes.

We have seen that, during the first few years after the war, the Provinces took no active part in juvenile immigration beyond supervising the societies operating within their borders. However, the agitation for closer control and the rapid growth of the movement led them to extend their activities and organize systems of their own, with the result that a number of Provincial authorities now have very thorough arrangements for dealing with young British settlers. Not only is special training in agriculture provided, together with systems for reception and after-care similar to those already described, but these facilities are followed by assistance to secure land when sufficient experience of farming has been gained. We must first note the development of facilities for training in agriculture.



It has long been felt that the best type of British boy can be attracted through the schools of the Provinces, that he can there receive the best introduction to Canadian conditions, and thence be most satisfactorily placed in employment. <sup>I.</sup> The Provincial agricultural schools and colleges lend themselves to this work. The severe winter suspends many branches of farm-work for several months in the year, and makes it possible for those of the farming population who so wish to attend winter agricultural courses. These courses are specially suited to introduce the British boy to the best Canadian methods of agriculture, provided, of course, that he has a sound enough general education to profit by them.

<sup>2.</sup> In 1924, this system was instituted at Macdonald College, the home of the Faculty of Agriculture of McGill University, ~~Montreal~~. A member of the staff was sent to England to visit the leading schools and stimulate interest in Canadian agriculture among headmasters and boys. The chief factors considered in the selection of boys are their physical and moral fitness, their school record and aptitude for farming. Parties go forward each spring to Macdonald College where they stay for a short time, probably a week, before going to employment for the summer. During this period they are required to prepare a report on the organization and operation of the farm on which they are placed. This is forwarded to the College

1. Cf. Letter to The Times, 31st Oct., 1904, from the Headmaster of Lennoxville School, Quebec, pointing out the advantages to British boys of spending the last few years of their school life in a Canadian school, and letters advocating the same course some twenty five years later, e.g. The Times, 18th and 19th Jan. 1929.
2. With the co-operation of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company.

representative who keeps in touch with each boy by visits and correspondence. In the autumn, those who by their work and farm-report give promise of profiting by further instruction return to the college for the following course, which is spread over two winters.

FIRST YEAR

Dairy Farming Group.

Fruit Farming Group.

Agricultural Engineering:-  
Farm Construction  
Farm Power, Implements  
and Machinery

Agricultural Engineering:-  
Farm Construction  
Farm Power, Implements  
and Machinery.

Agronomy:-  
Hay, Pasture and Corn  
Crops  
Soils and Soil Management.

Agronomy:-  
Farm Crops  
Soils and Soil Management.

Animal Husbandry:-  
Farm Live Stock  
Dairying.

Animal Husbandry:-  
Farm Live Stock, General. and  
Prices

Economics:-  
Farm Economics, General

Economics:-  
Farm Economics, General.

English:-  
Composition and Literature.

English:-  
Composition and Literature.

Entomology:-  
Farm Pests General.

Entomology:-  
Farm Pests.

Horticulture:-  
Apiculture  
Home Surroundings and  
Farm Forestry

Horticulture:-  
Apiculture  
Fruit Growing  
Home Surroundings and  
Farm Forestry.

Mathematics

Mathematics

Plant Pathology:-  
Farm Pests General

Plant Pathology:-  
Plant Diseases  
Public Husbandry.

Poultry Husbandry

Poultry Husbandry

Veterinary Studies.

SECOND YEAR.Dairy Farming Group.

## Agricultural Engineering:-

Farm Shopwork  
Land Drainage

## Agronomy

Crop Management  
Grain and Root Crops

## Animal Husbandry

Farm Live Stock  
Live Stock Breeding  
Live Stock Feeding

## Bacteriology

## Botany

## Chemistry

## Economics:-

Economics of Agriculture  
Agricultural Statistics and  
Prices

## English:-

Literature and Public Speaking

## Horticulture:-

Vegetable Gardening

## Physics

Fruit Farming Group.

## Agricultural Engineering:-

Farm Shopwork  
Land Drainage.

## Bacteriology

## Botany

## Chemistry

## Economics:-

Agricultural Statistics and  
Prices  
Economics of Agriculture

## English:-

Literature and Public Speaking.

## Horticulture:-

Vegetable Gardening

## Physics.

The course is so arranged that in the first year a student may choose subjects that have to do with either dairy farming or fruit farming, or both; while in the second year he may again choose between live stock and vegetable farming subjects or may elect a combination of them.

The first winter course lasts five months. It is intensely practical and is designed to fulfil the following objects:- to give the largest amount of information and training in practical

agriculture in the shortest possible time; to equip the farmer for solving his own problems; to enable him to grasp the many opportunities for improved methods in farming, to give him an inspiration along agricultural lines, and to enable him to fill a useful place

I.  
in rural citizenship. Along with these practical studies there is a residence among Canadian students with its opportunities for social life and winter sports, all of which tend to fit the British boy, almost unconsciously, into his new environment.

The first course reveals in all boys an aptitude for some particular branch of farming, and they are fitted accordingly to suitable employment in the following spring. Those interested in dairy-work or live-stock go to noted breeders, those with a liking for horticulture or fruit-growing to orchardists, while those with a leaning towards scientific agriculture are placed with successful wheat growers. The second summer term of employment gives the boy an opportunity of gaining a specialist's knowledge in his own branch of farming.

The second winter course at the College, again available only to those who have made satisfactory progress in their summer employment, is chosen according to the work specialized in. A diploma is granted to successful candidates. The College authorities and the Department of Agriculture will advise and assist every boy either in obtaining another situation or in taking up the land for farming independently. The diploma course can also be followed by a degree course, and thus lead to a Government or teaching post in agriculture.

I. A Farm Career in Canada, C.P.R. Booklet, p.6.

Information supplied privately by the Principal, Macdonald College.

The cost of each winter course is about £36, a great part of which may, of course, be paid from summer earnings. The age limits are seventeen and twenty two years. Under this scheme ten boys were brought out in 1925, thirty three in 1926, thirty six in 1927, twenty eight in 1928 and twenty six in 1929. All are making good; a few have left the land, but these are all getting on well in city employment.

I.  
Since 1924 Alberta has offered somewhat similar facilities to British public and secondary school boys. The Provincial agricultural school at Vermilion was reserved for a practical winter course lasting six months and including the following subjects:-

- (1) Field husbandry, the handling of two, three, four and six-horse teams, harrowing, ploughing, etc.
- (2) The care, managing and marketing of live-stock.
- (3) Farm mechanics, including carpentry, blacksmithy, gas engines farm motors and the mechanics of farm machinery.
- (4) Dairying.
- (5) Poultry farming.
- (6) Horticulture, including vegetables and small fruits.
- (7) The study of such insect pests, blights, mildews, etc., as occur in Western Canada.
- (8) Farm management and economics.
- (9) Elementary veterinary science.

Summer employment was guaranteed and opportunities offered for a more advanced course in the following winter. Tuition was

- I. Information supplied privately by the Field Representative at Macdonald College.

free, but board and lodging and incidental expenses amounting to some £50 had to be paid by the trainees. About fifty boys have attended this course annually. In 1928 a suitable course was provided for women, the aim being to fit them for farm-household work in the west.

The Ontario Agriculture College sets aside a number of places, usually fifty each year, for British boys over seventeen years of age. Attendance is required for the ordinary associate course in agriculture for one year at least. For those intending to take up land, the full two years' course is recommended. The cost is about £50 per annum, and is borne by the boys or their parents. Summer employment is found for all British students by the college authorities. First year are usually \$10 per month with board and lodging.

In 1927, Ontario set aside the Vimy Ridge Farm at Guelph, the site of the Provincial Agricultural College, as a reception farm for British boys. Their numbers have increased from one hundred and seventy three in the first year to five hundred in each succeeding year. They are supervised by officers of the Imperial Government, the Provincial Government and the Governments of Manitoba, and Saskatchewan, initiating what are known as the Boys' Training Scheme and the Boys' Settlement Scheme. By the former each of the Provinces named agreed to establish reception farms where British boys from fifteen to nineteen years of age would receive free maintenance and instruction until placed in employment that year being one hundred and the Provincial Government accepted the responsibility of guarding their welfare for three years, and, in order that as many as possible might be prepared to take advantage of the Land Settlement Scheme, established banking systems for holding part of their wages in trust.

It has been found advisable to modify the part which training was originally intended to play. The system attracts a keen

intelligent type of boy who can get on well enough without preliminary training. Even a short course is expensive and difficult to organize; it also seriously reduces the numbers able to be dealt with in spring and early summer when the demand for labour is most urgent. Finally, the agricultural colleges which usually act as reception centres are rightly jealous of their reputation and unwilling to run the risk of forfeiting the confidence of the farming community by turning out half-trained boys. Consequently, boys are placed directly with farmers who act as instructors as well as employers. Ambitious boys have the same opportunities for attending winter courses as any of the farming population. Wages for the first year are usually \$10 per month with board and lodging.

In 1927, Ontario set aside the Vimy Ridge Farm at Guelph, the site of the Provincial Agricultural College, as a reception farm for British boys. Their numbers have increased from one hundred and seventy three in the first year to five hundred in each succeeding year. They are supervised by officers of the Department of Agriculture, who estimate that more than eighty five per cent will make good on the land.

Manitoba commenced bringing out boys in 1928; the number for that year being one hundred and two. The Agricultural College at Winnipeg is used as the receiving centre. A member of the staff has charge of all arrangements. The success of the first draft may be judged from the fact that without any advertising, applications for the 1929 party outnumbered the boys available by three to one.

In 1929 Saskatchewan instituted a similar system of juvenile immigration and, using the Agricultural College at Saskatoon as a

receiving centre, placed fifty boys on farms in the Province. Other Provinces which have agreed to establish reception farms are:-

- I. (a) who were between fourteen and twenty years of age on arrival in New Brunswick ----- The Cossar Farm at Lower Gagetown.
- Canada, (c) who have proved their thriftiness and worth by saving \$500 by the time they are ready to start farming on their own account. Preference will be given to those who have saved \$500.
- Nova Scotia ----- The Agricultural College at Truro,
- Quebec ----- The British Immigration and Colonization Society's farm on the Island of Montreal,
- British Columbia ----- The Government expects to have a farm ready in 1930.

The importance of these arrangements can hardly be overestimated.

It is estimated that in the spring of 1930 two thousand boys will be placed on the land through the Provincial Government Reception Centres, and when their wards reach the age of eighteen. All societies

Any system of juvenile immigration is incomplete unless adequate provision is made to establish boys on the land as soon as they have gained sufficient experience to qualify them for independent ownership. In order to fulfil this need the Boys' Land Settlement Scheme was instituted in 1927. The Dominion Government in conjunction with the Imperial Government and certain of the Provinces, agreed to spend \$5,000,000 during the next ten years in making loans to assist young men between the age of twenty one and twenty five to purchase and equip farms of their own. The loans, which may be

remaining on the land. If the experiment is successful, wide extension of the system will probably be found necessary. Three thousand

1. Report of the Department of Immigration and Colonization, 1928-1929, p.63.

2. In 1929 the Provincial Governments which had decided to participate in this scheme were :- Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Ontario, Manitoba and British Columbia. (Report of Department of Immigration and Colonization, 1928-29, p.63.)

1. \$1,250, Dominion, \$1,000, Provincial, \$250.

2. Some societies now stipulate that savings shall remain under the control of the trustees until the juvenile reaches the age of twenty one.



I.  
 not exceed \$2,500<sup>1</sup> in any one case, are to be available only to those (a) who have received free or reduced passages to Canada, (b) who were between fourteen and twenty years of age on arrival in Canada, (c) who have proved their thriftiness and worth by saving \$500 by the time they are ready to start farming on their own account. Preference will be given to those who have passed through one of the Provincial Reception Farms.

The importance of these arrangements can hardly be overestimated. It will have been noticed that supervision by the Federal Government and by the migration society ceases, or at any rate is legally at an end when their wards reach the age of eighteen. All societies endeavour to retain control for some years longer, but whether they are able to do so depends on the will of the boys and girls themselves. The majority prefer not only to order their own lives, but also to take control of their accumulated savings<sup>2</sup> which often amounts to fifty or sixty pounds. There is the temptation to spend this money recklessly and then perhaps to seek more remunerative but less constant employment in cities. The Land Settlement Scheme, by holding out a reward for continued thrift, should overcome this tendency and increase the proportion of juvenile migrants remaining on the land. If the experiment is successful, wide extension of the system will probably be found necessary. Three thousand dollars (loan - two thousand five hundred, savings - five hundred

1. The contributions of the Governments concerned are:- British, \$1,250, Dominion, \$1,000, Provincial, \$250.
2. Some societies now stipulate that savings shall remain under the control of the trustees until the juvenile reaches the age of twenty one.

hundred) is little enough on which to commence farming. As to the numbers able to benefit under the present scheme, a brief calculation shows that \$5,000,000 apportioned in loans of \$2,500 over a period of ten years is sufficient to settle only two hundred boys annually.

JUVENILE MISSION SOCIETY  
approved by  
THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT

and Number of Juvenile Migrants, 1919 to 1929.

Year of Founding of Canadian Branch	Annual Numbers of Juvenile Migrants, 1st April to 31st March in each year.										Total from 1919-1929.
	1919-20	1920-21	1921-22	1922-23	1923-24	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28		
Dr. Macpherson											
Dr. Mrs. Birt	1869	121	120	204	185	161	51				843
of England											
Life & Strays	1869	120	26	29	71	119	94	63	76		698
Dr. J.T. Middlemore	1873	91	55	45	73	47	10	8	12		340
National Child-Home and Orphanage	1874	90	59	106	112	32	94	67	34		594
Dr. Barnardo	1882	155	581	374	226	497	268	109	137	108	2444
Dr. Fagan	1884	49	51	50	52	53	47	35	43		332
Dr. Quarrier	1890	110	45		50	61	42	47	65		424
Catholic Mission	1897	229	225	189	250	203	149	200	233		1593
Evangelical Mission	1905	32	210	205	219	634	454	301	103		2511
Dr. Cosser	1910				26	128	69	63	65		371
Dr. O. King	1913			17	14	13	9	9	19		81
British Immigrant and Colonization	1924					23	446	469	751		1709
March Army	1923						145	153	80		379
of England											
Council of Exp-ansive Settlement	1926							119	120		139
Other Agencies											958
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>155</b>	<b>1425</b>	<b>1211</b>	<b>1184</b>	<b>2020</b>	<b>3000</b>	<b>1860</b>	<b>1590</b>	<b>2070</b>	<b>13276</b>

From the annual reports of the Supervisor of British Juvenile Immigrants. Juvenile immigrants under the care of the Provincial Governments are not included. The United Church of Canada which commenced Juvenile migration work after the period covered by this table, placed 130 boys on farms in 1928 and 513 in 1929, and is now one of the largest agencies in this work.

This Society was amalgamated with Dr. Barnardo's Homes in this year.

## NOTE I.

## JUVENILE MIGRATION SOCIETIES

approved by

The CANADIAN GOVERNMENT,

I.  
and Number of Juvenile Migrants, 1919 to 1928.

SOCETY	Year of founding of Canadian Branch	Annual Numbers of Juvenile Migrants, 1st April to 31st March in each year.										Total from 1919- 1928.
		1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	
Miss Macpherson and Mrs Birt	1869	-20	121	120	204	186	161	51	2.			843
Ch. of England Waifs & Strays	1869		120	26	29	71	119	94	63	76		598
Sir J.T. Middle- more	1873		91	55	45	72	47	10	8	12		340
National Child- ren's Home and Orphanage.	1874		90	59	106	112	32	94	67	34		594
Dr. Barnardo	1882	155	581	374	226	497	268	108	127	108		2444
Mr Fegan	1884		49	51	50	52	53	47	36	44		382
Mr Quarrier	1890		110	48		50	61	42	47	66		424
Catholic Emi- gration	1897		229	225	199	250	203	149	200	238		1693
Salvation	1905		32	250	308	519	634	464	301	103		2611
Dr. Cossar	1910					26	128	69	83	65		371
Mr O.Hind	1913				17	14	13	9	9	19		81
British immi- gration and Colonization	1924						23	446	489	751		1709
Church Army	1925							146	133	80		359
Ch. of England Council of Emp- ire Settlement	1926								19	120		139
Minor Agencies												988
Totals.		155	1426	1211	1184	2080	2000	1860	1590	2070		13576

- From the annual reports of the Supervisor of British Juvenile Immigrants. Juvenile immigrants under the care of the Provincial Governments are not included. The United Church of Canada which commenced Juvenile migration work after the period covered by this table, placed 130 boys on farms in 1928 and 516 in 1929, and is now one of the largest agencies in this work.
- This Society was amalgamated with Dr. Barnardo's Homes in this year.

DR. BARNARDO'S HOMES.NOTE II.

Canadian Branch.  
Specimens of Forms, etc., used by Canadian Juvenile Migration  
I.  
Agencies in the Placement and Supervision of Young Settlers.

The following particulars are furnished for the information of

1. Memorandum of conditions upon which boys are placed out } Dr. Barnardo's Homes.
2. Employer's Application Form }
3. Reference required from neighbours as to suitability of Home }

4. Report on home inspected prior to placement } The United Church of Canada.

- A month's trial is usually allowed after the boys are first sent out, and at the end of the month, if an engagement is entered into, the conditions of which are embodied
5. Articles of Agreement } Department of Agriculture and Immigration, Manitoba.

6. Report made by the society's inspector on a visit to a boy } The United Church of Canada.

7. Report of visit made by the Federal Government inspector } Department of Immigration and Colonization, Ottawa.

- the employer shall provide all necessaries, including board, lodging, washing, clothing, medical attendance and a reasonable allowance of pocket money, and on the 31st March in each year remit to the Home the balance due of the amounts payable as stipulated in the Agreement together with a detailed statement of advances made for clothing and pocket money. The object of this arrangement is to secure for the
1. Similar forms are used in Australia and New Zealand, though as a rule they are less elaborate, greater reliance being placed on personal consultation with local committees both in the choice of home and in subsequent supervision.

managing their own affairs, and to provide a sum of money as a reserve in case of need and a foundation for future savings.

DR. BARNARDO'S HOMES.Canadian Branch.MEMORANDUM of CONDITIONS upon which BOYS are PLACED OUT.

The following particulars are furnished for the information of persons desiring to obtain boys from the Homes.

The boys placed out are from fourteen to seventeen years of age, and the conditions upon which they are indentured vary according to their age and capability and the nature of the employment.

A month's trial is usually allowed after the boys are first sent out, and at the end of the month, if everything is satisfactory an **engagement** is entered into, the conditions of which are embodied in a simple form of agreement, which employers sign, and of which a copy is furnished to them by the Manager of the Homes.

The Agreement is generally for a term of from one to three years, depending upon the age of the boy, the conditions being that the employer shall provide all necessaries, including board, lodging, washing, clothing, medical attendance and a reasonable allowance of pocket money, and on the 31st March in each year remit to the Home the balance due of the amounts payable as stipulated in the Agreement together with a detailed statement of advances made for clothing and pocket money. The object of this arrangement is to secure for the younger boys a permanent home, where they will be trained and cared for until they reach an age when they may be regarded as capable of managing their own affairs, and to provide a sum of money as a reserve in case of need and a foundation for future savings.

In the case of older boys who have some farm experience an engagement is made for one to two years, the boy receiving, in addition to board and lodging, a wage from which the cost of necessary clothing and pocket, shown on duly certified and approved statement, is deducted.

Whenever practicable, engagements are made to terminate on the 31st March, that date being generally found the most suitable for all parties concerned.

In the case of younger boys, provision is made in the agreement for their attending school, in accordance with the requirements of the existing Education Act.

The conditions of the agreement between the employer and the Manager of the Homes give the right to either party to terminate the engagement at a month's notice, and it is expected that this length of notice will be given by any employer wishing to send back a boy to the Home, and that he will meet expenses of returning him.

Boys should receive all statutory holidays and reasonable opportunities for recreation. A separate bed, and, if possible, bedroom, should be furnished for each child. We deprecate corporal punishment and do not allow it.

Employer must not hire or sublet boy to other persons; such action will constitute breach of any Agreement existing on boy's behalf and would warrant immediate removal of the boy.

Boys will be regularly visited by the representatives of the

Homes, to whom every facility must be afforded to make such inspection as may be considered necessary.

The Application must be made on the form provided for the purpose, which will be found on back. The persons whose names are given for reference will be communicated with as soon as the form is returned.

A fee of three dollars is charged to all persons taking boys, and must be received by the Manager before a boy is sent. To save delay, a remittance of this amount by money order or cheque (payable at par in Toronto) in favour of "Dr. Barnardo's Homes", should accompany the application.

How far from Station to your Home?

Distance from School.

Whether a member of a Protestant Christian Church, and what Denomination and distance from Church.

Have you a Boy or Girl from this or similar organization? If so, give particulars.

Names and Addresses of Minister, Doctor and Magistrate to whom Applicant is known, and to whom reference may be made.

Are all in household in good health? If not, state nature of disability.

Give description of house and accommodation provided.

Age of Boy required.

State number of members in your household, age and sex.

How can Applicant be reached by Telephone?

Having read the conditions set forth on back hereof I agree to accept same.

Date ..... 19.....

.....  
Signature of Applicant

2. BOY REQUIRED Dr. BARNARDO'S HOMES.

When applicants are a CANADIAN BRANCH. hour of boys arrival, they are expected to make arrangements for him to be met at the station.

The following particulars should be furnished by those desirous of obtaining boys from the Home, and the form, when filled up and signed by the Applicant, returned to Mr. -----, 538 Jarvis Street, Toronto 5, Ont., accompanied by fee of \$3.00. Money orders and cheques (payable at par in Toronto) should be in favour of "Dr. Barnardo's Homes"

Name of Applicant in full

Postal Address

Name of Country and Township and Number of Concession and Lot.

Occupation.

Name of nearest convenient Railway Station.

How far from Station to your Home?

Distance from School.

Whether a member of a Protestant Christian Church, and what Denomination and distance from Church.

Have you a Boy or Girl from this or similar organization? If so, give particulars.

Names and Addresses of Minister, Doctor and Magistrate to whom Applicant is known, and to whom reference may be made.

Are all in household in good health? If not, state nature of disability.

Give description of house and accommodation provided.

Age of Boy required.

State number of members in your household, age and sex.

How can Applicant be reached by Telephone?

Having read the conditions set forth on back hereof I agree to accept same.

Date .....19..... Signature of Applicant



DR. BARNARDO'S HOMES

2(Continued) BOY REQUIRED for SERVICE on FARM of APPLICANT.

When applicants are advised of date and hour of boy's arrival, they are expected to make arrangements for him to be met at the station.

Dear Sir,-

This space should be used to mention any special requirements to which applicant may wish to draw attention.

..... P.O. .... Sp. .... Gen. .... Lt. ....  
 ..... is an applicant for a boy from our institution, has referred us  
 to yourself as being in a position to certify to the suitability of  
 the home for one of our young wards. In view of the urgent importance  
 of safeguarding the children whom we place out from falling into un-  
 suitable hands, we will beg of you the favor of filling up the at-  
 tached form, giving us your personal opinion in regard to the charac-  
 ter of the applicant and family, their home life and surroundings.  
 Any information you furnish us, or any expression of your judgment,  
 will be regarded as a strictly private and privileged communication,  
 and should you feel yourself unable conscientiously to recommend the  
 application, and it should in consequence be declined, this will be  
 done without your being in any way involved. I may add that we shall  
 gratefully appreciate any suggestion that your knowledge of the ap-  
 plicant enables you to offer that will be a guide to us in the selec-  
 tion of a boy to fill the application.

Cordially thanking you, in anticipation, for any trouble you may  
take in this matter in the interests of those under our care,

Yours faithfully,  
For Dr. Barnardo's Homes

Manager.

A stamped and addressed envelope is enclosed for reply.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

Re .....

..... P.O. .... Sp. .... Gen. .... Lt. ....  
 For the private information of the Manager  
 of Dr Barnardo's Homes.

How long have you been personally  
acquainted with the applicant?

Of what members does the family consist?  
If possible, state ages and sex.

Are applicant and all members of the family,  
in your judgment, fit and proper persons  
to have the care and training of a young  
boy, and is their family household one in which  
you can, with confidence, recommend that a  
boy should be placed?

DR. BARNARDO'S HOMES:  
National Incorporated Association.

If there are any exceptions CANADIAN BRANCH.  
preceding question, please mention

Dear Sir,-

M .....

.....with an P.O. ....tp. .... Con.....Lot.  
who is an applicant for a boy from our Institution, has referred us to yourself as being in a position to certify to the suitability of the home for one of our young wards. In view of the urgent importance of safeguarding the children whom we place out from falling into undesirable hands, we will beg of you the favor of filling up the attached form, giving us your personal opinion in regard to the character of the applicant and family, their home life and surroundings. Any information you furnish us, or any expression of your judgment, will be regarded as a strictly private and privileged communication, and should you feel yourself unable conscientiously to recommend the application, and it should in consequence be declined, this will be done without your being in any way involved. I may add that we shall gratefully appreciate any suggestion that your knowledge of the applicant enables you to offer that will be a guide to us in the selection of a boy to fill the application.

Cordially thanking you, in anticipation, for any trouble you may take in this matter in the interests of those under our care,

Yours faithfully,  
For Dr. Barnardo's Homes

..... Manager.

A stamped and addressed envelope is enclosed for reply.

STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL

Re .....  
.....P.O. ....tp. ....Con. ....Lot.

For the private information of the Manager  
of Dr Barnardo's Homes.

How long have you been personally acquainted with the applicant?

Of what members does the family consist?  
If possible, state ages and sex.

Are applicant and all members of the family, in your judgment, fit and proper persons to have the care and training of a young boy, and is their ~~family~~ household one in which you can, with confidence, recommend that a boy should be placed?

IMMIGRATION COMMITTEE

3 (continued)

BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS -- THE UNITED CHURCH OF CANADA

If there are any exceptions regarding preceding question, please mention same. Date .....

Name of ..... Address ..... Phone ..

Do you know above-named to be in

his family; fellowship with any Christian Church? If so, what Denomination? to honesty, morality and temperance?

REMARKS (Please make these as full as possible): In Intelligence? ... Are they kind-hearted and sympathetic? ... Do they seem generous and liberal in spirit? ... Does any member of the family use intoxicants? ... Did you learn of any bad personal faults or habits? ... Are they frugal and industrious? ... Habits of church going ... Are they active in church work? ... Did you interview husband? ... Temperament .....

Signature .....

Address .....

Date .....

Are there others living in home? ... How many male? ... Ages ... How many female? ... Ages ...

THE HOME:

1. Describe the property ..... No. of rooms ..... 2. Approximate value ..... 3. Is the home clean? ... Vent? ... Convenient? ... Comfortable? ... 4. Waste toilets? ... Water system? ... Heat system? ... 5. Lighting system ..... Bath ..... Have they books? ... Papers? ... 6. Medical instrument? ... Pictures? ... Comfortable furnishings? ... 7. Coloured? ... What of the neighbourhood? .....

IMMIGRATION COMMITTEE

4.

BOARD of HOME MISSIONS -- THE UNITED CHURCH of CANADA.Report on Home Personally Investigated.

Date .....

Home of ..... Address ..... Phone ..

THE FAMILY:

How does it stand as to honesty, morality and trustworthiness?

How does it grade in education? ..... In Intelligence? ....

Are they kind-hearted and sympathetic? .....

Do they seem generous and liberal in spirit? .....

Does any member of the family use intoxicants? .....

Did you learn of any bad personal faults or habits? .....

Are they frugal and industrious? .....

Habits of church going ..... Are they active in church work?..

Did you interview husband? ..... Temperament .....

Did you interview wife? ..... Temperament .....

Husband's purpose in taking boy .....

Wife's Purpose in taking boy .....

Are there others living in home? ..... How many male? ..... Ages ...

How many female? ..... Ages....

THE HOME:

1. Describe the property ..... No. of rooms .....

2. Approximate value .....

Is the home clean? ..... Neat? ..... Convenient? ..... Comfortable? ..

Inside toilets? ..... Water system? ..... Heat system? .....

Lighting system ..... Bath ..... Have they books? ..... Papers? ...

Musical instrument? ..... Pictures? ..... Comfortable furnishings?

Cultured? ..... What of the neighbourhood? .....

4(continued)

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT

Would they give a boy reasonable religious and social privileges? ...

Describe the boy's lodging place .....

Are there any other Home, Society or Hostel children in home? .....

If so, how many? .....What Sex? ..... Ages .....

GENERAL REMARKS:

THE UNDERSIGNED hereby agrees to employ the said BOY for a period of one year from ..... and pay him the sum of ..... with board, lodging, washing and mending.

THE UNDERSIGNED agrees to pay to THE BOY half of the above named sum at the end of each month, and to remit the balance to the Department of Agriculture and Immigration, Legislative Building, Winnipeg, What is your recommendation? THE BOY.

THE UNDERSIGNED further agrees to employ THE BOY at farm work and to extend to him every possible consideration and assistance in order that he may learn the methods and business of farming.

(Signed) .....

THE UNDERSIGNED further agrees to take a kindly interest in the personal welfare of THE BOY, to see that he has suitable opportunities for recreation and social intercourse, and to assist him in securing clothing or other necessary articles, to be paid for out of his wages.

THE UNDERSIGNED agrees to promptly notify the Department of Agriculture and Immigration in the event of the illness of "THE BOY" or in the event of him leaving without permission or in any other special circumstances.

THE UNDERSIGNED agrees to return THE BOY and his clothing safely to the custody of the Department of Agriculture and Immigration at the termination of this agreement, and also agrees to permit an officer of the Department of Agriculture and Immigration to visit THE BOY and discuss matters with him at any time.

It is FURTHER AGREED that his engagement may be terminated by either party giving one month's notice in writing, but this shall not interfere with the right of the Department of Agriculture and Immigration to remove THE BOY immediately at any time for cause.

SIGNED on this ..... day of ..... 19 .....

Signed on behalf of Employer

Signed on behalf of Department of Agriculture and Immigration.

5. DEPARTMENT of AGRICULTURE and IMMIGRATION.

ARTICLES of AGREEMENT

Made in duplicate this .....day of ..... 19, .....,between  
.....sec.....Tp.....Rge....Post Of-  
fice hereinafter called "THE UNDERSIGNED", and the Manitoba Department  
of Agriculture and Immigration, respecting .....hereinafter  
called "THE BOY".

THE UNDERSIGNED hereby agrees to employ the said BOY for a period  
of one year from .....  
and pay him the sum of .....  
with board, lodging, washing and mending.

THE UNDERSIGNED agrees to pay to THE BOY half of the above named  
sum at the end of each month, and to remit the balance to the Depart-  
ment of Agriculture and Immigration, Legislative Building, Winnipeg,  
where it is to be retained to the credit of THE BOY.

THE UNDERSIGNED further agrees to employ THE BOY at farm work  
and to extend to him every possible consideration and assistance in  
order that he may learn the methods and business of farming.

THE UNDERSIGNED further agrees to take a kindly interest in the  
personal welfare of THE BOY, to see that he has suitable opportunit-  
ies for recreation and social intercourse, and to assist him in secur-  
ing clothing or other necessary articles, to be paid for out of his  
wages.

THE UNDERSIGNED agrees to promptly notify the Department of Agri-  
culture and Immigration in the event of the illness of "THE BOY" or  
in the event of him leaving without permission or in any other special  
circumstances.

THE UNDERSIGNED agrees to return THE BOY and his clothing safely  
to the custody of the Department of Agriculture and Immigration at the  
termination of this agreement, and also agrees to permit an officer of  
the Department of Agriculture and Immigration to visit THE BOY and  
discuss matters with him at any time.

It is FURTHER AGREED that his engagement may be terminated by either  
party giving one month's notice in writing, but this shall not in-  
terfere with the right of the Department of Agriculture and Immigra-  
tion to remove THE BOY immediately at any time for cause.

SIGNED on this ..... day of ....., 19 ... Signed on behalf of Employer  
in the presence of .....  
..... Signed on behalf of Department of  
Agriculture and Immigration.

IMMIGRATION COMMITTEE, BOARD of HOME MISSIONS, UNITED

6.

CHURCH of CANADA.

Report of VISIT to a BOY.

Name .....

P.O.Address .....R.R.Sta.....

ADDRESS .....  
Remarks: Lot Concession Township County

Distance and Direction from R.R.Station.....Date of Placement ....

Wages per year .....Agreement signed .....

Condition as to health -- since last visit .....

Clothing .....

Manners .....Conduct .....

Does boy sleep in separate room? .....alone? ..... If not, with whom?

Is the boy happy? ..... Did you see him alone? .....

What work does he do? .....

Has he any bad habits? .....

What was condition of home and farm as to cleanliness? .....

Order .....Comfort .....Appearance of barn .....

Yard .....

Are relations between boy and foster parents cordial? .....happy? ...  
affectionate? .....

Has boy been visited by friends? .....If so, give names and address-  
es .....

By relatives? ..... If so, give names and addresses .....

By others? ..... If so, give names and addresses .....

Is the home adapted to the boy? .....

Are foster parents satisfied? ..... If not, what complaints?...

Is boy satisfied? ..... If not, what complaints? .....

6 (continued)

What recommendations, if any, were made to foster parents? .....

What recommendations, if any, were made to boy? .....

What recommendations, if any, have you for the Hostel? .....

Remarks: .....

Name of child ..... Date of birth .....

By whom brought to Canada .....

With whom placed .....

P.O. Address .....

Township .....

County .....

Province .....

Date child was placed in situation .....

Neatness ..... Adaptability ..... Aptitude ..... Willingness to

learn ..... Thoroughness ..... Accuracy ..... Alertness .....

Application ..... Conduct .....

General Appearance .....

Supply of clothing .....

Week and Sunday School attendance .....

Day school attendance ..... Progress .....

Supply of suitable reading matter .....

Recreations .....

Pocket money allowance .....

Wages and terms of indenture .....

Does child understand wages to be paid? .....

What portion of wages is paid directly to child? .....

Is child required by the agency to repay any sum of money? .....

If so, state amount and the cause of the indebtedness .....

Complaints by child .....

General character and behaviour of the child .....

Complaints by employer .....

(Inspector's remarks on reverse side)



Year of arrival .....  
Union .....  
Report No.....  
Inspection No.....

DEPARTMENT OF IMMIGRATION AND COLONIZATION.

CANADA.

Inspection of British Immigrant Children.

Name of child .....Date of birth .....  
By whom brought to Canada .....  
With whom placed .....  
P.O.Address ..... Occupation .....  
Lot ..... Con. ....Township .....  
County ..... Province .....  
Date child was placed in situation .....  
Date of most recent inspection by representative of agency .....  
General character of home and surroundings .....  
Has child a room to himself? .....A bed to himself? .....  
Work in which the child is engaged .....  
Health .....  
General Appearance.....  
Supply of clothing .....  
Church and Sunday School attendance .....  
Day school attendance ..... Progress .....  
Supply of suitable reading matter .....  
Recreations .....  
Pocket money allowance .....  
Wages and terms of indenture .....  
Does child understand wages to be paid?.....  
What portion of wages is paid directly to child? .....  
Is child required by the agency to repay any sum of money?.....  
If so, state amount and the cause of the indebtedness .....  
Complaints by child .....  
.....  
General character and behaviour of the child .....  
Complaints by employer .....

(Inspector's remarks on reverse side )

Spain, Australia, on account of her distance from the great European  
centres of population has not attracted pauper migration as  
such as Canada. These factors, together with the high standards of  
physical, mental and moral fitness demanded as conditions for im-  
migration to Australia, have reduced after-care problems to a minimum.  
The Development and Migration Commission and the organizations of  
the organizations whose work is described in the next chapter  
of information in this chapter.

Moreover, the political control of all forms of immigration is exercised very differently

CHAPTER X.

1.

AUSTRALIA: SYSTEMS ADOPTED by the STATES.

Juvenile immigration of recent origin --- Commonwealth and State control of immigration --- Each State has evolved its own system --- New South Wales, special legislation; the Dreadnought Trust, Dr. Barnardo's Homes and other agencies --- Victoria, the Big Brother Movement, the Churches --- South Australia, special legislation; the apprenticeship system --- Queensland, Farm Lads Scheme the Church of England Immigration Council, the Salvation Army --- Western Australia, the Child Emigration Society and other agencies.

Except for the Child Emigration Society in Western Australia and the Dreadnought Trust in New South Wales, there was little organized juvenile migration to Australia before the war. But with the resumption of all forms of migration in 1920, special provision was made for juveniles by almost every State, and Australia was soon ahead of all the other Dominions in this form of immigration.

In considering juvenile migration to Australia, and especially in any comparison with the systems obtaining in Canada, it is necessary to remember that the various systems practised in the Commonwealth are recent, most of them having arisen since the war, when must stricter control came to be exercised over migration. Again, Australia, on account of her distance from the great European centres of population has not attracted pauper migration as much as Canada. These factors, together with the high standard of physical, mental and moral fitness demanded in candidates for migration to Australia, have reduced after-care problems to a minimum.

- I. The Development and Migration Commission and the headquarters of the organizations whose work is described are the chief sources of information in this chapter.

Moreover, the political control of all forms of immigration is exercised very differently in Australia. In 1920, by an agreement with the States, the Commonwealth undertook the responsibility of recruiting, medical examination and transportation, i.e. of all over-sea activities, while the States agreed to requisition for the numbers and classes of migrants they required, and to provide for their reception, employment and after-care. Thus, whereas in Canada the Federal Government is the prime supervising authority, in Australia the State Governments alone are responsible for supervision. The systems of juvenile immigration evolved in each State will therefore be considered separately.

In New South Wales the Dreadnought Trust, the early record of which has already been noted, recommenced its activities in 1921, since when over five thousand boys have been settled in the State. Boys from fifteen to eighteen years of age are selected by the Commonwealth Government authorities in Great Britain, and granted passages at assisted rates. The Trust provides each boy on landing with £2, ten shillings in cash, and the remainder being placed to his credit in a bank account. Preliminary training is given at Scheyville in the Hawkesbury River district, where a farm of 2,500 acres provides experience in general farming. The course is elementary and practical; milking, the management of horses, the use of farm tools and implements soon accustom the boy to his new life, and make him useful enough to be drafted to employment after two or three months' training. On completing his course to the satisfaction of the manager, he gets a good conduct bonus of £1. Wages in his first situation are 1. 5,488 up to 31st October, 1929.

usually fifteen shillings to a pound per week with board and lodging. Confidential enquiries are made into the home and circumstances of all employers applying for boys, and every endeavour is made to fit each boy to congenial conditions.

There are also four experimental farms at which Dreadnought boys receive longer and more thorough training extending up to six months. At each general farming is carried on, in addition to some particular branch of agriculture suited to the locality; at Glen Innes in the New England table lands, oatbreeding; at Wallongbar in the Richmond River district, dairy farming; at Grafton in the Clarence River district, maize and sub-tropical fruit-growing; and at Cowra in the Middle West, sheep and plant-breeding. Boys spend a week at each class of work carried on at the farm and are then allowed, as far as possible, to specialize in the branch they prefer. They are placed in employment in the same way as from Scheyville, but wages are usually a little higher. However, the chief value of the course at the experimental farm lies in the intelligent interest it inspires in all agricultural work, and in the training specially adapted to the needs of the districts in which the boys will be employed. Those who add practical experience, perseverance and thrift to the knowledge gained from these courses are admirably equipped to take up land on their own account.

Welfare work during employment is undertaken by local committees of the New Settlers' League which has more than three hundred branches scattered throughout the State, and also by travelling inspectors who give advice to the boys and report on each visit both to the migration office of the Department of Labour and Industry, and to parents in Great Britain. A banking system for holding part of each

boy's wages until he comes of age is in operation. The Dreadnought Trustees also provide for the holding of Church services at the Scheyville Farm, for sports equipment, reading matter, medical and dental attention. Their activities form one of the best examples of voluntary effort in conjunction with Government aid ensuring that no detail of the Settlement process is neglected.

In 1923, the State Government introduced legislation for the care and control of juvenile migrants. The Minister of Labour and Industry was appointed guardian of those juveniles who signed a statement of their willingness to come under the protection of the Act, the chief provisions of which were:-

- (1) The Minister was to have full control of the juveniles and of their property.
- (2) He might appoint institutions for their reception, control, education and employment.
- (3) He might, by indenture of apprenticeship made either in the State or in the United Kingdom, bind a juvenile to any person, to be taught a trade or calling, including domestic service, this indenture not to extend beyond the age of twenty one years, or for more than three years in farm employment.
- (4) All or part of the wages of the juvenile might be paid to the Minister, to accumulate at four per cent per annum. Part might be used to repay any loans made by the Government or a voluntary society, for passage and outfit. Wages might be forfeited on account of misbehaviour.
- (5) Employers could not dismiss juveniles without the consent of the Minister, and any juvenile who absconded might be apprehended by the Police, if this was necessary to bring him back under the control of the Minister.

This Act was in force for two years only; the rigid conditions of indenture which, it must be remembered, was often entered into before the employer and the juvenile met, led to discontent on both

sides. Some twenty per cent of the juveniles so bound absconded, and a third of these could not be traced.<sup>I.</sup> As the Act was thus defeating its own end -- the welfare of the migrant -- it was repealed by another, the Juvenile Migrants Act, 1926, which still gave the Minister control of the training, and of the supervision during employment, of those juveniles who wished to come under his protection, but only until the age of eighteen was reached, and without specific provisions as to indenture. The employer was required to notify the Minister before discharging a juvenile, and the juvenile might change his employment of his own free will, provided he informed the Minister immediately. Even this modified Act, on account of the difficulty of administration, is inoperative. Where employment is plentiful, and where boys are old enough to act independently, there is little need for close Government control. The New Settlers' League exercises supervision very effectively, and its local committees are ready with advice and assistance wherever required.

Outside Dr. Barnardo's work, which is dealt with in the following paragraphs, the other juvenile migration agencies in New South Wales present no features of special interest. The Churches collectively nominate juveniles through the Y.M.C.A. in Great Britain. No special training is given, but situations are carefully selected; the local minister of the boy's Church is responsible for after-care. The Big Brother Movement, an account of which is given in the section dealing with Victoria, commenced operations in 1927, since when five hundred and twenty two Little Brothers have been brought into the State.

I. "A Brief Review of the Juvenile Migrants Act", 1926. Issued by the Minister of Labour and Industry, 1926.

Boys with scholarships awarded by The Fellowship of the British Empire Exhibition began to arrive in 1925, since when one hundred and sixty two have been educated at the Agricultural Colleges in the State. They take a general course lasting for a year, and are then placed on farms and supervised in the same way as other young settlers. I.

Dr. Barnardo's Homes extended their field to New South Wales in 1921, the first meeting of the new branch being held on 11th April under the presidency of Lord Forster, then Governor General of Australia. The work was organized similarly to that in Canada. A home at Ashfield, a suburb of Sydney, was purchased as a receiving centre and named Barnardo House. Both boys and girls were brought in; the numbers were small but the standard high. In 1928, twenty farmers applied for each boy, and forty homes for each girl available. In order to minimize homesickness and loneliness, and also to facilitate inspection, placements are made in groups. Seven hundred and thirty one boys and girls were under supervision on 31st December, 1928. Their bank books showed that they had saved £20,316 from their wages. 2.

In 1927 it was decided to establish a training home for children under fourteen years of age. The Minister of Labour and Industry, early in 1928 approved of the nomination of children of this age, and the Society purchased Mowbray Park at Picton, sixty seven miles from Sydney. It is a principle of Dr. Barnardo's Homes to give their children beautiful surroundings, which shall in some measure compensate them for the lack of family life, and, when they come to build

1. Up to 31st October, 1929.

2. N.S.W. sub-committee's report, 1928, p.5.

homes for themselves, give them an ideal to aspire to. The choice of Mowbray Park was particularly fortunate. It is an old home, standing in park-like country which resembles English rather than Australian scenery; the garden grows both English and sub-tropical flowers and fruit; the small farm of a hundred and sixty acres gives all the necessary facilities for training, and at the same time supplies the home with dairy produce. All the surroundings combine to accustom the children naturally and easily to Australian rural life. The boys take their turn at each branch of farm work and the girls are brought up to do the house work, cooking and laundry of the home. Thus, when they leave school they fit naturally into the situations awaiting them. At present Mowbray Park has accommodation for fifty children. It is proposed to erect six cottages to house twenty five children each, thus bringing the total capacity up to two hundred children.

The following are the numbers of juveniles brought to New South Wales by Dr. Barnardo's Homes annually since 1921:

YEAR	Number of children	YEAR	Number of children.
1921	47	1925	139
1922	50	1926	184
1923	106	1927	87
1924	155	1928	123

In Victoria the outstanding contribution to juvenile migration has come through the Big Brother Movement founded by Mr Richard Linton, and launched in London on 14th July, 1925. The main object is



to overcome the natural reluctance of British parents to send their sons so far away, by providing personal guidance and supervision until the Little Brother reaches the age of twenty one. The Big Brother, who is a responsible Australian citizen of good position and of the same religious denomination as his ward, endeavours to take the place of parent and friend. He undertakes no financial or legal responsibility beyond what he may voluntarily accept, but he agrees to carry out the following important duties:-

- (1) To care for the moral and general welfare of his Little Brother until the latter attains his majority.
- (2) To meet the Little Brother on arrival, to spend the first day ashore in getting to know him and introducing him to his family and friends.
- (3) To act as mediator between the Little Brother and his employer, and with the full weight of the movement behind him to further the Little Brother's cause.

The Little Brother must be a physically fit, upright, well-mannered British boy who is determined to work hard on the land in Australia. Before his application goes forward to the migration authorities at Australia House, references as to character and ability are required from his school, the minister of his Church and from independent citizens. He has then to pass the prescribed medical tests, (the wearing of glasses, because of their inconvenience in general farm work is a disqualification). If successful, he is granted a passage to Australia at the usual reduced rate, and before sailing makes the following undertakings:-

to follow the advice of his Big Brother.

and from a Pamphlet issued by the Movement.

- (2) Not to leave the employer to whom he is allotted without his Big Brother's permission.
- (3) To consult his Big Brother, or the Headquarters of the Movement, in any trouble.
- (4) Not to drink spirits or gamble.
- (5) To open an account at a Savings Bank and to save at least half his wages.
- (6) To write to his parents and to his Big Brother at least once a month.
- (7) To resign immediately from the Movement if he leaves the land and takes up other employment.
- (8) To be prepared, if necessary, to accept a position in any State of the Commonwealth.
- (9) To subscribe twelve shillings per year to a welfare fund.

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These welfare arrangements are in strong contrast to the rigid conditions imposed by many other systems of juvenile migration. Discretion takes the place of rules and regulations. The Big Brother is expected to exercise personal influence rather than legal guardianship. And the public opinion in favour of the Movement gives a security that even the strictest legal safeguards could not supply. The Chambers of Commerce and of Manugactures, the Royal Agricultural Societies, Rotary Clubs and the Returned Soldiers' Association have adopted it. The Commonwealth Government officially recognizes it, but gives free rein to voluntary effort. The conditions accepted by the Little Brother likewise allow him to use his own discretion in

1. Up to 30th September, 1928.

I. Quoted from a Pamphlet issued by the Movement.

choosing employment and saving. The record of savings shows how boys when put on their mettle, rise to their responsibilities without compulsion. The second annual report noted that the average savings for one hundred and fourteen boys was £22. 10. 10. One boy, whose bank account showed a credit balance of one shilling, explained that he had sent all his savings home; another had just drawn £10 to send to his mother who was in distress through the coal strike.

The Big Brother Movement attracts chiefly public and secondary school boys. Of the first 1515 Little Brothers brought to Australia, (868 to Victoria, 522 to New South Wales and 125 to South Australia) 914 were from secondary schools, 121 from public schools and 475 from elementary schools. Perhaps their upbringing makes them expect more comforts and opportunities for social life than other classes of migrants, but the greater precautions needed to fit them to congenial conditions are worth while. Many have the promise of capital for their establishment; their education and initiative, when combined with experience of local conditions, should make them efficient farmers. The number of absolute failures has, up to date, not exceeded two per cent.

The Boy Scouts' Association, the Salvation Army and the Churches are also active in juvenile migration in Victoria. Boys are placed in carefully selected homes and supervised through the local branches of these organizations.

South Australia was the first State of the Commonwealth to initiate Government guardianship of juvenile immigrants, the system

being inaugurated under the Immigration Acts of 1911 and 1913. It was cut short by the outbreak of war in 1914, but in 1922 Sir Henry Barwell, then Premier of the State, revived the movement. His aim was to bring in six thousand boys to fill the places of the men who fell during the Great War, the first parties being known as Barwell boys. In the following year, an Immigration Act dealing with farm and domestic apprentices was passed. Under this Act, the Commissioner of Crown Lands and Immigration was appointed the legal guardian of such boy or girl immigrants as made a written declaration of their wish to come under his control. Boys from fifteen to eighteen, and girls from eighteen to twenty one were eligible; the period of Government control was three years. Conditions of employment were similar to those obtaining in New South Wales, that State having modelled its regulations on the South Australian Act. Arrangements for after-care were very thorough. Confidential enquiries were made by the immigration office into every application for a farm-apprentice. The boys remained in Adelaide at a Government hostel for a few days; employers might either choose their apprentices personally, or leave the selection to officials in Adelaide. Before setting out each boy was required to write to his parents and inform them of his new address. He was also urged to consult the Immigration Officer in any difficulty, and to open a bank account for savings from his pocket money, of which he drew several shillings weekly from his wages; the remainder was paid directly to the Commissioner of Immigration to be held in trust and allowed to accumulate at a rate direct to the apprentice and the number of boys nominated was reduced

I. Acts No. 1057 of 1911, and No. 1134 of 1913.

2. Act No. 1599 of 1923.

simple interest until the expiry of apprenticeship. The Act also provided for contributions to a fund insuring against sickness or accident. Official inspection was carried out by officers of the Government in the neighbourhood, often by the local police, who in far back districts have multifarious duties to perform. Semi-official Boy-Welfare Committees were also set up in each centre, to keep in touch with the boys in the neighbourhood, to introduce them to people of their own Church, and to see that they had sufficient opportunities for recreation and social intercourse. The Victoria League in Adelaide also co-operated by sending books and papers, and carrying out in the city commissions which the boys could not attend to personally.

Section 23 of the Act provided that boys who had completed their apprenticeship satisfactorily might be granted loans, up to £300, for the purpose of establishing them on the land. It will be seen that the system was a thorough one. The conditions of apprenticeship were, perhaps, too hard and fast, and the period too long. With capable and considerate employers and tractable boys splendid results were obtained, but not all employers and not all boys reached the standard which the Act demanded for efficient working. With certain boys serious difficulties in administration arose, and in 1925 this system of immigration lapsed.

A modified scheme was again put into operation in 1927, under an amendment of the 1923 Act. Conditions of apprenticeship were relaxed, a greater portion, approximately half, of the total wages was paid direct to the apprentice and the number of boys nominated was reduced.

while each was allotted to a Big Brother. This system has since worked satisfactorily. By the end of 1928 one thousand five hundred and fifty seven farm-apprentices had entered South Australia.

Queensland has no special legislation governing juvenile immigration, but the Government, early in 1923, instituted a Farm-Apprentice System for boys from sixteen to nineteen years of age. They are selected by the Commonwealth authorities in London, the State agreeing to take a monthly quota which has varied from one hundred per month at the beginning of the scheme to twenty five per month at the beginning of 1928. Before leaving Great Britain all boys are required to sign a declaration, placing themselves under the control of the Queensland Immigration Agent for a period of three years and their parents must also give their consent. On arrival, they are met by the Agent and accommodated at the immigration depot until placed in employment. An indenture is entered into between the Minister of Immigration and each boy, giving the former authority to receive and bank two-thirds of the boy's wages. The accumulated sum is to be paid to the boy, with simple interest added on his attaining the age of twenty one years. Any expenditure on such items as passage money and clothing is deducted.

A second agreement as to wages and conditions of employment is drawn up between the boy and his employer, the former agreeing to serve for a specified period, usually one year, and the latter undertaking to maintain the boy and teach him the business of farming. At the end of the year the agreement may be renewed, or a new situation under similar conditions found for the boy. Dismissal is allowed only on the written consent of the Minister, who also arranges for

the inspection of boys in their situations. Usually the local Clerk of Petty Sessions is appointed immigration sub-agent and keeps a watch on the boys in his district; the New Settlers' League also co-operates both in the placing and in the after-care of all juvenile immigrants.

On the 31st October 1929 the number of boys who had thus been settled in Queensland was two thousand five hundred and thirty six. Twelve hundred were still under the care of the Immigration Agent, and these, many of whom were new arrivals, had over £28,000 to their credit in trust accounts.

There are two other schemes of juvenile immigration in Queensland, one under the Church of England Council of Empire Settlement, which from 1925 to 1928 placed and supervised some seven hundred and fifty boys through the Churches of the State; the other under the Salvation Army, which since 1926 has managed a training farm at Riverview, near Brisbane. Boys wishing to settle in Queensland are trained here instead of at Hadleigh in England; they are given an intensive course in dairying and then placed with dairy farmers. The thorough preliminary training coupled with practical experience should fit many of the Riverview trainees for farming on their own account. One hundred and twelve boys were brought in by the Salvation Army in 1927 and ninety one in 1928.

Western Australia is the field of the Child Emigration Society, which we have seen was founded to bring from Great Britain children dependent on the State, to educate and train them, the boys to agriculture, the girls to country domestic service, and to distribute them to the farmers of the State. Our earlier notice of the Fairbridge

Farm School, the training centre of the Society in Western Australia, left it struggling rather precariously among the difficulties of the war period, carried on only by the untiring efforts of the founder, his wife and a voluntary helper. But with the close of the war official and voluntary support was renewed. The Commonwealth and State Governments each promised five shillings per week per child and in addition the Oversea Settlement Department granted a subsidy. This help, together with private donations, contributions from the Rhodes Trust and co-operation with Dr. Barnardo's Homes brought about a remarkable advance. Three thousand two hundred acres of virgin land at Pinjarra were purchased, and plans prepared for a farm-school to accommodate three hundred children. By 1924, cottage-homes for two hundred had been built, while a school for their education was provided and staffed by the State Government. While in the midst of this reorganization the Society suffered the loss of its founder, who died on the 19th July, 1924. His self-appointed task had worn him out before he could see the full fruit of his labours, but not before he had achieved the ambitions of his youth — "child rescue at home, abroad, migration within the Empire". He was buried at Pinjarra, his little children his chief mourners, the farm-school his abiding monument. The system of child emigration which he instituted, the only one of the many proposed which remains in successful operation, must now be examined more closely.

Children between the ages of six and eleven years are eligible. They are medically examined very carefully, their past records of health are looked into, also those of their parents in order to disclose any conditions due to bad heredity or bad environment likely to



lead to failure overseas. In addition to these inspections, there is an examination by the National Institute of Industrial Psychology to test the children's mental ability and their aptitude for agricultural life. Such a rigorous selection leaves only children which any country might well covet, and in the following years of training they develop both physically and mentally, so that at fourteen years of age they are indistinguishable from the ordinary Australian country child.

Fairbridge training has three aims, first, to provide farm conditions that will normally have to be faced later in employment, second, to give the boys and girls home life which had been denied them in Great Britain, and third, to give them the best elementary aid possible. cottages are simply but comfortably furnished and are sur-

The farm training is acquired easily and naturally by life on the land. The children are early taught to take an interest in the farm stock and in the crops, orchards and gardens. During out-of-school hours they have their tasks — wood to chop, gardens to tend and small errands that ordinarily fall to the lot of the country boy and girl. When they leave school at fourteen or fifteen years of age, boys have a year or eighteen months of intensive training on the school farm which gives wide experience in clearing bush land, cultivation, farm carpentry and all the usual branches of agriculture. In 1925, enough land was cleared and brought under cultivation to yield goods to the value of one thousand pounds; in 1928 the yield was three thousand pounds, and enough farm and garden produce is now grown to maintain the large family of three hundred children. After leaving school the girls have the same period for domestic training, which is done under pleasant home-like conditions in the cottages, and, during the final month in the guest house, which, with an annual

number of some four hundred visitors is always occupied.

Fairbridge abhorred any trace of the "institution" in his system and avoided it by organizing his children into families of twelve or fourteen, each under a House-mother and living in its own cottage. Thus the home atmosphere is obtained and with it the opportunity for religious training which is the basis of the Fairbridge system. Special attention is also given to training for citizenship and to the teaching of Empire history. Names of the great builders of the Empire, e.g. Cook, Clive and Wolfe, are given to the cottages, and the children are taught that they have an important part to play in Empire Settlement.

The cottages are simply but comfortably furnished and are surrounded by their own gardens, for the best kept of which a cup is awarded annually. The 1927 report thus describes the day's round in summer: A reveille bugle calls at six, at a quarter to seven it sounds for breakfast -- an ever welcome meal. Children have been out to pluck flowers and come laden to decorate the tables. Morning and midday meals are served in a central dining-hall, the house-mothers at the head of each table, tea en famille in the cottages. Breakfast done, the young children prepare for school, the trainees over fourteen years of age start their pleasant toil. The girls are in the cottages and the kitchens, or in the guest house learning cookery and housekeeping; the boys are out among the stock and timber, gradually picking up an all-round knowledge of farm-work. School is over at three o'clock. A good scoutmaster teaches the boys to be prepared, eight cricket teams may be seen at one time in the oval, basket-ball and base-ball engage the girls, and there is also a company of girl

guides. Then to the swimming pool till tea, after which tales and early to bed. Sometimes a sing-song, usually "Lord, keep us safe this night", ends the day. This is the life which the children have learned to lead since Kingsley Fairbridge launched his great scheme of rescuing British children from slums, and transforming them into useful citizens where land is plenteous".

The school provides the usual elementary education, and on leaving this school each child has the same opportunities for continuing his education as are afforded to all children in the State. Several have won scholarships to Agricultural Colleges and the High Schools. Only one boy has taken up a career in the city. All situations are carefully chosen. Women in the districts where girls go out to service act as "sisters"; the boys' welfare is looked after by local agents. In 1928, a permanent after-care officer was appointed. The farm is open to all old boys and girls when on holiday.

Western Australia still has immense areas of unalienated Crown Lands suitable for settlement, with a wise system of State advances for settlers, which facilitates the taking up of land by farmers with small capital. The wisdom of Fairbridge's choice of Western Australia as the best field for child migration has already been demonstrated by the fact that many of his old boys, rescued from dependence or destitution in the old country, are now successful farmers.

Judged either as a philanthropic institution or as an immigration agency, the Fairbridge Farm-School is remarkably successful. When Mr. L.S. Amery as Secretary of State for the Dominions visited the school, he described it as "the finest institution for human regen-

1. Quoted from the Report of the Child Emigration Society, 1927, p. 7.  
 2. In the "West Australian". Quoted from the Report of the Child Emigration Society, 1924.

## I.

eration that has ever existed", while Professor Walter Murdoch, in answering the question, "Who is to migrate?", pays the following trib-

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ute:

"The Young Lands say:- Give us your best -- stout yeomanry, fellows, strong men of their hands, who can do strong men's work; these are the people we want. And the Old Lands reply:- What! would you deplete us of the very men we most need, and leave us with the incapables and the unemployables still on our hands? Would you dispeople us of our best, and leave the worst to carry on the work? That were to make our problem even harder of solution than it now is. And the Young Lands retort:- Away with your incapables and your unemployables and the problems you have brought on yourselves! Do you want us to build new slums in our cities? Thus a kind of deadlock is reached.

But suppose the Young Lands should say:- Yes, we will take people from you slums -- provided we may take them young. We cannot afford to take your incapables and unemployables, but we will take your children, whom we shall bring up to be capables and employables -- if we can get them young enough. That is the Fairbridge idea, and it is the true solution of the problem.

This is the best migration system, and if it could be established on a large enough scale, it would spell unspeakable gains both to Great Britain and for Australia; but think what it spells to the children! It spells rescue and redemption. It takes them out of surroundings which foredoom them to -- I am trying to speak temperately

1. Quoted from the Report of the Child Emigration Society, 1927, p.7.  
2. In the "West Australian". Quoted from the Report of the Child Emigration Society, 1924.

an existence unworthy of human beings; and it gives them life and health, hope and opportunity".

Chief among the other juvenile migration agencies in Western Australia are the Churches, the Salvation Army and the young Australia League, all of which follow the usual methods of placing boys with carefully selected farmers and looking after their welfare until they come of age.

The immigration problem in New Zealand is not so urgent as in Canada or Australia. The country is small, there is already a density of population of 14.12 persons to the square mile; and though the policy of encouraging small holdings makes room for great increase, settlement proceeds slowly on account of the mountainous and densely wooded nature of a great part of the country. It has therefore been the policy of the Government to get most of its immigrants by nomination, to attract equal numbers of men and women, and to bring the numbers of children and juveniles up to at least thirty per cent of the whole.

The success of the pre-war parties of juvenile immigrants, the Sedgwick boys and the Rural boys, encouraged the Government to continue this form of migration. In 1920, legislation was passed laying

1. For the following information I am specially indebted to the Under Secretary for Immigration in New Zealand, to the Managing Trustees of the Sheepowners' Fund and to the Secretary of the 1820 Memorial Settlers' Association.
2. As against 2.62 in Canada and 2.15 in Australia.
3. 50 per cent in 1928.
4. An Act to amend the Master and Apprentice Act (1905), 1920, No. 36.

CHAPTER XI.

NEW ZEALAND and SOUTH AFRICA: VARIOUS SYSTEMS.<sup>I.</sup>

New Zealand: Legislation governing juvenile immigration --- Public and Secondary School Boys, the system of supervision --- The Salvation Army Training Farm --- The Church of England Immigration Committee --- The New Zealand Sheepowners' Fund --- Flock House Station and Girls' Flock House.

South Africa: The 1820 Memorial Settlers' Association --- Assistance for Public and Secondary School Boys.

Provision was also made for the compulsory saving of wages and for the repayment of loans which had been granted towards outfits and passages. The contract could be cancelled, or its terms altered only with the consent of the Minister.

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2. As against 2.62 in Canada and 2.15 in Australia.
3. 38 per cent in 1928.
4. An Act to amend the Master and Apprentice Act (1908), 1920, No.36.

down conditions for the reception and employment on the land of British boys from fifteen to nineteen years of age. It provided that indentures of apprenticeship to be served in New Zealand should be drawn up in the United Kingdom between the representative of the New Zealand Government and the boy. The Minister of Immigration would select an employer, and the indenture would operate from the employer's acceptance until the boy should reach the age of twenty one years. Provision was also made for the compulsory saving of wages and for the repayment of loans which had been granted towards outfits and passages. The contract could be cancelled, or its terms altered only with the consent of the Minister.

Geographically, politically and socially, New Zealand resembles the Mother-country more closely than the other Dominions. In agricultural methods there is also close resemblance. Holdings are small, and the land is farmed intensively and scientifically. For these reasons New Zealand is a particularly suitable field for the settlement of British Public and Secondary School boys. Parties, selected by the Public Schools Employment Bureau began to arrive early in 1924. While the Government was responsible for their supervision, their placement, subject to approval, was entrusted to voluntary societies, principally to the Farmers' Union, and to the Taranaki Chamber of Commerce. The latter body, instituted a specially efficient system for the training of the younger boys, viz, a course, mainly in agricultural subjects, at the New Plymouth High School which had the advantage of acquainting them with New Zealand boys of their

In the supervision of boys...  
I. New Zealand boys were also eligible under Part II of the same Act.

own age, outlook and educational standard and also facilitated their placement on farms with fellow-pupils. During their year at the school they took a special agricultural course. The school week of thirty five periods was divided as follows: laboratory work in agriculture and dairy science, nine periods; wood-work, six; metal-work, two; book-keeping, two; arithmetic, one; geography of New Zealand, one; practical farm work, fourteen. The school-farm of thirty five acres gave opportunities for <sup>such</sup> practical work as milking and feeding stock, repairing and erecting fences, cutting hedges, eradication of noxious weeds, top-dressing of pastures. Periodically the boys visited stock sales and surrounding farms and were enabled to see some of the best pedigree herds in the Dominions. Thus, British boys at the end of the year had gained a knowledge of local conditions not far behind that of native boys who were leaving school to take up farming.

The report of the Taranaki Chamber of Commerce on this system is interesting: "Our considered judgment is that this is unquestionably the best way of training the lads from home in agriculture. They are brought out at the right age, they gain the atmosphere of their adopted country in the school, they make friends there, they are taken out to farms where they are given practical demonstrations, they are taught by experts the rudiments of their future work, and they are thus well-equipped to start on their subsequent course of training on farms, on completion of which they will be able to take up farming on their own account".

In the supervision of boys during employment, it was soon found

I. Quoted from the Report of the Department of Immigration (N.Z.), 1924-25, p.3.



that indentures were a cause of trouble. Most of the boys were over seventeen, and were thus at an age when they should be able to exercise their discretion, and their education and upbringing made the rigid conditions of employment irksome. In the place of indentures a system of supervision has grown up, which allows considerable freedom of action, and yet ensures that touch is kept with each boy, and that the advice and assistance of the Department of Immigration is always available. Regular reports are required, at first monthly; later, if satisfactory progress is being made, quarterly. Any change of employment within the first twelve months after arrival must be approved by the Under-Secretary for Immigration.

All boys undertake to remain in the Dominion for five years. Provision is made for settlement on farms of their own in the following ways. On arrival, boys who will later have considerable capital at their disposal are usually placed on sheep farms; boys with little capital, in agriculture; and boys with no capital, on dairy farms: this order indicates the relative amounts of capital required for establishment in the several branches of farming. When sufficient experience has been gained, those engaged in agriculture and dairying can usually augment their savings by share-farming. Land may be purchased either from private owners or from the Crown under the Advances to Settlers Act, which provides for loans at a low rate of interest and repayable over a long period. These loans are available to all settlers, no special preference in this direction being accorded to boys trained under the above system.

Among the other attempts to encourage the settlement of Public School boys there must be mentioned the work of the Fellowship of

the British Empire Exhibition which has provided a small number of boys with scholarships tenable at the Ruakura Experimental Farm. They take the ordinary course and are then placed in employment under conditions similar to those already outlined. Waitaki Boys' High School sets aside a number of places to allow British boys to finish their education there. This school, which is situated in a rich agricultural and pastoral district of the South Island, possesses a small experimental farm of its own and a small herd of pedigree Ayrshire cows. Instruction in dairy-work, agricultural subjects and wool-classing is given by experts, and several afternoons each week are spent on adjoining farms. Boys spend their holidays on farms in the neighbourhood, and thus are fitted gradually to take positions found for them by the school authorities.

Up to the 31st March, 1928, New Zealand had received six hundred <sup>and</sup> forty four public school boys. Nearly all have remained on the land; many are already farming on their own account.

The Salvation Army's juvenile migration work in New Zealand has dealt mainly with boys from casual or industrial work in Great Britain. In order to fit them for land work, a large training centre is managed at Putaruru in the Auckland Province. It was purchased by a bequest and was originally intended for an orphanage. Thirty children from seven to ten years of age were brought from England in 1922, but in 1924 it was decided that the claims of boys over school age were stronger, and the farm was devoted to their training. It consists of 2060 acres, some hundreds of which have been cleared to form a dairy farm carrying a herd of over one hundred cows, and growing all the crops necessary for maintenance. Milking is done by machines,

so that the trainees get experience of dairy farming under normal New Zealand conditions. There is accommodation for thirty boys. After a course lasting three months they are placed with farmers in the Province and supervised by the Army staff. Up to the end of 1928, three hundred and twenty two boys had gone through this centre, and ninety five per cent were still on the land. In addition to these numbers, the Salvation Army has placed two hundred and eighty eight boys on farms without any special training in New Zealand; most of these have come from the Hadleigh centre in Essex, England.

The Church of England Immigration Committee also does considerable work in boy migration, three hundred and thirty five boys having come to New Zealand under its aegis. While not providing any definite training, it pays particular attention to the selection of homes, insisting that instruction as well as employment be given in all branches of farming undertaken by the employer, that opportunities be given for recreation and attendance at Church, and that a kindly interest be taken in the general welfare of the boy.

But the most thorough, the most inspiring example of the beneficent work of juvenile immigration is that organized by the trustees of the New Zealand Sheepowners' Acknowledgment of Debt to British Seamen Fund. This fund, usually known as the Sheepowners' Fund, came into being in the following way: In 1918 advice was received from the Imperial Government that certain profits amounting to nearly half a million pounds sterling had been made on New Zealand wool sold for civilian purposes, and that half of these profits would be later made available for distribution to New Zealand sheep-farmers. The idea was conceived that it would be a gracious act to devote the profits

to ameliorating the lot of the dependants of killed and disabled British seamen, who by carrying on their ordinary work at the risk of life and health, made possible the prosperity of the Dominion by the carriage to England of food stuff and wool necessary for war purposes. Some two thousand seven hundred sheep-farmers (ten per cent of the total number) signed authorities for their individual shares of wool profits to be paid to trustees for the benefit of disabled sailors of the Royal Navy and Mercantile marine, for their dependants and for those of the men who had fallen during the war. In 1920, the Imperial Government made the first distribution, and £211,000 was paid to the trustees of the fund. The New Zealand Government took £35,000 as income tax, leaving £176,000 for the purpose for which it was subscribed. During the first three years of the working of the fund, relief to the extent of £50,000 was distributed directly, but there grew up a desire to give some more permanent assistance to orphaned boys and girls, the most appealing of the large number of beneficiaries. With pardonable pride in their own land and their own calling, the trustees decided that the finest thing that could be done for them was to bring as many as possible out to New Zealand, to establish them on good farms and stations as assistants, and later to help them to obtain farms of their own.

Early in 1924, the Trustees purchased Flock House Station and an adjoining property some thirty five miles from Palmerston North, an important agricultural centre in the Wellington Province. There were nine thousand acres of land ranging from the best dairying country to tussocky dunes suitable only for afforestation, but all capable of improvement and suitable for giving wide experience to the

trainees. Flock House itself needed little alteration to accommodate the boys, and the first party arrived on 30th June, 1924.

Before going on to consider their training it is well to note that selection is made with regard to physical, mental and moral fitness only. The rank of their father is of no account, sons of officers and sons of ratings are received on the same footing. All expenses for the journey are paid by the Fund, and a complete outfit of clothing sufficient to last two years is provided. Parties numbering from twenty five to thirty make the ocean journey in charge of an officer of the Y.M.C.A.

Life at Flock House is a happy blending of the school, the ship or barracks, and the farm. Boys live as in a public school under a house master; captains are elected who choose their "crews" for house activities and sports, rugby and soccer in winter, cricket and tennis in summer. Reveille sounds early, the flag is hoisted at the commencement of the day's work and lowered at retreat in the evening. Saturdays are spent at military drill, rifle shooting and at sports. Combined with this discipline there is the freedom of farm work during the day.

Each branch of the work is under the charge of a foreman, the best workman of his kind obtainable, a man of good character and proved teaching ability. Every fortnight the manager of the station allots six or eight boys to each foreman -- fencer, ploughman, dairyman, shepherd, carpenter, agricultural instructor and horticulturist, and the boys work under their particular foreman for the fortnight, subsequently changing round until they have a knowledge of each branch of work. Each boy gets two or three rounds on each subject,

and old and new boys are mixed, so that the older boys may help to instruct the newcomers. Huts and tents are erected on outlying parts of the station, and a number of boys are always camping out with their foreman and a camp-cook to look after them, engaged on such work as scrub-cutting and tree-planting, which under these conditions are very popular occupations. A daily record of work is kept by each boy, and examined by the foreman and the manager. The more theoretical aspects of farming are dealt with in lectures given on wet days and in the evenings. Training usually lasts for eight months, but where necessary is extended to cover a year. The following cases are typical of the physical development that takes place:-

- (a) Height on arrival, 5ft.4in. Weight on arrival, 7st.5lbs.  
 Height on departure, 5ft.10½in. Weight on departure, 10st.
- (b) Height on arrival, 5ft.½in. Weight on arrival, 6st.12lbs.  
 Height on departure, 5ft.4in. Weight on departure, 9st.6lbs.
- (c) Height on arrival, 4ft.11in. Weight on arrival, 6st.11lbs.  
 Height on departure, 5ft.2in. Weight on departure, 8st.6lbs.

(3) Has saved approximately £250 out of his wages in cash, equipment and life insurance;  
 In placing the boys in employment care is taken to choose suitable homes. Other things being equal, preference is given to subscribers to the Fund, so that most boys go to sheep farms. Every boy on leaving Flock House becomes a financial member of the Y.M.C.A. Supervision is efficiently and economically carried out by local Y.M.C.A. officials in conjunction with committees appointed in each district. In addition a welfare officer visits each boy periodically. Already in some centres there are active Flock House Old Boys' Associations which arrange reunions and welcome newcomers to their membership.

Apprenticeship for periods covering from one to three years is usual. The average commencing wage is £1 per week with board and lodging. Only a third of this is paid direct to the boy, the remainder being placed to his credit in the Post Office Savings Bank. A number of boys also receive pensions from various Imperial authorities. These are paid to the Public Trustee.

In a previous chapter we have noted the difficulty of counteracting the attractions of city life and of establishing boys on the land when they have completed their training. The efforts of the Trustees of the Sheepowners' Fund in this direction are worthy of special note. To every boy who wishes to start farming on his own account, and who fulfils the following conditions:

- (1) Has completed six months' training at Flock House, three years' indenture on a farm in New Zealand and a further two years at general farm-work;
- (2) Has proved himself during his apprenticeship and subsequent employment to be trustworthy, competent and thrifty;
- (3) Has saved approximately £250 out of his wages in cash, equipment and life insurance;

the Trustees will grant a subsidy — fifteen shillings for every pound saved — towards establishing the boy on a farm of his own, provided that they are satisfied that the proposed venture is a sound one and likely to be successful. They are also ready to guide and advise the boy during the first few difficult years until he is firmly on his feet. With such a reward for perseverance and thrift before them, boys are not likely to squander their savings and drift to the cities.

In 1925 it was decided to extend the benefits of migration to girls who were beneficiaries of the fund, and a small farm of thirty acres with suitable house and outbuildings was purchased at Awapuni, two miles from Palmerston North. Here girls are trained for about six months in housework, cooking and laundry. They are also taught to milk, to carry on a garden, to look after poultry and generally to do those things which fall to the lot of farmers' daughters in New Zealand. A great number of these girls are sisters of Flock House boys, and, wherever possible, they are placed in employment on the same or on adjoining properties. Conditions of apprenticeship and supervision are similar to those for boys. On completion of their apprenticeship, brother and sister may combine their savings, and with their joint bonuses from the fund, be in a position to start farming in partnership. When Flock House girls marry it is the custom of the Trustees either to give them a cash bonus or to furnish their glory-boxes with such useful articles as linen, cutlery or silver.

Up to the end of 1928, 429 boys and 94 girls had been received. Before the supply of sons and daughters of seamen who were killed or disabled in the war is exhausted, 850 boys and 150 girls will probably have been trained. Of these it is estimated that:

- (a) 50 per cent will make good, save money and get farms of their own.
- (b) 30 per cent will become good farm assistants and country workers, do not possess the ambition, grit and self denial necessary to become farm owners.
- (c) 20 per cent will drift to town occupations, go to sea, or return to England.



A leading New Zealand journalist described the work of the Sheepowners' Fund thus: "It is a living war-memorial, conceived in gratitude, expressed in generosity, administered in wisdom. This is not a memorial of mere stone, it is the transformation of orphan seamen's sons into practical, prosperous New Zealand farmers. It has been instituted as an act of gratitude by the sheep-farmers of New Zealand in recognition of the debt they owe to the seamen of the navy and mercantile marine".

The future of the fund is uncertain. At the present rate of expenditure it will long outlast those eligible to benefit by it, who, of course, decrease from year to year. Two courses are open -- one to exhaust the fund on the original beneficiaries in establishing them on the land, the other to seek legislation enabling the Trustees to widen their field and include suitable boys and girls irrespective of their fathers' services in the war. Whatever course is taken, there is general agreement that the Flock House system has so proved its worth as to warrant its continuance.

2.  
The following table shows the annual numbers of juvenile immigrants entering New Zealand since the war. In 1927 financial depression caused considerable diminution in the numbers of public school-boys, but immigration through the other organizations was not greatly affected.

1. On the 30th June, 1928, it still stood at £152,861.8.2. (Report and Balance Sheet for the year ending at that date.)

2. From the Annual Reports of the Department of Immigration.

JUVENILE IMMIGRATION. NEW ZEALAND.

ORGANIZATION	Year					TOTAL
	1923-24	1924-25	1925-26	1926-27	1927-28	
Public School Boys' Scheme	8	208	177	235	16	644
N.Z. Sheepowners' Fund		53	152	97	127	429
Salvation Army		74	143	186	138	541
Ch. of England Immigration Council				52	97	149
Fellowship of the Empire Exhibition				12		12
Total up to 31st March, 1928						1765

assisting the following classes of settlers:-

- (a) Single men with capital of £1,500 or married men with capital of £2,000, inexperienced, but willing to go on the land.
- (b) Trained farmers with capital of £500 or £800.
- (c) Persons with employment guaranteed on arrival.
- (d) Persons with assured incomes or pensions who wish to settle, but not necessarily to take up farming.
- (e) Public School Boys with capital at least £1,000 guaranteed for their establishment on the land.

For the first and last classes, especially for Public School boys, a very efficient system of training and supervision has been instituted. Application is made through the Public Schools Employment Bureau. Those who pass the required medical tests are granted

SOUTH AFRICA.

As South Africa differs from others in possessing a plentiful supply of native labour, the system of juvenile migration in this Dominion deserves special, if brief, notice. The need is not for farm-labourers, but for farmers with capital and ability to handle natives. The 1820 Memorial Settlers' Association endeavours to encourage such a type of immigrant. This society was founded on the centenary of the arrival in South Africa of the three thousand five hundred pioneers who left Great Britain in the distress following the Napoleonic Wars. Their descendants now number over one hundred and fifty thousand, and it is the aim of the Memorial Association to carry on colonization and to uphold the prestige of the white race by assisting the following classes of settlers:-

- (a) Single men with capital of £1,500 or married men with capital of £2,000, inexperienced, but willing to go on the land.
- (b) Trained farmers with capital of £600 or £800.
- (c) Persons with employment guaranteed on arrival.
- (d) Persons with assured incomes or pensions who wish to settle, but not necessarily to take up farming.
- (e) Public School Boys with capital at least £1,000 guaranteed for their establishment on the land.

For the first and last classes, especially for Public School boys, a very efficient system of training and supervision has been instituted. Application is made through the Public Schools Employment Bureau. Those who pass the required medical tests are granted

assisted passages and on arrival in South Africa undergo training for a period of three years, one year at either of the Association's training farms, the remaining two years with an approved farmer.

The Tarka Training Farm at Tarka Bridge, Cape Colony, consists of one thousand one hundred and ninety acres, one hundred and forty of which are irrigated and cultivated. The following branches of farming are included in the curriculum:- dairying, poultry and pig-keeping, sheep-farming, field husbandry, irrigation, fruit-growing, farm-carpentry and black-smithing. There is little native labour employed, students having to do the work themselves in order to gain the practical knowledge necessary for the efficient supervision of native labour.

The second Training Farm, Robian Estates, Radium, North Transvaal, is larger, consisting of eight thousand seven hundred and thirty two acres, two thousand of which are under cultivation. Besides dairy stock, the farm carries a herd of beef cattle, and thus provides training for trainees wishing to take up ranching; while the great variety of crops grown — maize, kaffir corn, nuts, cotton, teff grass and tobacco — gives a wide experience in agriculture.

On completing this training, and after a further two years of practical experience, the boy is passed as a settler; the Association then advises him in the choice of a property and stands behind him until firmly established.

Since the inception of this system some fifty public school boys have been settled annually on the land in South Africa.

CHAPTER XII.

PART 3.

The INFLUENCE of JUVENILE EMIGRATION  
SOCIAL ASPECTS of JUVENILE MIGRATION

OR  
with  
POPULATION PROBLEMS in GREAT BRITAIN  
SPECIAL REFERENCE to EDUCATION.

- CHAPTER
- XII. The Influence of Juvenile Emigration on Population Problems in Great Britain.
  - XIII. The Problem of Assimilation in the Dominions.
  - XIV. Physical and Mental Standards Required for Successful Migration.
  - XV. In The Influence of the Schools of Great Britain on the benefits which migration has brought to the juveniles themselves. An estimate must now be made of the value of the movement to different parts of the Empire. This chapter is therefore devoted to its influence on population problems, chiefly on unemployment, in Great Britain; the next deals with its value to the Dominions; the following chapter discusses the physical and mental standards required for successful migration, while the final chapter indicates the part which the schools of Great Britain might play in preparing young settlers for overseas life.

1. For much of the information in this chapter I am indebted to the migration authorities of the various Dominions, particularly to the Chief Medical Officer at Australia House.

CHAPTER XII.

The INFLUENCE of JUVENILE EMIGRATION

on

I.  
POPULATION PROBLEMS in GREAT BRITAIN

Unemployment ---- The reduction brought about directly and indirectly and indirectly by emigration ---- The increasing difficulty of adult migration causes more attention to be paid to juvenile settlers ---- Unemployment among juveniles ---- Various organizations established to prevent deterioration among the workless ---- Their part in assisting migration ---- The decreasing supply of juvenile labour ---- Probable effect on migration. The excess of female over male population ---- Its distribution at various ages ---- The need for increasing the migration of girls and young women ---- The importance of their part in Empire Settlement.

In previous chapters chief emphasis has been laid on the benefits which migration has brought to the juveniles themselves. An estimate must now be made of the value of the movement to different parts of the Empire. This chapter is therefore devoted to its influence on population problems, chiefly on unemployment, in Great Britain; the next deals with its value to the Dominions; the following chapter discusses the physical and mental standards required for successful migration, while the final chapter indicates the part which the schools of Great Britain might play in preparing young settlers for oversea life.

- I. For much of the information in this chapter I am indebted to the migration authorities of the various Dominions, particularly to the Chief Medical Officer at Australia House.

It is necessary to remember that successful emigration, besides affording direct relief to an overcrowded labour market, stimulates trade within the Empire and indirectly, but none the less surely, tends to reduce unemployment. Surplus workers are not only removed, they are employed overseas in the production of food-stuff and raw material for home consumption or manufacture. Their transference from indigence to prosperity also has the effect of enhancing their purchasing power in the home-market, and further increases the demand for labour at home. This dual effect of emigration on unemployment was first pointed out by colonization reformers early in the last century. Edward Gibbon Wakefield's example of the Hampshire emigrant and the Yorkshire operative has become famous. Charles Buller put the case for emigration even more explicitly: "Imagine in some village a couple of young married men, a weaver and a farm-labourer, both of whom are unable to get work. Both are in the work-house, and the spade of one and the loom of the other are equally idle. For the maintenance of these two men and their families the parish is probably taxed to the amount of £40 a year. The farm-labourer and his family get a passage to Australia or Canada - - - the parish gains £20 a year by being relieved of one of the two pauper families. The emigrant gets good employment - - - he finds that he has the wherewithal to buy him a good coat - - - to supply his children with decent clothing, instead of letting them run about in rags. He sends

1. Speech on Systematic Colonization, House of Commons 5th April 1843  
 Quoted from Appendix to "A View of the Art of Colonization," Oxford Edition 1914, p. 475.

1. "When a Hampshire peasant emigrates to Australia he very likely enables an operative to live in Lancashire or Yorkshire. Besides making food in the colony for himself, he makes some more to send home for the manufacturer, who, in his turn makes clothes or implements for the colonist".

(A View of the Art of Colonization. Edward Gibbon Wakefield, Oxford Edition 1914, p.92.)

home an order for a good quantity of broad-cloth, and this order actually sets the loom of his fellow-pauper to work and takes him, or helps to take him out of the workhouse. Thus, the emigration of one man relieves the parish of two paupers and furnishes employment not only for one man, but for two men".

The same argument was repeated with every succeeding period of trade depression and unemployment. Successful colonization had proved the thesis enunciated by Wakefield and his school. Edward Jenkins in his book on Emigration, published in 1869, was able to reinforce his plea for State assistance with significant statistics of trade with growing colonies. However, throughout last century direct relief to labour conditions at home continued to be the main aim in emigration. Foreign countries claimed a large proportion of British emigrants, no organized attempts were made to keep colonial trade within the Empire, and thus full advantage was not taken of the indirect benefit of emigration -- the creation of employment at home through the products of the labour of the emigrant abroad. Yet, with every attempt at emigration on a large scale, it became more evident that the direct relief obtainable was not only slow and small but becoming slower and smaller. The industrialization of Great Britain was reducing the supply of colonists suitable for agriculture overseas; the colonies were growing into self-governing Dominions and would be indirect. It nowhere directly connected unemployment

1. Speech on Systematic Colonization, House of Commons, 6th April, 1843. Quoted from Appendix to "A View of the Art of Colonization, Oxford Edition, 1914, p. 475.
2. State Emigration. E. Jenkins, 1869, p. 31. As for example, the following: QUEENSLAND 1860 - 1866

Year	Population	Acres under cultivation	Exports	Imports
1860	28,887	3,353	£523,477	£742,023
1866	96,172	24,433	£1,366,491	£2,467,907



and were unwilling to receive indiscriminately the surplus population of the Mother-country; while the increasing <sup>com-</sup>~~plex~~plexity of social and industrial conditions **made** mass migration more and more difficult.

Another factor complicated the problem. It was found that while in prosperous times the flow of settlers proceeded naturally and easily with the flow of capital to enterprises in the Dominions, in times of industrial depression, when emigration was most necessary, then it was most difficult. Careful organization and elaborate assistance were necessary to afford even a small measure of relief.

Thus it came to be seen that the main benefits to be hoped for from emigration must be the indirect ones resulting from increased trade with the Dominions. It was also clear that in order to reap full advantage from these it was necessary, first, to keep emigrants within the Empire, and second, to promote trade within the Empire. While considerable success has met the efforts made to fulfil the first of

I. these conditions, progress toward the second, which is equally important and which might come through a progressive policy of tariff reform in Great Britain and in the Dominions, has been slow and disappointing. Thus, migration is still only partially effective as a remedy for unemployment.

The Empire Settlement Act was framed in 1922 with a recognition of the fact that its main effects on trade-depression and unemployment would be indirect. It nowhere directly connected unemployment at home with shortage of population in the Dominions. It was entitled

1. In 1928, 80 per cent of the people who left Great Britain for permanent residence in Non-European countries, remained in the Empire. Report of the Oversea Settlement Committee 1928, Cmd.3308 Appendix 2.

"An Act to Make Better Provision for Furthering British Settlement in His Majesty's Oversea Dominions", and its benefits were made to apply to "suitable people who intend to settle overseas". The two evils, congestion of population at home and lack of it abroad, could be made to counteract each other, it was thought, not by forcing the emigration of surplus labour, but by fostering development and land settlement schemes in the Dominions, which, while drawing a certain amount of labour from the overcrowded home-market, would increase their absorbing capacity, stimulate trade and thus provide greater security and an increasing demand for the labour remaining. It was also evident that the process would be slow, "continued persistency and perseverance were required, a year would show practically nothing; ten years would begin to show results; in fifty years great and lasting changes might be set on foot, and in a century a revolution might be effected in the balance of population".<sup>I.</sup>

The fact that the re-absorption of the unemployed into increased industry and trade within the Empire, rather than their immediate emigration, is now the main aim in Empire Settlement, increases rather than lessens the importance of assisting the most suitable to settle overseas. The wide cumulative benefits of emigration can be obtained only through careful organization, direction and assistance. A number of features have combined to make assistance more necessary than ever before. The security afforded at home by schemes of social insurance, the general improvement in standards of living, the demand

I. Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill, replying to a deputation from the Royal Colonial Institute in 1922. Quoted from the Report of the Oversea Settlement Committee, 1922, Cmd. p.23.

for amenities in travelling and settling hitherto unheard of, the high cost of ocean transport, have complicated the problem of migration. With all the recent advances in means of transport and communication, the masses of population are perhaps less mobile than they were in the last century.

Not only has financial assistance for migration and settlement become a necessity, but it seems that definite agricultural training has also become an essential factor in the relief of unemployment by migration. The high physical standard required for agricultural labour in the Dominions demands a period of training, both to overcome the harmful effects of unemployment and to test the trainee's aptitude for his new life. The rather disappointing results of the scheme for supplying from the unemployed ten thousand harvesters for Canada in 1928 were due, it is generally admitted, to hasty selection and the lack of testing and training arrangements for candidates. We have already noted the increase in the training facilities offered by the Ministry of Labour. It seems that this work will remain a useful part of the Ministry's activities. Even in times of general prosperity unemployment rarely falls below two per cent. A certain proportion of the large numbers represented by this small percentage is likely to be suitable for oversea settlement, and if tested and partially trained for agricultural work, is most likely to find employment in the Dominions. Again, periods of acute trade depression, bringing in their wake unemployment and distress, seem to recur in more or less regular cycles; if emigration is to yield the maximum relief in these bad times, some organization for the training of migrants must be ready and capable of immediate expansion.

Adult migration is thus, at best, a slow and perhaps only a partial remedy for unemployment. Juvenile migration strikes deeper at the root of the problem. By diverting new labour from already overcrowded industries and directing it to more reproductive work overseas, it can be made, more than any other form of migration, to minimize future risks of unemployment and to prevent, as well as to cure, the evil.

In youth the social aspect of the problem is of even greater importance than the economic aspect. The disastrous effect which a period of enforced idleness has on the young demands that the greatest efforts should be made for its avoidance. That it permanently impairs those qualities of perseverance and enthusiasm which are essential for success either in industry at home or in settlement abroad, is agreed by all who know the evil at first hand. The following testimony as to its ill effects is no exaggeration; it is the considered finding of two observers with long experience of social work. Referring to their boys' clubs scattered throughout the East End of London and managed by the boys themselves, they say: "It might be expected that when one of these boys' officers falls out of work, he would have all the more energy to devote to the clubs during the evenings. We find that the exact opposite is the case --- The boy in work gives himself freely to his club; the boy out of work tends to become slack, irregular, unthoughtful, self-centred and incapable of either initiative or sustained effort ---- The bad housing conditions of Bermondsey, hard work and the general circumstances of poverty are powerless to dry up the supply of good officers. But unemployment in a few months seems to destroy the qualities which are produced and developed by the training given in the elem-

entary schools, the inherited capacity of our race and the natural fineness of youth ----- the boys are no longer young hopefuls, they are premature cynics, sense of humour coarsened, cleanliness neglected, hero-worship, ambition gone<sup>1</sup>.

Immediately after the war, when adults displaced great numbers of juvenile workers, serious unemployment among the latter was inevitable. The depression that settled in 1920 on the heavy industries -- coal, iron and shipbuilding, aggravated the evil which has persisted with varying degrees of severity to the present. Any enquiry into its incidence and extent is hampered by the incompleteness of relevant statistics. Only juvenile workers who have passed their

16<sup>2</sup> year have been insured under the Unemployment Insurance Acts; the unemployed in this class at any date can be calculated from the registrations at Employment Exchanges. On the other hand, those under sixteen years of age have not been insured, and though many have registered for employment at exchanges, the numbers are so

incomplete and so variable<sup>3</sup> as to make the gathering of reliable figures difficult.

4. It has been assumed that the total number of unemployed juveniles is not greater than the number registered at exchanges increased by fifty per cent, an assumption which yields the following figures

5. for the years 1922 to 1928:-

1. Unemployment among Boys, Eager and Secretan, p.60
2. This section was written before the passing of legislation extending to all juvenile workers the benefits of Unemployment Insurance.
3. With the proximity of the school-leaving periods - Christmas, Easter, July and October.
4. As in the Reports of the Committees on Education and Industry, England and Wales and Scotland, 1927-28
5. From the Reports of the Committees on Education and Industry, England and Wales, Part 1, p.35; Scotland, Part 1, p.13. Figures for 1927 and 1928 are taken from The Ministry of Labour Gazette for January in these two years.

Date	Estimated Numbers of Juveniles (14-17 years) Unemployed.
Dec. 1922	113,000
" 1923	109,000
" 1924	98,000
" 1925	73,000
" 1926	89,000 (coal Strike)
" 1927	76,000
" 1928	87,000
" 1929	86,000

These figures probably exaggerate the extent of the evil. Until a suitable vocation is found, boys and girls change their employment frequently. In many cases registration at an exchange is only an incident in passing from one position to another, and fifty per cent is probably too great an addition to make for non-registration. But although the above estimates of the extent of juvenile unemployment are extreme and must be taken with reserve, they give some indication of the urgency of the problem. They also indicate a slight improvement in the situation. The average annual percentages of unemployment among insured juveniles, which for later years can be more accurately calculated, show that the rate has decreased from 4.1 per cent in 1924 to 3.6 per cent in 1928<sup>I</sup>, while several sample enquiries

I. From Reports of the Ministry of Labour. The statistics given monthly in the Labour Gazette indicate that the average rate of unemployment among insured juveniles in 1929 will be nearer 3 per cent.

carried out by the Ministry of Labour into claims for insurance are equally reassuring. Whereas in 1923, 1.9 per cent of all the male claimants were between sixteen and seventeen years of age, in 1927 the percentage was 1.5. The special enquiry into juvenile unemployment in 1925 suggested that the great bulk of the boys and girls who were registered for employment were simply young workers of ordinary type who had been unemployed for a comparatively short period.

There was no indication of a large class of juveniles verging on the unemployable.<sup>2</sup>

Towards the prevention of juvenile unemployment and the minimizing of the physical and moral deterioration which it causes, two agencies have done especially valuable work. Immediately after the war, Local Education Authorities in distressed areas received grants enabling them to open in juvenile unemployment centres attendance at which was made a condition of receiving unemployment benefit. In May, 1919, there were two hundred and fifteen such centres in operation; the numbers have since varied with the incidence of unemployment and with the Government aid supplied. In 1928, there were on an average ninety six, and whereas in the past the centres were organized principally to prevent deterioration of character, main emphasis now began to be laid on fitting boys and girls for employment. Without being definitely vocational, the instruction aimed at improved

1. See Reports on Investigations into the Personal Circumstances and Industrial History of Claimants to Unemployment Benefit, Nov. 1923, Nov. 1924 and April 1927.
2. Enquiry into the Personal Circumstances and Industrial History of 3,301 Boys and 2,701 Girls registered for Employment in 1925, pp. 15 and 16.

general adaptability by giving elementary knowledge of the use of tools, and by teaching co-ordination of the brain and hand through manual and physical training.

Though only claimants of Unemployment Insurance Benefit are compelled to attend, the interest and the practical value of the course is shown by the fact that the percentage of non-claimants attending during 1928 rose from twenty seven to forty three in the whole country, while in Wales it rose from thirty five to sixty four.

At the same time there had been progress in the system of placing juveniles in employment and guiding them to suitable careers. Under section 107 of the Education Act, 1921, and section 6 of the Unemployment Insurance Act, 1923, this is undertaken either by the Ministry of Labour or by the Local Education authorities.

for interviews and medical examination, and by co-operating with

I. A typical curriculum comprises fifteen hours' instruction per week, divided as follows:-

Religious instruction, citizenship, music, first-aid,	2 hours
Physical training and games	3 hours
Practical instruction (wood-work, practical science, cookery, sewing)	2 Hours
English	3 hours
Practical arithmetic	2 hours
Lectures and visits to factories	2 hours
(Report of Glasgow Juvenile Advisory Council, 1928)	

2. Report of Ministry of Labour, 1928 Cmd. 3333, p.754.

3. Report of Ministry of Labour, 1923-24, Cmd. 2481, p.99

1912	131,470	49,935	81,535
1923	171,180	74,932	96,248
1924	250,487	111,761	138,726
1925	292,539	125,581	166,958
1926	265,021	114,972	150,049
1927	318,198	149,066	169,132
1928	340,415	148,924	191,491

(Report of Ministry of Labour, 1928, Cmd. 3333, p.47.)



Juvenile Advisory Committees composed of representatives of the Education authorities, of employers, workers, teachers and other interested parties, are appointed by the Minister of Labour to assist the juvenile department of the local employment exchange. In 1928 there were in Great Britain one hundred and seventy one such committees, as well as councils for co-ordinating the work of the committees in large centres, and a National Advisory Council to co-ordinate the work of the various branches of the whole system.

Since the passing of the Empire Settlement Act in 1922, both of these organizations, Unemployment Training Centres and Advisory Committees, have rendered valuable service to juvenile migration, the former by maintaining the physique and moral of unemployed boys willing to migrate, the latter by bringing to their notice the advantages which the Dominions offered, by undertaking preliminary arrangements for interviews and medical examination, and by co-operating with voluntary societies in the matter of after-care in the Dominions. Australia made the greatest use of this channel of migration, taking one thousand two hundred and fourteen boys between 1922 and 1925,

I. The increasing use made of these organizations by both employers and juveniles seeking employment is shown by the following table relating to the work of the juvenile department of the Employment Exchanges:

YEAR	Vacancies Notified	Vacancies Filled	
		Boys	Girls.
1922	131,470	49,936	63,734
1923	171,180	74,972	74,815
1924	250,487	111,761	95,460
1925	292,589	126,521	110,286
1926	266,021	114,872	105,353
1927	318,106	140,066	124,596
1928	340,415	148,924	132,648

(Report of Ministry of Labour, 1928, Cmd. 3333, p.47.)

1.  
 compared with sixty two to the other Dominions. Owing to the rise of voluntary migration agencies and the increase in opportunities for employment at home, the Ministry of Labour has not instituted a system of agricultural training for unemployed boys as it has for adults; its work does not go beyond advising boys who wish to migrate, and receiving applications for training at the Municipal Centres, whose work has already been noted. This is as it should be; for especially among boys, migration should not be too closely associated with unemployment. It is better to hasten the appeal for young settlers on the spirit of adventure, on the opportunities for self-betterment and for increased service to the Empire.

2.

In the direct relief of juvenile unemployment migration has played an important part. The table on page ~~116~~<sup>116</sup> shows that each year, since the passing of the Empire Settlement Act, an average number of some five thousand boys and girls, unaccompanied by their parents, have been assisted to settle overseas. To these must be added children, who in previous years have emigrated as members of families, and who, if they had remained, would have entered the home labour market. The reports of the Oversea Settlement Committee show that the following numbers of children have gone overseas since 1923:

1. Report of Ministry of Labour, 1925, Cmd 2736, p. 48.  
 2. "Migration should not be associated with Unemployment through the

Employment Exchanges. The inference drawn by the unemployed and others is that migration is the last throw of the gambler -- the last desperate chance. It is an expediency, not an expectancy. It is an act of despair, not of hope". (Canon Pughe, Late Honorary Director of Migration, Church Army. See "The Problem of Migration and Unemployment, a Report on a Visit to Australia", 1928, p. 30.)

Children Assisted to Migrate Under the Empire Settlement Act, 1923-28

Year	Number
1923	8,640
1924	14,529
1925	17,207
1926	25,999
1927	24,848
1928	19,372

The relief which this class of emigrant has brought to unemployment can be calculated only approximately by estimating the numbers of children that would reach the age of fourteen each year. The aggregate increases from some hundred in 1924 to more than six thousand in 1928. Thus, in the latter year, State assistance for the migration of children and juveniles effected a reduction of some ten or eleven thousand, or about twelve per cent, in the number of young unemployed workers.

Not only is this an important contribution to the solution of the problem of juvenile unemployment, it also exerts considerable influence on the adult labour situation. Among males, rates of unemployment fall into three age-groups. From sixteen to nineteen years inclusive, the rate is about half the average for all ages, it rises almost immediately to the average and remains thereabouts for the next twenty years, i.e., from the age of twenty to forty four;

- I. E.g. in 1924 the approximate number would be a fourteenth part of the 1923 quota, in 1925 a fourteenth of the 1923 quota plus a fourteenth of the 1924 quota, and so on.

after forty four it increases rapidly to almost double the average. The following table shows in greater detail how the rates varied with age in 1927:-

Age Group	Percentage of Male Claimants to Unemployment Benefit among Insured Workers, 4th April, 1927.
16 and 17	2.2
18 and 19	7.6
20 to 24	9.3
25 to 29	11.0
30 to 34	9.3
35 to 39	9.2
40 to 44	9.5
45 to 49	10.8
50 to 54	11.3
55 to 59	13.0
60 to 64	15.1
65 to 69	17.4
70 and over	2.4

The distribution of unemployment at the various ages shown above has not varied much since 1923. The sample enquiries carried out then and in the following year revealed much the same state of affairs. A Parliamentary Committee appointed in 1927 to consider the effect of schemes of social insurance on migration, found that there was a falling off in the interest displayed in migration by juveniles approaching the age of eighteen, and a lack of interest in the years immediately following eighteen. Migration officials would still agree with this finding. Although some

1. Report on Investigation into the Personal Circumstances and Industrial History of 9,748 Claimants to Unemployment Benefit, 4th April, 1927, p.5. (The rate of unemployment among female workers does not vary so widely. From 2.1 per cent at 16 and 17 years of age it rises to 5.3 per cent at 18 and 19, and remains fairly constant at that level.)

affairs; the ten year age-group, twenty to twenty nine, included and still includes nearly one third of the male claimants and nearly one half of the female claimants to Unemployment Insurance Benefit. We have already noted the attempts made by the Ministry of Labour to train young unemployed men for oversea settlement. This work is necessary, and, as far as it goes, successful, but it must be remembered that preventive measures are even more necessary than remedies in combatting unemployment. One of the surest ways of reducing the surplus of labour between the ages of twenty and thirty, and certainly the best way of preventing its accumulation in the future, is to increase the number of juvenile migrants. Even if they leave regular employment, they make room either for young unemployed workers or for older workers who, by family or social ties are more firmly bound at home; while their early transference will, in years to come, have the effect of curtailing the supply of adult labour and reducing the rate of unemployment, which for the last ten years has been especially serious in early manhood.

Another factor which increases the importance of migration at an early age must be mentioned here. A Parliamentary Committee appointed in 1927 to consider the effect of schemes of social insurance on migration, found that there was a falling off in the interest displayed in migration by juveniles approaching the age of eighteen, and

I.  
 a lack of interest in the years immediately following eighteen. Migration officials would still agree with this finding. Although some

Scotland, the remainder are compiled from tables in the Reports of the Committees on Education and Industry, 1927-28; England and Wales, Part I, p.109; Scotland, Part I, p.15.

I. Report to the Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs of the Inter-Departmental Committee appointed to Consider the Effect on Migration of Schemes of Social Insurance, Cmd. 2606, p.13.

improvement has been made by decreasing the benefit paid at the ages of eighteen, nineteen and twenty, and raising the age limit for free or reduced passages to the Dominions, the fact remains that the longer migration is delayed, the less strongly does it appeal to the individual. If the increasing difficulty of training and settlement, the diminishing chance of success, and the decreasing value to the Dominions of older migrants be considered in conjunction with their reluctance to migrate, the importance of early migration will be realized.

In any forecast of the part juvenile migration is likely to play in bringing about a better distribution of population within the Empire, account must be taken of the future supply of juvenile labour from which both industry at home and settlement abroad will draw their recruits. Between 1920 and 1929 the annual number of boys and girls leaving the schools of Great Britain and entering the labour market remained fairly constant. In the future, however, considerable variations are likely to be caused by the wide fluctuations in the birth-rate about the war period. The following table shows how the number of children attaining the age of fourteen has varied, or is likely to vary in the twenty years, 1921 to 1940.

1921	373	367	740
1936	366	353	709

I. Figures for the years 1921 to 1926 and 1936 to 1940 are calculated from data supplied by the Registrars-General in England and Scotland, the remainder are compiled from tables in the Reports of the Committees on Education and Industry, 1927-28; England and Wales, Part 1, p.109; Scotland, Part 1, p.15.

As many boys and girls continue their education beyond the age of fourteen, these figures must not be taken to represent the numbers entering industry in each year; they indicate only the rise and fall

in the supply of juveniles likely to be available for industry and  
 Number of Children Attaining the Age of Fourteen  
 in some parts in England, Scotland and Wales, 1921-1940.

YEAR	Numbers in Thousands		
	Boys	Girls	Total
1921	413	410	823
1922	421	419	840
1923	420	416	836
1924	413	407	820
1925	402	400	802
1926	399	394	793
1927	401	401	802
1928	400	403	803
1929	390	391	781
1930	361	357	718
1931	335	332	667
1932	292	291	583
1933	298	294	592
1934	444	434	878
1935	409	402	811
1936	401	395	796
1937	373	367	740
1938	356	353	709
1939	351	347	698
1940	347	342	689

As many boys and girls continue their education beyond the age of fourteen, these figures must not be taken to represent the numbers entering industry in each year; they indicate only the rise and fall

Compiled from tables in the Reports of the Committee on Education  
 Part I, p.15.

in the supply of juveniles likely to be available for industry and to some extent for migration.<sup>1</sup> It will be seen that between 1928 and 1933 the number of children reaching the school-leaving age falls by more than 25 per cent. The effect of this decrease is already being felt in the general diminution of unemployment among boys and girls; it will probably cause local, if not general, shortages of juvenile labour in 1932 and 1933.<sup>2</sup> In 1934 the post-war increase in the birth-rate will result in an abnormally large quota of fourteen year old children; thereafter there will be a gradual fall in the numbers.

A better idea of the effect these changes will have on the juvenile labour situation can be got from the next table, which shows the total number of boys and girls from fourteen to seventeen years of age who are likely to be available for industry in the ten years from 1926 to 1935.<sup>3</sup>

Numbers of Juveniles (14 to 17 years inclusive) Likely to be Available for Industry in England, Scotland and Wales, 1926-1935.

YEAR	Numbers in Thousands.		
	Boys	Girls	Total.
1926	1256.8	932.2	2189.0
1927	1239.1	920.9	2160.0
1928	1239.7	916.8	2156.5
1929	1230.7	911.2	2141.9
1930	1207.7	897.3	2105.0
1931	1161.5	860.8	2022.3
1932	1081.2	801.2	1882.4
1933	1010.8	746.9	1757.7
1934	1045.8	762.2	1808.0
1935	1070.0	777.5	1847.5

1. The raising of the school-leaving age, which at the time of writing seems likely to take place in 1931, would have the effect of postponing for a year these fluctuations.
2. And in 1934, if the school-leaving age is raised.
3. Compiled from tables in the Reports of the Committees on Education and Industry, 1927-28, England and Wales Part 1, p.109; Scotland Part 1, p.15.



These figures show that the changes will not be so sudden as might have been expected from the previous table, but they reveal more clearly the extent of the decrease in the supply of juvenile workers, and indicate that the country taken as a whole is likely to experience a shortage, as compared with previous years, of this type of labour commencing in 1932 or 1933.<sup>1</sup> It will be seen that there was a small but steady diminution from 1926 to 1929; that there will then be a more sudden fall of almost four hundred thousand, or about 20 per cent from 1929 to 1933, followed by an increase, which, however is comparatively small and gradual, the large addition of 1934 being balanced by the abnormally small ones of previous years. It is also a temporary increase, being likely to continue only till 1938, when owing to the fall in the birth-rate that has persisted since 1921, there is likely to be a further steady decrease. Thus, it is unlikely that the total supply of juvenile labour will again reach the level it was at in 1929.

It must be remembered that such shortage as may occur will not be spread evenly over the country.<sup>2</sup> Already the rates of juvenile unemployment vary widely in different parts, being really serious only where the staple industries are depressed. Thus, in Wales 8.7 per cent of insured boys and 5.7 per cent of insured girls were unemployed in 1928. In London the corresponding percentages were 2.1 and 1.7.<sup>3</sup> That the latter figures denote change of employment rather

1. Report of the London Juvenile Advising Council, 1928, p.7.
2. See note I on previous page.
3. Again with the proviso as to the raising of the school-leaving age.
4. See Memorandum on the Shortage, Surplus and Redistribution of Juvenile Labour during the years 1928 to 1933. Cmd. 3827.
5. Report of the Ministry of Labour, 1928, Cmd. 3333, p.43.

ually from the depressed areas.

than unemployment is indicated by complaints from many London employers that they were unable to get sufficient boy and girl workers, and also by the closing of the last unemployment training centre in the metropolis in the same year.<sup>1.</sup>

Local variations in the war-period birth-rate will cause this uneven distribution of juvenile labour to persist for some years. Where most of the men of military age served abroad during the war there was a large decrease in the birth-rate; on the other hand, in districts where there were carried on great essential industries there was an increase. Children born during the latter years of the war are now nearing the completion of their education, and the fluctuations in their numbers will soon be felt in industry. Thus in one area, the number of children leaving school in the next few years is expected to fall by more than fifty per cent, while in another an increase of more than twenty per cent is probable.<sup>2.</sup> It is an unfortunate circumstance that many districts which will experience the increase are those on which trade depression now falls most heavily. It is clear that such shortage in the aggregate of juvenile labour as is likely to occur will not alone solve the problem of juvenile unemployment. It will rather change the problem into one of the transference of young workers from depressed to more prosperous industries.<sup>3.</sup>

1. Report of the London Juvenile Advising Council, 1928, p.7.
2. Report of the Ministry of Labour, 1928, Cmd.3333, p.45.
3. See Report of the Industrial Transference Board, 1928, Cmd.3156, Section 71 et seq. Also The Ministry of Labour Gazette, March 1929. Under the system instituted by the Ministry of Labour early in 1928 some two thousand boys have been transferred annually from the depressed areas.

In view of the rapidly diminishing supply of juvenile workers, the advisability of continuing to assist the young to settle overseas may be called in question. Is it to the advantage of Great Britain that the movement of boys and girls to the Dominions should continue? In answer to such a question it may be pointed out that a lack of juvenile labour is as yet entirely problematic and dependent on the conditions governing industry a few years hence. If it does occur, it may well be, within certain limits, beneficial rather than harmful. It will allow the young worker who remains in the country a wider choice of vocation, a better chance of avoiding casual labour, and more opportunities of entering skilled trades or professions which offer greater security of tenure than much of the employment now available. In any case there can be no doubt of the benefit which increased juvenile migration will confer on distressed areas. For some years to come they will need every measure of relief for their problem of unemployment. The municipal migration training centres already established should be strongly supported in order that they may fit as many as possible of the most suitable boys and girls for life in the Dominions.

Nor is the shortage of recruits for home industry likely to be so acute that their places will not be able to be filled from the surplus of adult labour. Juvenile migration may well become an increasingly important factor in reducing adult unemployment, exercising its influence both in the present by making room for older workers and, as already pointed out, in the future by preventing an accumulation of a surplus of adult labour. Perhaps the most hopeful factor in the whole problem of unemployment is the decreasing number

of young people available for industry. Though relief from this source can come only slowly, it can be hastened by assisting to migrate not only unemployed boys and girls, but also as many of the employed as are suitable for an agricultural career and can be absorbed in the Dominions. There is little need to fear that State-assistance will encourage migration to such an extent as to be detrimental to Great Britain, while, considered from the wider interests of the Empire as a whole, assistance for young settlers will long continue to be necessary even though opportunities for home employment increase.

Another factor demands special notice. Juvenile migration has just been considered mainly with reference to its direct effect in reducing unemployment. We saw earlier in the chapter that this direct effect has become less important than the indirect effect which comes through increasing trade within the Empire. We saw, too, that in order to obtain the maximum benefit from this indirect effect, migrants must be engaged overseas in primary production. It is in this respect that juveniles are especially valuable as oversea settlers. They are assisted only on the condition that they enter agricultural employment, and as the demand for their services shows, they are of immediate value in this sphere. That a great proportion, probably between eighty and ninety per cent, remain on the land, and that more than half of these will become independent farmers of the type that will go "outback" to bring new land under cultivation, are the opinions of those who have first-hand knowledge of juvenile migration in each Dominion. It must also be borne in mind that the indirect

- I. The value to the Dominions of juvenile migration is more fully discussed in the next chapter.

Though not of such urgency as unemployment, the unequal distribution of the sexes in the population of the various parts of the Empire is a problem which should be considered in all forms of Oversea Settlement. The large movement of young settlers which commenced with the passing of Empire Settlement Act has not yet had time to make its full value felt, but from the present its influence may be expected steadily to increase.

Thus, not only for its beneficent effect on the individual, but also for its influence, direct or indirect, on unemployment, for the part it has come to play in settling the remote parts of the Empire and bringing about a better distribution of population, juvenile migration may well be regarded as one of the most successful forms of Oversea Settlement. Home and Dominion Governments do not agree on all the problems involved in the migration of adults, but they show remarkable unanimity with regard to juvenile migration. Its value to the whole Empire is such as to outweigh any risk of depleting the

home supply of juvenile labour, and to demand every possible measure not only for continuance but also for extension.

Questions which bear directly on our subject and must now be discussed.

- I. Evidence of this agreement may be found in the reports of the Oversea Settlement Committee and of the Dominion Immigration Departments. The following references are typical:-
  1. Report of the Committee on Oversea Settlement of the Imperial Economic Conference, 1923, p.143 : "The Committee attach the greatest importance to the migration of children and juveniles, which they regard as one of the most hopeful of all forms of migration!"
  2. Report of the Department of Immigration and Colonization, Canada, 1928, p.86 : "This growing consciousness of the immense value of juvenile migration to our vast Dominion and also to Great Britain from a national point of view is but the forerunner of a greater development".
  3. Report of the Development and Migration Commission, Australia, 1927, p.38: It is recognized that the migration of lads whilst they are still young enough to adapt themselves to new conditions and environment is one of the most successful forms of migration".
  4. Report of the Department of Immigration, New Zealand, 1924, p.2 : " ---- that most important phase of all immigration policies, i.e. juvenile and child migration".

Though not of such urgency as unemployment, the unequal distribution of the sexes in the population of the various parts of the Empire is a problem which should be considered in all forms of oversea settlement. The preponderance of male over female emigration, together with the greater toll which war and disease take of men than of women, has accumulated in Great Britain a surplus of female population which has long been recognized as a social and an economic weakness. Edward Gibbon Wakefield declaimed against it, describing England as the saddest nunnery the world had seen, and holding up in contrast the dearth of women in every colony. In 1871 the surplus at home amounted to 971,000, in 1911 to 1,322,500; during the intervening period 590,000 more males than females had emigrated. The war caused a further increase to 1,924,000 in 1921. In 1927 the number stood at 1,872,000, but the slight decrease was due, not to migration but to the greater number of deaths among women.

This surplus of female population is not spread evenly over all ages. At what age does it occur? and how may migration effect a reduction, or at least prevent further accumulation in the future? <sup>these</sup> are questions which bear directly on our subject and must now be discussed.

The following table shows the distribution of the sexes of the population of Great Britain at various ages in 1927:

1. A View of the Art of Colonization, Edward Gibbon Wakefield, Oxford Edition, 1914, p.75.
2. Final Report of the Royal Commission on the Natural Resources, Trade and Legislation of Certain Portions of His Majesty's Dominions 1917-18, Cd. 8462, p.95.
3. Compiled from Data supplied by the Registrars-General. The age groups are chosen to allow comparison with migration statistics.

It is also clear that the disproportion between the sexes is so

Age Groups.	Males	Females	Excess of Females. (Minus sign(-) denotes excess of Males.)
Under 12	4,535,000	4,441,000	-94,000
12 - 17	2,401,000	2,390,000	-11,000
18 - 20	1,225,000	1,222,000	-3,000
21 - 25	1,882,000	1,948,000	66,000
26 - 30	1,567,000	1,849,000	282,000
31 - 35	1,448,000	1,754,000	306,000
Over 35	8,095,000	9,427,000	1,332,000
All ages	21,152,000	23,030,000	1,878,000

It will be seen, first, that almost three quarters of the female majority occurs over the age of thirty five years, when migration has usually lost both its appeal to the individual and its value to the Dominions; second, that the remainder of the surplus, numbering over half a million women, occurs only between the ages of twenty one and thirty five. Though this is a problem of adult migration, it will be seen in the tables which follow that a contributing factor is the disproportion between the numbers of the sexes in juvenile migration. Another fact which the table reveals is the existence, at early ages, of a majority of male population caused by the excess of male over female births. This does not mean that the migration of girls or young women should be neglected. Unless it is encouraged and brought at least to the level of its counterpart in male migration, it will go on contributing in the future to an unsocial and uneconomic surplus of women.

It is also clear that the disproportion between the sexes is so

large that the results to be expected from migration must necessarily be slow and small. The main aim should be to equalize male and female representation among migrants at all ages. If this could be accomplished, the natural increase would solve the problem of the unequal distribution of the sexes in the course of two generations. That emigration is still having the opposite tendency is shown in the following table compiled from statistics of the Board of Trade.

I.  
Excess of Male over Female Emigrants who Left the United Kingdom for Permanent Residence in Non-European Countries, 1922-1928.

Age Group	Excess of Male over Female Emigrants. Minus (-) sign denotes excess of females.							
	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	Total
Under 12	323	193	114	361	742	745	759	3,237
12 to 17	1,738	3,676	3,200	3,046	4,007	375	4,641	20,683
18 to 20	482	6,385	2,457	2,707	3,327	3,058	3,537	21,953
21 to 25	5,427	20,798	6,832	3,841	6,127	6,602	8,100	57,727
26 to 30	715	9,666	161	-1,108	305	749	2,236	12,856
31 to 45	-162	10,522	-1,636	-2,718	-1,103	-1,055	-498	3,350
Others	-1,883	67	-1,837	-2,157	-1,240	-1,514	-1,737	-10,301
All ages	6,580	51,336	9,312	3,964	12,207	12,843	17,168	113,401

Since the proportion of girls and women among emigrants unassisted by the State is always small, the Oversea Settlement Committee, immediately after the war, recognized the increasing of this proportion as one of its first duties. Statistics of assisted migration

1. Board of Trade Journal, April of each year, 1922 to 1928.  
2. Including a number whose ages were not specified.



show that while considerable progress has been made toward this end among adults, the results among juveniles have not been so successful. I. Departures Under the Empire Settlement Act.

## Adults.

YEAR	Men	Women	Percentage of Women
1923	17,858	10,287	36.5
1924	15,120	11,581	43.4
1925	14,029	11,821	45.7
1926	21,436	18,668	46.6
1927	20,169	18,010	47.2

## 2.

## Juveniles.

YEAR	Boys	Girls	Percentage of Girls
1923	4,790	492	9.3
1924	3,074	641	17.2
1925	3,981	542	12.0
1926	5,841	902	13.4
1927	5,716	886	13.3

It must be admitted that serious difficulties lie in the way of increasing the proportion of girls among migrants. Except for the orphaned and destitute who are taken under the care of philanthropic societies early transfer to the Dominions is not practicable. Apart from the fact that girls are not prepared to face life independently at such an early age as boys, the proper solicitude of

1. Report of the Oversea Settlement Committee, 1928, Cmd.3308, p.26. At the time of writing statistics for the year 1928 are not available.
2. From data supplied by the Oversea Settlement Department.

parents for the welfare of their daughters is likely to delay migration until the age of at least seventeen years is reached. Above this age migration presents no more dangers than home employment. The Society for the Oversea Settlement of British Women, which since 1919 has acted as the Women's Branch of the Oversea Settlement Department, is in touch with organizations suited to take care of every class of girl. That opportunities for their employment are not lacking is shown by the unsatisfied demand from all Dominions for capable household workers, especially for those willing to serve in the country. Perhaps an explanation of the reluctance of girls and young women to take advantage of the opportunities offered by oversea settlement may be found in the general preference for the artificiality and excitement of city life rather than for the simplicity and enduring interests of life in the country. Another deterrent factor is the unwillingness of many to enter domestic service in which most, though not all of openings occur in the Dominions. These are largely problems of education, and as such are discussed in a later chapter. It needs to be emphasized that British girls have a part to play in the Empire Settlement as important as that of their brothers. The Dominions offer them the opportunity not only for happier, healthier living, but also for wider and more useful service than falls to the lot of many who stay at home.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE PROBLEM of ASSIMILATION in the DOMINIONS.

Advantages of juvenile immigration — Steady demand for young land-workers — Their adaptability leads to complete assimilation with the native population — A large percentage remain in agricultural employment — The high economic value of juveniles as compared with adults — The best age for migration — Necessity for adequate assistance in establishing juvenile settlers on farms of their own — The need of each Dominion for increased female immigration — Problems of settlement and supervision.

Although in comparison with adult migration the movement of juveniles is not large, it has a number of advantages which enhance its importance to the Dominions. In the first place, it is not so variable as other forms of migration. The history of migration within the Empire, especially that of the last ten years, demonstrates the difficulty of reconciling Home and Dominion interests in oversea settlement. It has already been pointed out that prosperity and not industrial depression leads to large emigration from Great Britain. That the same is true with regard to immigration into the Dominions need hardly be stated. When times of prosperity at home coincide with time of agricultural and industrial progress abroad, migration proceeds rapidly and needs little assistance from the State. Thus, in the years immediately preceding the war, some three hundred thousand and people left Great Britain annually, about three quarters of the number bound for other parts of the Empire. Such happy coincidence of prosperity does not often occur. Prolonged industrial depression in Great Britain has prevented emigration from attaining much more than half its pre-war numbers, while the number of immigrants entering

the various Dominions has fluctuated widely in accordance with the measure of prosperity each enjoyed. The Dominions' need of increased population remains, in spite of temporary inability to absorb large numbers of immigrants, and juvenile immigration offers a means of supplying that need even in times of depression. It is found that the demand for young settlers does not vary with economic conditions as does that for adults. Though bad times may put a check on agricultural and industrial enterprise, the fact that ordinary farm work has to go on as usual maintains the demand for young workers. They can usually get and keep employment on the land, and when prosperity returns, are trained and ready to take such opportunities as occur for better positions, or for farming on their own account.

Examples may be quoted from each Dominion to show how the demand for juvenile migrants persists in spite of temporary set-backs to prosperity. In 1927, when New Zealand was experiencing serious unemployment, assistance for adult immigration was confined to separated families and single women, while boys and girls entering under the Church of England, Salvation Army and Flock House Committees were assisted as usual. In 1929 a poor harvest <sup>in Canada</sup> caused adult immigration to decrease, but hardly affected the movement of juveniles. Again, at the close of the same year, financial stringency in Australia led the Government to curtail assistance to all classes of immigrants except boys entering for agricultural work and girls or women for domestic service.

It may also be said not only that the supply of juvenile migrants has never fully met the demand, but also that the movement

- I. In one or two cases, as for instance, recently in Australia it has been necessary to reduce the quotas of juvenile immigrants but these temporary reductions have been outweighed by the unfulfilled demand from other parts of the Dominions.

has attained its present proportions without the widespread propaganda that has been necessary to maintain the flow of adult settlers. Careful organization could double alike the numbers offering for settlement and the numbers able to be placed overseas. Ten thousand juvenile immigrants — five thousand to Canada, four thousand to Australia and a thousand to New Zealand and South Africa — is perhaps a low estimate of the annual absorbing capacity of the Dominions in normal times.

There is little cause to fear that such an influx would be to the detriment of Dominion-born workers — a charge often laid against adult immigration. On every farm there is work more suitable for boys than men. Apart from considerations of economy, adult workers are apt to become discontented if asked to do boys' work. The farmer often adopts the less troublesome but equally unprofitable course of doing such work himself. The natural remedy is to employ a boy, not as a substitute for an adult, but as an addition, and it should be noted, not as a farm-drudge but as an apprentice who must learn his work from the beginning. Neither can the objection that the immigration of farm-apprentices displaces young native workers be sustained. The latter may enter agricultural employment at least as easily as the former; it has already been pointed out that many Dominion Governments offer equal privileges to both, while the ready welcome extended to young immigrants is practical proof not only of the absence of juvenile unemployment in agricultural districts, but also of the existence of a general shortage of this type of labour which cannot be met locally.

The readiness with which juveniles are absorbed into the community,

and into that part of it which most urgently needs increasing, is another advantage of this form of immigration. For purposes of placement and supervision, immigrants fall naturally into three classes — families, single adults and juveniles. Provided special care is taken in selection and placement, the most valuable class to the Dominions are families, especially young married couples with children. They are most likely to settle permanently, their children are accustomed from infancy to their new conditions and are assimilated naturally with the native population. Family migration also maintains equality in the numbers of the sexes, and thus tends towards a high natural increase. Likewise, in the country of emigration, outgoing families reduce the numbers of the sexes equally, and put a greater check on the natural increase at home than either of the other classes of migrants.

But families suitable for migration, and ready to undertake it, are difficult to obtain. Migration means a radical change in occupation, probably from a city calling to agriculture, and the breadwinner hesitates to face the difficulties involved in training, the maintenance of dependants, the securing of suitable employment and the venturing of capital necessary to commence farming independently. The risks attendant on all these steps make heads of families as cautious about emigration as the Dominions are about accepting them. Thus, assistance for the immigration of families is limited to those entering under a carefully supervised scheme, such as group settlement, and to those nominated by societies or friends, who, by guaranteeing employment or maintenance until settlement is satisfactorily effected relieve the Government of responsibility.

Single adults have fewer ties to sever, they are therefore more easily induced to migrate, and their transference presents less difficulty than does that of families. But the great majority of those available for migration have been born and brought up in cities, their habits and ways of living are fixed, and even if trained and placed in agricultural employment, they are apt, on slight discouragement, to seek their livelihood in the already overcrowded cities of the Dominions or to return home. Migration workers will agree that the most difficult migrant to place and keep on the land is the trained engineer or mechanic, unless, of course, he is fortunate enough to find scope for his ability in the use of farm machinery. A short course of training before emigration, by eliminating the unfit and preparing the suitable for strenuous manual labour, reduces, but does not entirely get rid of this tendency of single adult immigrants to drift from the land and from the work they were brought out to do.

Difficulties such as these, being inseparable from adult migration, have led the Dominions to pay increasing attention to juvenile settlers. In physique, mentality and temperament they are the most adaptable of all classes of migrants. Their settlement and supervision during adolescence involves as much trouble and perhaps more expense than with adults, but against this expenditure must be reckoned the greater measure of success that follows. Owing to the difficulty of keeping trace of adult migrants, exact comparative statistics are not obtainable, but it is agreed that juveniles do not show as high a percentage of failures, and do not drift to cities to the same extent as do adults. The Salvation Army dealing with boys of every class in every Dominion, and keeping close touch with them

for several years after settlement, find that 86 per cent of those under its care remain on the land. This seems to be the average for most systems, though some organizations which provide very thorough training and supervision, or deal with specially promising classes of boys, place a much higher estimate on their success. The Salvation Army in New Zealand find that 95 per cent of the boys from the local training centre stay in farm employment; about the same percentage is obtained among Public Secondary School Boy Settlers in all Dominions, while the records of the Big Brother Movement in Australia show that 98 per cent of the Little Brothers remain on the land and give promise of becoming successful farmers.

Yet another advantage of the immigration of juveniles lies in their high economic value to the Dominion receiving them. They enter with the whole of their producing careers before them, and at an age when they are changing from dependants to self-supporting units. For a trifling outlay on assistance and supervision, the Dominion gains in each individual an asset which has cost several hundred pounds in upbringing and education, and whose future services will probably be valued in thousands of pounds. In this respect the juvenile is the most valuable of all settlers. Any estimate of the relative values of immigrants at various ages raises difficult problems, but some idea of their variation may be formed on the basis of the following table, the work of the Commonwealth Government Statisticians at different ages. It would be applicable to immigrants if

1. Commissioner D.C.Lamb in a paper read before the British Association, 1927.
2. Information supplied by the Salvation Army authorities in New Zealand.
3. Report of the Big Brother Movement for the year ending 30th September, 1928, p.2.



## I.

ician and Actuary. Though calculated with respect to the average Australian worker, for our purpose of comparison it is capable of general application. The length of this period varies with the individual, but it can be stated that even young adaptable settlers require not less than three years' training to push them into

Males		Females.	
Age	Capitalized Present Value	Age	Capitalized Present Value
0	£ 794	0	£ 391
5	1,156	5	559
10	1,492	10	721
15	1,923	15	928
18	2,245	18	1,082
20	2,212	20	1,064
25	2,119	25	1,011
30	2,006	30	948
35	1,869	35	870
40	1,703	40	773
45	1,503	45	650
50	1,250	50	489
55	952	55	279
60	552	59	63
64	128		

This table shows the relative value to the community of native workers at different ages. It would be applicable to immigrants if they could take up the work for which they had been trained and exert at once their full power in industry or agriculture. This seldom

I. In a paper read before the Australian Association for the Advancement of Science, 1923. Proceedings Vol. XVI, p. 523 et seq.

happens, as migration involves a change of occupation, usually to agriculture, and necessitates a period of apprenticeship before full producing power is reached. The length of this period varies with the individual, but it can be stated that even young adaptable settlers require not less than three years' training to turn them into competent farm-hands, and at least two additional years to qualify them for independent ownership. For older migrants longer periods are required. Years that should be spent in full production are spent in learning, and success becomes less certain. Thus, if it were possible to make allowance for these factors in the above table and adjust it to refer to immigrants, it would probably be found that their values decreased much more rapidly for ages over eighteen, and much less rapidly for ages under eighteen.

The following table which shows the age limits for the assisted passage rates offered to juveniles in 1929 indicates that the Dominions agree in regarding eighteen or nineteen years as a critical age in migration, beyond which the adaptability of the migrant and the value of his future services to the community decrease so rapidly as not to warrant great concession.

**CANADA.**  
(British Migrant Ocean Fare, £10)

Juveniles (boys 14 to 19 and girls 14 to 17 years of age) under the care of approved societies.	}	A free grant of 80 dollars or 100 dollars, if proceeding to Western Canada.
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1. For these reasons the Australian Migration authorities have accepted few "selected" (i.e. not nominated) migrants over twenty eight years of age, the risk of failure being considered so great as not to justify the expenditure of public money on their assistance.

## AUSTRALIA.

(Ordinary 3rd Class Ocean Fare, £37-£40.)

Juveniles of 17 and 18 years of age ----- £11

Juveniles over 12 but under 17 ----- £5.10.0

Children under 12 ----- Free.

## NEW ZEALAND

(Ordinary 3rd Class Ocean Fare, £37-£40.)

Juveniles under 19 years of age ----- Free.

The question as to what age gives the best chance of success in migration has medical and educational aspects which are discussed in later chapters. Here it must be pointed out that from an economic point of view migration should take place in the early years of adolescence. Unless the period of apprenticeship is completed before manhood is reached, the young settler cannot use to the best advantage some of the most important years of his life; he is liable to miss opportunities for self-advancement which will not occur again, and the Dominion does not reap the full benefit of his immigration. The aim in all juvenile immigration should be not merely to train farm labourers, but to enable as many as are suitable to become farm-owners. Most must rely on their own savings to provide capital for their establishment on the land, and the earlier they commence saving the earlier will they be able to achieve their ambition. It is important that they should be in a position to take the step to ownership while still in the early twenties of their age. Payment for a

I.

Arrangements for the establishment of young settlers on farms

1. In the Canadian Land Settlement Scheme, twenty one to twenty five years is prescribed as the age of eligibility for assistance in the purchase and equipment of farms.

farm is often spread over twenty or thirty years, the best part of a lifetime. Older migrants hesitate before incurring such heavy liabilities, with the result that many remain farm-labourers, or are drawn to the cities in search of more immediately lucrative employment. From these considerations it would seem that migration at the ages, fifteen, sixteen and seventeen gives the best chance of success. The particular year that is best for each boy will depend on his physique, temperament and education.

The opportunities which the Dominions offer vary widely, being greatest where land is still cheap and plentiful. In this respect the Western Provinces of Canada, Western Australia, Queensland and New South Wales excel as fields for juvenile immigration. They hold out prospects of advancement to every class of boy. Those with capital to draw upon are assured of profitable openings, while those not so favoured may reasonably expect that industry and thrift will bring them at least a competency. The Eastern Provinces of Canada, South Australia, Victoria and New Zealand, where less new land is available for settlement, offer special attractions to boys who, after serving their apprenticeship, will be helped financially by their parents to acquire land. But it is not only these who are likely to succeed. There is an even greater demand than in the newer parts of the Dominions for competent agricultural workers, while closer settlement and more intense cultivation provide frequent opportunities for enterprising boys to pass from farm-labour to share-farming, and thence to farming on their own account.

Arrangements for the establishment of young settlers on farms of their own should be regarded as a necessary part, indeed as the

culmination of any system of juvenile immigration. The provisions of the Canadian Boys' Land Settlement Scheme might well be adopted in other Dominions. At present, the only other Dominion offering similar assistance is South Australia, where boys who have satisfactorily completed their apprenticeship, and who have either leased or bought land, are eligible for loans of £300 toward the purchase of stock and equipment. Though the other States of Australia and New Zealand offer the same assistance to the immigrant as to the native settler, there would seem to be a strong case for the granting of special assistance to juvenile immigrants. Their separation from home and kindred entitles them to more than ordinary consideration. The great majority have remained in agricultural employment and given proof of their industry and ability. Their establishment on farms would not only be advantageous to the Dominions, but it would also inspire confidence in the movement at home and increase the numbers offering for oversea settlement. That the Canadian scheme has already had the latter effect is shown by the large increase in the number of boys entering the Dominion through the Provincial Reception Farms. The need in Australia and New Zealand is being only partially met by private enterprise. The Big Brother Movement is beginning to undertake the work of financing the farming ventures of its wards, and the system adopted by the New Zealand Sheepowners' Fund has already been noted; but these attempts can deal only with a few of the many deserving cases. It is needed today. He points out that a thousand

This chapter has so far dealt with only one side of juvenile immigration -- the settlement of boys. Notice must now be taken of

1. A View of the Art of Colonization, Edward Gibbon Wakefield, I. See Chapter IX. p. 177.

not at the end of twenty years increase the colonial population by its counterpart — the migration of girls to the Dominions. It is more than half that number. Not five hundred young couples, suppose necessary first to review, from the standpoint of the Dominions, some of the factors influencing the oversea settlement of women generally. Judged either by the unequal distribution of the sexes in the population of the various parts of the Empire, or by the persistent demand from the Dominions for the services of girls and women, it is one of the most urgent problems of Empire Settlement.

The tendency for men to outnumber women in migration, which causes an uneconomic surplus of women in Great Britain, causes in the newer parts of the Empire a lack of female population and seriously hinders their development. Besides preventing a high rate of natural increase, it retards settlement. The history of colonization shows that it is men with wives and families to work for who bring waste lands under cultivation and hew out homes in the wilderness. Single men are apt to remain migrants until marriage or the immediate prospect of marriage gives them the incentive to settle. With the increasing difficulty of obtaining families suitable for oversea settlement, it has become more important than ever that special efforts should be made to bring about equality between the numbers of the sexes in all forms of migration. Edward Gibbon Wakefield's statement that, "In colonization women have a part so important that all depends on their participation in the work", still holds true, and his example of the varying rates of increase in different groups of emigrants might well be heeded today. He points out that a thousand emigrants of all ages and including a large excess of males might

I. Article VI. A Letter from Sydney, Edward Gibbon Wakefield, Quoted from Appendix to Dr. A. J. Dawson's Life of Wakefield.  
 I. A View of the Art of Colonization, Edward Gibbon Wakefield, Oxford Edition, p.155.

not at the end of twenty years increase the colonial population by more than half that number. "But five hundred young couples, supposed by the next table: that each couple rear six children, and that in twenty years half of the original emigrants were dead, would in that short period increase the colonial population by three thousand five hundred souls. Any number of emigrants, in short, would, if selected as proposed, treble themselves in the first twenty years, whereas a number of emigrants of all ages might not, and probably would not, begin to increase till the end of twenty years".

It might be expected that such factors as rapid ocean transport and news services which bring the Dominions nearer the home-country, together with innovations like the motor-car, the wireless telephone and the extension of country medical services which reduce the hardship and isolation of pioneer life, would have had the effect of bringing the immigration of women up to a level with that of men. Such is not found to be the case. Except in New Zealand there is a growing disparity between the numbers of the sexes.

In Canada, as the following table shows, the proportion of men to women has increased, except during the war period, for the last half century.

Masculinity of Population.  
(The excess of males over females per hundred of population)  
CANADA 1871-1921.

1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921
1.4	1.2	1.8	2.4	6.1	3.1

1. Article VI. A Letter from Sydney. Edward Gibbon Wakefield. Quoted from Appendix to Dr. A. J. Harrop's Life of Wakefield.
2. Canada Year-book, 1929, p. 97.

How this excess is distributed among the various provinces is indicated by the next table:

PROVINCE	Masculinity of Population	PROVINCE	Masculinity of Population
Prince Edward Island	1.4	Manitoba	5.0
Nova Scotia	1.8	Saskatchewan	9.2
New Brunswick	1.8	Alberta	10.2
Ontario	1.0	British Columbia	11.8

More than half the majority of males which the last census showed to be 270,000, is found in the Western Provinces, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia. Here the problem of female immigration is complicated by the mixture of races and the little inter marriage that goes on between them. The census of the Prairie Provinces, taken in 1926, shows the following percentages of British population: Manitoba, 56.8; Saskatchewan, 51.6; Alberta, 58.7. Over thirty other nationalities make up the remainder. Professor Hurd's examination of the parentage of the 150,000 children born in Canada from year to year reveals that only 5.2 per cent of the men of South Eastern and Central European stocks had intermarried with British and French by 1921. Not more than 3.6 per cent of the married men of Polish origin had intermarried with British women; for other nationalities the percentages were: Roumanian, 3.3; Austrians, 1.3, Ukrainians, 0.7. The percentage was greater in the case of Dutch,

1. Ibid. The Province of Quebec is not included on account of the preponderance of French population.
2. "Is there a Canadian Race"? in Queen's Quarterly, Vol. XXXV, No. 5, and Vol. XXXVI., No. 1.



Swiss and Danish men.

However, the need for increasing the immigration of British girls and women is evident from the following table showing how the sexes are distributed in the British population.

British Population, 1926.

Provinces	Males	Females	Excess of Males
Manitoba	107,956	96,808	11,148
Saskatchewan	129,301	97,870	31,431
Alberta	110,968	86,602	24,366
British Columbia, 1921	205,030	182,483	22,547

In the Eastern Provinces the disparity between the numbers of the sexes, while not so great as in the West, is serious enough in rural districts to call for a large increase in female immigration.

The population of Australia, unlike that of Canada, showed a steady approach towards equality in the numbers of the sexes until 1921. Since then, heavy male immigration has caused an increase in the majority of males.

I.  
Masculinity of Population of Australia.

(The excess of males over females per thousand of population)

1880 All Australia (1880-1928)

1880	1890	1900	1910	1920	1922	1924	1926	1928
7.95	7.43	5.01	3.79	1.70	1.77	2.05	2.20	2.31

The States (1928)

New South Wales	1.93	Queensland	5.88
Victoria	-.57	South Australia	3.45
Tasmania	-.84	Western Australia	8.51.

## I.

The latest available statistics show that males outnumber females by 146,284. The recent increase has been specially marked in the sparsely populated States, Queensland, Western Australia and South Australia. In New South Wales there has been little change, while in Victoria and Tasmania there is an increasing majority of female population.

With regard to New Zealand, a more satisfactory state of affairs is revealed by the following table:

Masculinity of Population of New Zealand.  
(The Excess of males over females per thousand of population)  
1881-1927.

1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1926	1927
10.2	6.2	5.1	5.5	2.2	2.1	2.1

In this Dominion the problem of the lack of female population seems likely to be solved in a comparatively short time by the policy of attracting equal numbers of male and female immigrants. The natural increase is reducing the present majority of 27,000 males by about nine hundred annually, so that, provided equal numbers of males and females continue to be gained by immigration, the sexes should be evenly balanced in thirty years.

In all three Dominions the war had the effect of reducing or eliminating the excess of males between the ages of twenty and

DOMINION.	Age and Sex Distribution of the Populations of the Dominions, 1921.			All ages
	Under 21 yrs.	21 to 30 yrs.	Over 30 yrs.	
Canada	30,000	2,000	232,000	270,000
Australia	30,000	23,000	83,000	136,000
New Zealand	30,000	23,000	83,000	136,000

1. Commonwealth Year Book, 1929, p.888.

2. New Zealand Official Year-book, 1929, p.82.

for later years cannot be given.

2. From Data supplied by the Overseas Settlement Department.

I, thirty, but it is again being built up by heavy male immigration. Thus, either to bring about a better balance between the numbers of the sexes, or to prevent the present disparity from growing, there is need of increased female immigration. The need is most urgent among the young. The movement of young agricultural workers to the Dominions should be balanced by at least as great a movement of girls and women. It is equally important that as many as possible should be fitted for farm-household work. That they could be easily and profitably absorbed is evident from the persistent demand for this type of settler.

Perhaps the chief weakness of juvenile migration lies in the small proportion of girls who, up to the present, have been included in the movement. In Canada, since the passing of the Empire Settlement Act, only nine out of every hundred juvenile immigrants have been girls, in Australia twelve and in New Zealand twenty three.

The impracticability of increasing to any great extent the migration of young girls makes it important that those of mature age should be given every encouragement to settle. To provide a counterpart to the growing movement of British Public and Secondary School boys,

1. Age and Sex Distribution of the Populations of the Dominions, 1921.  
(Numbers to the nearest thousand)

DOMINION.	Excess of males. (Minus sign (-) denotes excess of females)			
	Under 21 yrs.	21 to 30yrs.	Over 30 yrs.	All ages
Canada	30,000	6,000	233,000	270,000
Australia	30,000	-23,000	83,000	90,000
New Zealand	8,000	-7,000	26,000	28,000

Corresponding intercensal estimates are not obtainable, hence figures for later years cannot be given.

2. From Data supplied by the Oversea Settlement Department.

there is especial need for increasing the immigration of girls of similar education and interests. As an example of the way in which this need may be met the system inaugurated by the Country Women's Association in Western Australia may be cited. This society nominates British secondary school girls for rural employment. Posts are chosen only in districts where there is a branch of the Association, a member of which acts as guardian and adviser. Special care is taken to fit each girl to a congenial home and it is stipulated that she shall be treated as a daughter of the house. This system of placement and supervision is thorough enough to allay the fears of most parents regarding oversea settlement. If an additional safeguard is needed, it might be got by encouraging the nomination of girls by relatives living in the Dominions, and instituting a kind of Big Sister Movement in which the Big Sister has a close personal interest in the welfare of her ward.

Several other attempts to facilitate the settlement of girls are worthy of special notice. The society for the Oversea Settlement of British Women has established in Cape Town a residential club, of which settlers travelling under the auspices of the Society are made honorary members for a period of two years. This plan not only ensures suitable accommodation on arrival, it also provides a home and a social centre to which girls may turn at any time. The Trustees of the New Zealand Sheepowners' Fund provide special facilities for sisters of boys who have already settled, placing them in employment near each other and encouraging them on the conclusion of their apprenticeship, to combine their savings and start farming on their own account. The Government of Alberta offers training in farm household work at the Provincial Agricultural Schools and places

girls in suitable situations.

Wide extension of systems such as these is needed. There is no doubt that the Dominions could absorb annually several thousand British secondary school girls, provided, firstly, that they had some preliminary training such as could well be given at school, and secondly, that they were willing to act as home-helpers, living as members of the families employing them and sharing not only in their social life but also in the many side-lines of farming, such as butter-making, poultry keeping and gardening, which usually fall to the lot of women in the country. Unless increasing numbers of girls of this type are included in the juvenile migration movement of the future, much of its value to the Empire will be lost.

One of the most serious checks on Empire Settlement. In considering such a charge as this, it is necessary first to remember the distinction between assisted and unassisted migration. On migration unassisted by the State only such restrictions are placed as will protect from imposition the community to which migrants seek admittance. Such obviously undesirable entrants as idiots, imbeciles, epileptics, those suffering from serious transmissible or loathsome diseases, or from any malady likely to render the sufferer a charge upon the public are forbidden. These restrictions are not peculiar to the British Dominions, they are imposed by all civilized countries.

On the other hand, migrants who apply for State aid to enable them to settle overseas are required to undergo a rigorous medical examination. This is necessary for their own protection. The

1. For the information in this chapter I am indebted to the migration authorities of the various Dominions, especially to the Chief Medical Officer at Australia House.

## CHAPTER XIV.

PHYSICAL and MENTAL STANDARDS  
REQUIRED for SUCCESSFUL MIGRATION.

Unassisted and assisted migrants ---- Indication of the standard required of assisted migrants in physique, mentality and temperament ---- The importance of mental and temperamental fitness ---- Adaptability and physical development at various ages ---- The best ages for migration.

It is often contended that the high physical standard which the Dominions require of their immigrants deprives many desirable settlers of the opportunity to migrate, discourages others who might think of offering themselves, and thus constitutes one of the most serious checks on Empire Settlement. In considering such a charge as this, it is necessary first to remember the distinction between assisted and unassisted migration. On migration unassisted by the State only such restrictions are placed as will protect from imposition the community to which migrants seek admittance. Such obviously undesirable entrants as idiots, imbeciles, epileptics, those suffering from serious transmissible or loathsome diseases, or from any malady likely to render the sufferer a charge upon the public are forbidden. These restrictions are not peculiar to the British Dominions, they are imposed by all civilized countries.

On the other hand, migrants who apply for State aid to enable them to settle overseas are required to undergo a rigorous medical examination. This is necessary for their own protection. The

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plight of a migrant who has given up home and employment only to find himself turned back through some unforeseen defect is pitiable in the extreme. Every effort should be made for its avoidance, even at the risk of penalizing doubtful cases. The widespread notice such a case receives also gives a greater set-back to oversea settlement than immediate rejection. But strict medical examination of applicants for assistance to migrate is enforced principally to ensure the right use of public money. The Governments concerned pay part or whole of the expense of settling the migrant, who, if unsuitable, not only causes the total waste of this outlay, but involves the Governments in further expense by his maintenance or repatriation. What careful selection can do to prevent failures is shown by the record of Australian assisted immigration. From 1st January, 1921, the date of the commencement of the assisted passage agreement, to 30th June, 1928, 188,805 persons were assisted to enter the Commonwealth. Of these it was found necessary to repatriate only 331, i.e. less than 2 per 1000.

The Medical Bureaux of the various Dominion authorities in London have more or less uniform standards by which the fitness of migrants for Government assistance is judged. Briefly, these standards are such as will ensure that males are fit for steady work on the land and females for domestic service. Thus, with regard to physique, height and weight should be near normal; there must be no disabling defects such as hernia, varicose veins or the loss of fingers or toes; vision and hearing must be good, the lungs clear and the heart able to stand violent exercise. The slightest traces of

tuberculosis or of venereal disease are sufficient to warrant dis-qualification. It is in deciding this question that short testing

Physical fitness for migration is comparatively easily tested. The judging of mental and temperamental fitness is more difficult and even more important. A greater number of failures are brought about by defects in mentality and temperament than by any other cause. I. The sudden change in environment, perhaps from crowded city life to the loneliness of the Australian bush or of the Canadian prairie, not only reveals but also aggravates any latent mental instability. Especially among girls and women slight weakness is liable to lead to nervous break-down or to grave mental disorder. Among boys and men it is specially important to detect the feckless and the ne'er-do-well. The tradition of giving these a 1st chance in the Dominions is not yet at an end and adds to the difficulty of the medical examiner's task.

Some estimate of mental and temperamental fitness for migration can be arrived at from the general demeanour of the candidate during his medical examination. Serious defects will reveal themselves in his responses to the various tests, and further information about any doubtful traits may be elicited by enquiries into the personal history of the examinee, such as, what illnesses has he suffered? what has been his employment? how long has he remained in the same situation? what is the amount of his savings? Family history is also important as revealing any latent weakness likely to lead to failure.

1. In deportations from Australia about fifty per cent are mental and nervous cases. Tuberculosis and various other physical disabilities make up the remainder. (Information supplied by the Chief Medical Officer at Australia House.)



But at best only an opinion can be formed as to temperamental fitness for migration. It is in deciding this question that short testing courses on farms before emigration are especially valuable.

These are some of the difficulties involved in the selection of all classes of migrants who apply for assisted passages. Juveniles present problems of their own. The judging of physical fitness is perhaps easier than with adults; for a healthy, open-air life in the Dominions is likely to overcome small defects due to bad environment or heredity. While there must be freedom from disease, of disability, there is not the same need for strict insistence upon normal standards in height, weight and chest measurement. The lower the age the greater the chance of development, but even with boys who delay migration until the age of sixteen or seventeen, increases in height and chest measurement of several inches and in weight of one or two stone are usual, so that, provided body and mind are sound, a standard satisfactory to the Dominions is soon likely to be attained.

The judging of mental ability is more difficult. The slightly sub-normal and the feeble-minded are especially difficult to detect when young. To allow them to proceed overseas to an entirely new life is likely not to better their condition, but rather to aggravate their weakness and leave them and their children after them a charge on the community to which they go. The school-record is useful in discovering slight mental weakness. If the medical examination raises any doubt, the doctor usually applies the Binet-Simon tests and calculates the mental age of the juvenile. These tests, being designed to measure intelligence by reaction to new problems, are specially useful in giving some indication of how the migrant will

react to the new environment he will have to face in the Dominions. His learning power may similarly be gauged by such tests as the Sequin Board or the Healy Frame; his retentiveness of memory by the repeating of digits; general knowledge by questions on every-day affairs or current topics suited to his age. But these tests are pressed into the service of the examiner only to satisfy any doubt as to the mental capacity of the child and to find out whether he is capable of benefitting by migration.

Special temperament tests have not yet reached such a stage as to give reliable indications of fitness of agricultural life in the Dominions. Fortunately, in this matter juveniles migrants are to a great extent self-selective. If a boy has an aversion to city life at home and is keen and courageous enough to try his fortune overseas, there is every chance that he will fit readily into his new environment. His age is in his favour, transplantation means the cutting of no deep roots, body and mind are still supple and have time to develop and set in conformity with new influences. This applies especially to boys who migrate immediately after leaving school at fourteen or fifteen years of age.

In an investigation as to the best age for migration, the line of enquiry that first suggests itself is an examination of the incidence of failures at various ages in order to find out whether any relation exists between the age and the proportion of failures. But only scanty statistics are available and these are apt to be misleading. In the first place, there is no specific line of demarkation between success and failure in migration, and in the second place, many failures among nominated immigrants pass to the care of friends

or relatives, or go into institutions and are lost for statistical purposes. Again, such statistics as are gathered from Dominion institutions do not, as a rule, differentiate between the various classes of migrants -- unassisted, assisted and nominated assisted -- the term, migrant, usually being taken to mean any one born outside the country. Particulars of deportations, which might be expected to yield more definite data, are found to cover mainly young "selected" migrants without relatives or friends in the Dominion. The enquirer, therefore, has little but the opinions and experience of migration workers, together with data of mental and physical development at each age, on which to base conclusions.

The Dominions expect assisted immigrants to be of a high physical standard, not only to guard against failure, but also to preserve the quality of the race they are building up. Though anthropometric statistics are not uniform or full enough to allow of exact comparisons between Home and Dominion populations, there is little doubt that the average physique of the latter is superior. Migration either by making possible better conditions of living, or by something beneficial in the change itself, generally improves the stock. It is often remarked that children born in Australia of British immigrants tend to a better physique than their parents, and the same tendency is noticed in Canada. Dr. James Kerr in his book, *The Fundamentals of School Health*, notes researches which go to show that Japanese children born in the United States are bigger than children of Tokio, that Australian born children are heavier and taller than English children; and he, himself, found that the standards of height and weight which he calculated as ideal rather than likely to be

attained, were approached very nearly by a number of New Zealand school-girls.

To gain the maximum benefit of the healthy Dominion environment it is clear that migration should take place early. But there appears to be a limiting age, under which migration involves considerable risk. It used to be thought that the younger the age of migration, the better were the child's prospects of developing physically and mentally into the kind of citizen the Dominion wanted. Towards the end of last century, many babes in arms were sent to Canada for adoption<sup>or</sup> boarding-out or for maintenance in the Receiving Homes of Migration Societies. Dr. Barnardo established a special home for very young children under five years of age in a healthy situation in Southern Ontario. This experiment soon showed that so great a change of climate at this age was dangerous. The winter brought on respiratory troubles, the summer intestinal complaints, and although there was in the home thorough medical and nursing care, the death-rate was 20 per cent per annum. Dr. Barnardo therefore sent out only children of six years or over, with the result that the death-rate dropped to one per cent in the year of the change, and thereafter fell to .4 per cent.

#### I.

Six years seems to be the lowest age at which it is safe to transfer children to the Dominions. The two societies which now undertake the emigration of children, the Child Emigration Society in Western Australia and Dr. Barnardo's Homes in New South Wales, agree in placing the upper age-limit at ten or eleven years. Rates of growth among children are most rapid at the

ages of six, nine and fourteen for boys, and at six and twelve for girls.

I. Memoirs of Dr. Barnardo, Mrs. Barnardo and James Marchant, p.168.

Berry of the University of Melbourne conducted among school children in Victoria.

ages of six, nine and fourteen for boys, and at six and twelve for girls.<sup>I.</sup> Hence, migration between the ages of six and ten allows the most rapid physical development to take place under the most favourable conditions.

With regard to mental growth little comparative data is obtainable, but it is generally agreed, not only that development is most rapid in the early years of youth, but also that the training undergone in these years leaves a deeper impression than at any other period in life. Researches into the brain capacities of school children indicate that the brain in the first eleven years of life has attained nine-tenths of its full size — 91.3 per cent in girls, 88.8 per cent in boys. Then follows a year of quite trivial growth. In the thirteenth or fourteenth years, 3.4 per cent for girls, and 2.2 per cent for boys are added. During the adolescent period the brain makes up 4.7 per cent in girls and 8.4 per cent in boys.<sup>2.</sup> Thus, migration between the ages of six and ten allows the very important pre-adolescent period of mental growth and adjustment to take place under the conditions and in the environment which the young settlers will later have to face.

It is clear, that from every point of view child-migration allows the most thorough assimilation. Even neglected and backward children, if transferred early and brought up under the almost ideal conditions which now obtain in the two child-migration institutions already referred to, have every chance of overtaking small arrears of development

1. The Fundamentals of School Health, Dr. James Kerr. See Graph 14 A compiled from a multitude of sources to show the rates of growth at various ages.

3. Ibid, p2313. The research referred to is that which Professor Berry of the University of Melbourne conducted among school children in Victoria.

and of growing up indistinguishable from the native population. That this actually occurs is proved by the work of both societies. The system must necessarily be confined to orphan and destitute children, but its success is such as to justify wide extension.

For juveniles of fourteen years or over a number of other factors enter into the problem. If migration takes place on leaving school at fourteen or fifteen years of age, the healthy, open-air life overseas still has time to exert a strong influence on physical development, which goes on, though more slowly, until the age of eighteen or twenty is reached. The mind is still developing and open to outside influences. Apart from a little homesickness, young boys not only enter enthusiastically into their free, open-air life, but even wish it to be forgotten that they are immigrants. A welfare-officer of the New Settlers' League of New South Wales thus expresses the typical attitude of the juvenile to migration: "The British boy throws away his cap, gets a wide-brimmed felt hat and feels from that moment that he is an Australian". Or to take another example from Flock House, New Zealand -- the last draft of boys to arrive from home are patronizingly referred to, even by those still in training, as "homeys", but as soon as the next draft arrives, the previous batch are admitted to the inner circle of New Zealanders.

Nevertheless, there is likely to be strong parental reluctance against the migration of boys at the early age of fourteen. The break from home and kindred puts a big strain on young boys; they cannot be expected fully to know their own mind, and may undertake to migrate only to find later that they are unsuitable for agricultural life. For boys from good homes and reasonably healthy surroundings

migration at fifteen years is quite early enough.

On the other hand, for institutional children who are not held back by parental reluctance, and who probably look forward to emigration as likely to provide their first real home, the earlier migration takes place the better for all concerned, provided, of course, that proper safeguards are made to prevent exploitation.

The raising of the School-leaving age in Great Britain to fifteen years, which at the time of writing seems likely to come about in 1931, will prevent migration before that age, except for small numbers of institutional children going to the Fairbridge Farm School and Dr. Barnardo's Home in New South Wales. This will probably not affect the flow of juvenile migrants to any great extent. Figures showing the ages of all unaccompanied juveniles leaving Great Britain are not obtainable, but the number going abroad at the age of fourteen appears to be small. Notwithstanding Canada's prohibition of child-immigration in 1915, the total number of juveniles entering that Dominion has continued to increase, while reports of individual societies go to show that eighty or ninety per cent of juvenile migrants are over fourteen years of age. The Superintendent of the Newcastle-on-Tyne Hostel, in a depressed area where the average age of migration is probably lower than elsewhere, found in 1927 that 89 per cent of their boys were over fourteen, 82 per cent being from fifteen to seventeen years. These seem now to be the ages at which

I.  
the migration rate among juveniles is highest.

Thus, for boys who would ordinarily enter industry immediately they leave the elementary school, fourteen or fifteen years is the best age for migration. If it is postponed beyond that age, habits become fixed, physical development may be retarded by sedentary or unhealthy employment, and both the desire and fitness for emigration lost. Boys who continue their education at public or secondary schools until reaching the age of sixteen, seventeen or eighteen, may well put off migration until any of these ages is reached. It can be taken for granted that their physical development is being well looked

after, that they are not forming habits inimical to oversea settlement as they would in industry, and that the good education and increased stamina that comes with these years of preparation will make success in the Dominions more sure.

elaborate welfare arrangements; lack of experience in agriculture is removed by training either in Great Britain or in the Dominions, and money difficulties are met by grants or loans towards the cost of passage and outfit, with the result that any boy can now be placed in employment overseas, supervised until he comes of age, and even en-

I. In 1927, boys who had passed through the Salvation Army Training Centre at Hadleigh showed the following age distribution:  
14 to 17 years -----42 per cent,  
17 to 19 years ----- 55 per cent,  
Over 19 years ----- 3 per cent.

(From a Paper read by Commissioner D.C.Lamb before the British Association in 1927.)  
I. Information in this chapter are: The Department of Special Enquiries and Reports of the Board of Education; reports and pamphlets issued by the Board of Education; the reports of the British Association Committee appointed to enquire into the educational training of boys and girls in secondary schools for overseas life; personal enquiries and visits to schools.



## CHAPTER XV.

I.  
The INFLUENCE of the SCHOOLS of GREAT BRITAIN on MIGRATION.

Rural depopulation in Great Britain, its effect on oversea settlement — A rural bias necessary in education both for Home and Dominion needs — Practical instruction in schools — Gardening in elementary schools — Agricultural science in secondary schools — Ways of introducing a rural bias in secondary schools — Examples — The system adopted at Christ's Hospital and its value as a preparation for oversea settlement — Corresponding measures needed in girls' schools — Rural subjects neglected as means of education — Difficulties in the way of introducing a rural bias into school work — Ways of overcoming these difficulties and of encouraging migration.

We have seen how many of the obstacles in the way of a free movement of juveniles to the Dominions have been removed. Parental reluctance, which with the modern decrease in the size of families has become a serious brake upon juvenile migration, is overcome by elaborate welfare arrangements; lack of experience in agriculture is removed by training either in Great Britain or in the Dominions, and money difficulties are met by grants or loans towards the cost of passage and outfit, with the result that any boy can now be placed in employment overseas, supervised until he comes of age, and even established on a farm of his own, either free of cost to his parents,

1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921
37,110	1,341,573	1,305,035	1,349,313	1,089,209	975,739	921,703	854,007

I. The main sources of information in this chapter are: The Department of Special Enquiries and Reports of the Board of Education; reports and pamphlets issued by the Board of Education; the reports of the British Association committee appointed to enquire into the educational training of boys and girls in secondary schools for overseas life; personal enquiries and visits to schools.

or by incurring a loan repayable out of his earnings. Yet, in spite of safeguards and assistance, and in spite of continued unemployment at home, the supply of young settlers from Great Britain has lagged behind the demand from overseas. It seems that an explanation of the general unwillingness to migrate must be sought further back in early environment and education. How these influences may prevent the young from answering the call to wider opportunities and more useful service in the Dominions, and, on the other hand, how they may be made active forces in stimulating migration within the Empire are the problems discussed in this chapter.

Throughout the past century the rural population of Great Britain has dwindled to such small proportions as to be able to supply few trained farmers or farm-workers for oversea settlement. Whereas in 1841, land workers formed 7.9 per cent of the population and could supply large numbers of settlers for the newly founded colonies, in the years immediately preceding the war, only 2.8 per cent of the people were engaged in agriculture, and it was considered that this

I. As the following table indicates:

Agricultural Population of England and Wales

1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921
337,110	1,341,578	1,305,025	1,189,315	1,089,809	975,730	971,708	954,007

From English Farming, Past and Present, Lord Ernle, Appendix VI., (except the figures for 1921, which are calculated from the census tables of that year on the same basis as Lord Ernle's figures for previous years.

2. Nineteenth Abstract of Labour Statistics, p.24.

3. Report of Select Standing Committee on Agriculture and Colonization, (Canada) 1928, p.VIII.

1. was barely sufficient for home requirements. Since then rural depopulation has gone on; in 1921, 2.5 per cent of the population were engaged in agriculture, and statistics relating to later years show a further decline, which, owing to the general depression in British

2. agriculture, is specially marked among the young. Not only are more than ninety seven per cent of the people engaged in non-agricultural pursuits, but nearly eighty per cent are town dwellers, cut off from rural interests, their children brought up without training or opportunity for agricultural careers. It is likely that the persistent decrease in the rural population, and the equally persistent increase in the industrial population will enhance the importance of training in the problem of migration.

The adverse effect which excessive industrialization has on mobility of population is seen in a comparison between British Oversea settlement and migration from Northern and Central Europe.

Whereas thousands of continental migrants enter Canada each year and establish themselves on the land with little or no assistance from the Government, British migrants must be trained and supervised at great expense to enable them to succeed. The Canadian Department of Immigration and Colonization spends 16.67 dollars for each British immigrant as compared with eleven cents for each immigrant from Continental countries.

3. Canada's severe winter certainly gives Northern European settlers an advantage over the British, but it is only

1. Evidence of the Board of Agriculture and Fisheries, before the Dominions Royal Commission in 1914. The Canadian Pacific Railway Company corroborated this evidence and in the same year ceased periodically to canvas the country districts of Great Britain for emigrants.

2. Nineteenth Abstract of Labour Statistics, p.24.

3. Report of Select Standing Committee on Agriculture and Colonization, (Canada) 1928, p.VIII.

partly responsible for the unfavourable comparison which British immigrants make with their Continental neighbours. Where the climate is favourable to both, as for example in Australia, the same tendency may be seen though to a less remarkable degree on account of the stricter control of foreign immigration. In the latter Dominion, however, it is noticeable that the majority of Continental immigrants willingly settle on the land. Not only have they borne their full share of the heavy manual labour that falls to the lot of all pioneers, but they have made many important contributions to agricultural enterprises — Scandinavians to the dairying industry, French and Swiss to viticulture, Italians to the sugar industry, Germans to wheat growing.

It must be remembered, too, that both Continental and British immigrants are at first equally ignorant of the conditions of farming peculiar to Canada or Australia. The success of the former is not due to superior intelligence, not to greater powers of effort and determination, it is chiefly due to a knowledge of the general principles of agriculture which enables local problems to be attacked with intelligence and initiative.

The prospect before British oversea settlement might be improved and its many difficulties lessened in two main ways. The first would be by a radical change in the system of land tenure in Great Britain, e.g. by a large increase in the number of small holdings, and more intensive cultivation. Thus, Lord Bledisloe, in an article in the Spectator of 2nd November, 1929, says, "The constitution of these possibilities have as yet received little attention.

I. See Non-Britishers in Australia, J. Lyng, F.R.G.S.

family farms owned (in effect) by their cultivators has become an urgent need for the output not only of home-grown food, but also of efficient human beings well equipped for the task of peopling our overseas Empire with settlers of a British race. It is, indeed, the human products of a peasant proprietary system such as exists in Scandinavian countries, with all the resourcefulness, self-reliance and business capacity which such a system inevitably produces, who are providing in countries like Canada, Australia and New Zealand a far more experienced and confident type of settler than the old country is able to do, either from its urban unemployed, or from among the ill-equipped denizens of a devitalized country-side, operating helplessly under an outworn territorial and economic system".

Unless some such change is made, there is no likelihood of any great surplus of practical agriculturists being available for oversea settlement. Migration must be limited mainly to industrial workers willing and able to undergo special training, or to those young enough to adapt themselves to new conditions. And if by up-bringing and employment, so large a part of the adult population is unfitted for agricultural pursuits, it is clear that the chief hope of ensuring in the future a satisfactory flow of British settlers to the Dominions lies in the proper education of the young, in stimulating their interest in agriculture, and directing their attention to the Dominions as providing opportunities for agricultural careers. This is the second of the two methods already referred to, by which British oversea settlement might be placed on a better footing. Its possibilities have as yet received little attention.

Hitherto the ordinary system of education has contributed to, rather than counteracted the tendency toward industrialization. As

Elementary and secondary schools by introducing a rural bias in their the population has become more and more urban, so has the curricula curricula might be made to exert the strongest influence in supplying of both elementary and secondary schools. Any practical bias has this need. been toward industry. The universities, supplying the majority of teachers and training them along classical and scientific lines have agricultural training. The latter is the work of special schools and accentuated the drift from agriculture. Consequently, town children has no place in the ordinary school curricula. But all rural have little or nothing in their education to suggest agriculture as a possible career, while country children get a bookish elementary schools, except, perhaps those in the very heart of industrial areas, can introduce a rural bias into their work, by nature study and gardening in elementary schools, by practical and theoretical agricultural land by bursaries and scholarships tenable at city schools. Practical al science and manual instruction in secondary schools. What is wanted is, first, an introduction to rural subjects in order to stimulate the child's interest in plant and animal life, and then, if he principles and practice of agriculture, still the basic industry of the country, are neglected.

It has been objected that the interests of Great Britain and of the Dominions run counter in this matter, that if the home-land has gardening and manual instruction some progress has been made along these lines. The Education Act of 1918 imposed on local authorities the obligation to include in the curricula of primary and elementary schools at appropriate stages practical instruction suitable to the ages, abilities and requirements of the children. This act was re-enacted in the Education Act of 1921, and section 19 of the same act defined practical instruction as instruction in bookery, laundry, housewifery, dairy-work, handicrafts, and gardening, and such other subjects as the Board of Education may declare. Under the Education Act of 1921, the attachment of Central Oversea Settlement. Thus, it may be said that, instead of the interests of Great Britain and the Dominions being at variance, they are identical. Both need large increases of agricultural population

Elementary and secondary schools by introducing a rural bias in their curricula might be made to exert the strongest influence in supplying this need.

A rural bias in education must be distinguished from definite agricultural training. The latter is the work of special schools and has no place in the ordinary school curriculum. But all rural and urban schools, except, perhaps those in the very heart of industrial areas, can introduce a rural bias into their work, by nature study and gardening in elementary schools, by practical and theoretical agricultural science and manual instruction in secondary schools. What is wanted is, first, an introduction to rural subjects in order to stimulate the child's interest in plant and animal life, and then, if he remains at school long enough, sufficient practical work to give some indication of his fitness for life on the land.

During the last twenty years through the introduction of school-gardening and manual instruction some progress has been made along these lines. The Education Act of 1918 imposed on Local Education Authorities the obligation to include in the curricula of Public Elementary Schools at appropriate stages practical instruction suitable to the ages, abilities and requirements of the children. This section was re-enacted in the Education Act of 1921, and section 170 of the same act defined practical instruction as instruction in cookery, laundry, housewifery, dairy-work, handicrafts and gardening, and such other subjects as the Board of Education may declare.

Under the Education Act of 1921, the establishment of central

1. Section 20.
2. Report of the Consultative Committee on the Education of the Adolescent, (Board of Education) p.33 et seq.

schools in urban centres began. These schools, drawing their pupils from the surrounding country presented both a danger and an opportunity for rural bias in education. The Board of Education pointed out that "Liking and aptitude for practical rural work are dependent on early experience, and an education which tends to debar children from gaining such experience has a definitely anti-rural bias, and is likely to divert them from rural occupations. It would be a misfortune if the bringing of country children into towns for their schooling

should involve any such result". But there was also the opportunity of overcoming this danger and furthering rural bias by arranging for older pupils in these schools a graded course of instruction, lasting three years. This should be made easier of achievement with the

carrying out of the main recommendation of the <sup>d</sup>Harlow report of 1926, viz, the division of all elementary schools into two sections -

junior schools for children from seven to eleven years of age, and senior schools for the ages eleven to fifteen, provision to be made in the latter for varying courses of instruction suitable to the aptitudes and needs of different classes of pupils.

<sup>2.</sup> The aptitudes of great numbers of these senior school pupils will be towards manual work and agriculture, and here would seem to be a favourable opportunity of fitting the most suitable for oversea settlement. The juvenile migrant requires not full training, but a lively interest in agriculture, <sup>and</sup> a knowledge of its principles, <sup>which though elementary, may yet be</sup> thorough enough to make for rapid and easy adaptation to life on the land overseas. This preparation could be given by practical instruction,

1. Circular 1365, 28th May, 1925, p.230. Appendix to Education Pamphlet No. 46.

2. See Education of the Adolescent, pp.102-112, 230-237; also "The New Prospect in Education", Board of Education Pamphlet No.60, p.1.



in schools and it would render unnecessary expensive testing courses prior to migration. Especially when the school-leaving age is raised to fifteen years many boys who would otherwise drift into casual work at home could be directed immediately to wider opportunities, to more healthy and more necessary work in the Dominions.

But despite the obvious need for a rural bias in elementary education, and despite official sanction for measures to supply that need, the progress made along these lines since the war has been disappointing. In the year 1920-21, there were 20,990 public elementary schools in England and Wales, with an average of 5,993,458 pupils on the registers. The following table shows the practical instruction given in that year:-

	Domestic Subjects	Handicraft	Gardening	Other Subjects
Number of schools providing practical instruction	10,374	6,839	5,498	24
Number of pupils receiving practical instruction	482,409	415,942	111,834	292

Particulars of the numbers of pupils receiving practical instruction on later years are not obtainable; but the number of schools making provision for it showed little change in 1926. Since then, owing to an alteration in the basis of statistics from schools to departments (i.e. schools or portions of schools presided over by a headmaster) exact comparisons with earlier years are impossible. In

1. Figures supplied by the Department of Special Enquiries and Reports, Board of Education.
2. The year of issue of the quinquennial Statistics of Public Education.

the year 1927-28, out of a total of 30,591 departments, 11,670 provided for instruction in domestic science, 9,747 in handicrafts and 5,828 in gardening. From these figures facilities for practical instruction appear to have increased in domestic science and handicraft and to have remained stationary in gardening. It would still seem that only two or three per cent of English elementary school children are receiving practical instruction of the kind likely to stimulate their interest in agriculture. Some small progress has been made in dairy-work, nine centres giving instruction in this subject to pupils drawn from thirty one contributory departments; but leaving migration out of account altogether, it is clear that practical instruction in agricultural subjects falls far short of England's rural needs.

Scottish education shows much the same state of affairs. In the year 1927-28, when there were 2,919 primary schools with an average number of 657,220 scholars, practical instruction in rural subjects was given as shown in the following table:-

Subject	Number of Schools	Number of Scholars.
Gardening	648	8,433
Agriculture	23	477
Poultry-keeping	10	235
Dairy-work	10	127.

An encouraging feature is the progress made in agriculture, poultry-keeping and dairy work, facilities for instruction in the first having doubled and for the last two having increased four-fold since 1923-24.

1. Report of the Committee of the Council on Education in Scotland, 1928-29, Table VI.
2. Ibid, p.15.

Though the elementary schools must always have as their first duty the imparting of a sound general education, and can therefore introduce into their curriculum only a slight rural bias, it is none the less important that this should not be neglected. Indeed, the soundness of the education they provide may well be called in question if it does not include the study at first hand of plant and animal life. A wide extension of school-gardening, or, where this is not possible, of systematized nature study, is necessary, not only because of the influence it may have on agriculture at home and abroad, but also because of its importance as a means of education. It should be available not only for a small proportion of country scholars, but for all children in town and country alike.

We must now consider the problem in relation to secondary schools, which, both on account of the age of their pupils, and on account of the specialization allowed in their curricula, can exert a very strong influence either towards or away from agriculture. Their influence on oversea settlement is likely to increase, for it is coming to be realized that a good general education is a necessary qualification for successful farming and the Dominions are claiming an increasing number of secondary school pupils.

It is disappointing to discover that the number of secondary schools providing rural and agricultural courses of instruction has not increased since 1921. The following table shows the nature and extent of the practical instruction provided by secondary schools on the grant list in the years 1920-21 and 1925-26:

I. Statistics of Public Education, 1920-21 and 1925-26. Table 69.

1. Unless agriculture is admitted as a subject of examination. See p. 2.

Specialized Courses Included in the Curricula of  
Secondary Schools on the Grant-List.

Schools providing Special Courses	1920-21	1925-26
(1) Commercial courses (a) for boys	12	11
(b) for girls	21	42
(c) for boys and girls	12	14
(2) Domestic Economy for girls	22	29
(3) Rural and Agricultural courses (a) for boys	12	10
(b) for girls	nil	nil
(c) for boys and girls	7	9
(4) Engineering courses for boys	16	9
Schools providing one or more of above courses	91	118

Statistics for years later than 1925-26 are not available, but as far as can be ascertained there has been very little change. Of the thirteen hundred schools on the grant-list, only a score make definite provision for instruction in rural subjects.

It is not possible here to enter into a full discussion of the method and content of rural education, but it may be noted that there are three ways of introducing a bias toward agriculture in secondary school work:

(1) By organizing a definitely rural curriculum for all pupils, a course which naturally entails sacrificing the chance of success at public examinations, and is therefore applicable only to schools which serve purely rural districts. Among the schools which follow this method are Knaresborough Secondary School in Yorkshire, Bedales at Petersfield, Hampshire, and Hanley Castle Grammar School, Worcestershire.

(2) By grouping all pupils together on a general curriculum for the

1. Unless agriculture is admitted as a subject of examination. See p.311

the first two or three years, after which those intending to settle on the land take a special course consisting mainly of mathematics, agricultural science and practical work on the land, while others intending to enter city callings prepare for the usual public examinations. Welshpool County Secondary School in Carmarvonshire, Dauntsey School at West Lavington, Wiltshire, Barnard Castle School, Durham, Sexey's School at Blackford, Somerset, Friends' School at Great Ayton, Yorkshire and Leeds Boys' Modern School make this division successfully.

(3) By devising a general syllabus of instruction which will serve both the rural and the non-rural pupil, giving both some insight into the principles of agriculture, and yet allowing them to prepare for the ordinary public examination. About forty schools attempt to introduce a bias toward agriculture through the science course, but in most cases very little practical work is carried out. Perhaps the most successful and thorough experiment made along these lines is that carried out at Brampton County Secondary School, Cumberland.

We must now examine more closely each of these three methods. Knaresborough, in the centre of a rich agricultural and pastoral district, offers a good example of secondary education in which the rural aim predominates. Both boys and girls ranging in age from twelve to seventeen years attend the school. On the ground that specialization before the age of fourteen is unsound, the work for the first two years, though treated from a rural standpoint, is general; from the third year onwards the rural or domestic bias is increased. Freedom from external examinations allows considerable latitude in arranging the syllabus of all subjects. No foreign

language is taught, more time than is usual being given to English, especially to oral and written composition on topics of rural interest. Geography is taught on modern lines with as much local illustration as possible. The history course is based mainly on a study of social development and systems of land tenure and cultivation, with special reference to the associations of the surrounding district. In mathematics, uncommon measures and calculations are omitted and the work is correlated with other practical subjects such as land-surveying, farm-mensuration and book-keeping. For boys experimental science in the third and fourth years is likewise related, as far as possible, to problems of cultivation, soils and fertilisers, and for girls to domestic subjects. Nature-study, gardening, poultry and bee-keeping are carried out by both boys and girls, wood-work by boys, cooking and needlework by girls. Thus, the whole course, though eminently practical, is reinforced by sufficient theory to form the basis of a good general education. It gives scope alike for the studious and for the practical type of pupil, while its value in retaining them for work on the land may be seen by the following table showing the occupations taken up by boys and girls who left the school during the first three years of the experiment. Considerably less than half of these were actually brought up on farms:-

- I. From "The Experiment in Rural Secondary Education conducted at Knaresborough", Board of Education Pamphlet, No.29, p.20.

Boys		Girls.	
Occupations		Occupations.	
Farm work	22	Domestic Work	
Surveying	3	Ladies Companions	27
Garden work	5	Home life	
Trade	5	Confectioner	1
Clerical	6	Dressmaking	2
Colonial life	6	Colonial life	2
Industrial	3	Unknown	2
R.A.M.C.	1	Gone to other schools	4
Merchant vessel	1	Total	38
Unknown	9		
Gone to other schools	13		
Total	78.		

The contribution of six boys and two girls to colonial life in three years is significant of the value of such training to oversea settlement.

Bedales, Petersfield, has a farm of eighty acres attached to the school, and all pupils get a certain amount of agricultural and manual training. In the junior forms, the outdoor work is mainly nature study and gardening. The science syllabus is arranged so that it gradually leads up to biology and agricultural science necessary for an understanding of the practical work done on the farm by the senior forms.

Hanley Castle School, with only a few acres of ground available manages to give the whole school practical agricultural work, most pupils taking agriculture as a subject of examination for the

Cambridge School Certificate. elementary chemistry, botany, zoology and geology. Turning now to the second type of rural bias secondary schools, viz, those allowing for specialization in agriculture in the upper forms, we must note the most interesting experiments made in this direction. At Welshpool County School for Boys, the arrangement of the syllabus allows the usual secondary school subjects to be continued right through the various forms, both Latin and French being retained for the benefit of boys who have a bent toward literature, or who are likely to take up professions. The general experimental science course, taken by all the pupils in the first two years, includes elementary botany and nature study. After this, the rural bias is continued by teaching all subjects, especially chemistry, in close relation to country needs. Boys who are likely to settle on the land, or who wish to specialize in agriculture, may take in the place of Latin rural science which entails a fuller study of botany, agricultural science and animal biology. The school garden, and experimental plot of half an acre, and neighbouring farms give scope for practical work. At Dauntsey School provides an ordinary course for the three lower forms. Specialization is allowed in one of the upper forms where boys may spend some twenty hours per week in practical and theoretical agriculture. A farm of thirty acres gives ample practice in all the ordinary branches of agriculture and dairy work, as well as in the management of live-stock and the care of farm machinery, while a special laboratory equipped for biology and agriculture relates practice with theory. At Barnard Castle School there is a special agricultural form



for boys going on the land; elementary chemistry, botany, zoology and geology with special reference to agriculture, and subjects such as arithmetic and book-keeping, are related as closely as possible to ordinary farm needs. Practical work is done on the school experimental plots and on neighbouring farms.

Sexey's School provides the ordinary secondary school course, but allows boys who are not sitting for the school certificate to take a farm course so thorough as to amount practically to vocational training. A special time-table is arranged, allowing full-time work on subjects with a practical bearing on agriculture. Eight hours per week are spent in practical work, five of these in the laboratory. Care is taken to get the full educational value from such a course, and to prevent it from devolving into mere observation.

At Friends' School the third form takes nature-study, the fourth form a science course adapted to the needs of agriculture; a certain number of the pupils present that subject for the School certificate examination. Practical work is included in this course.

Leeds Boys' Modern School sends a few senior boys to the Shadwell Industrial School Farm for practical work.

Of the schools which attempt a general syllabus of instruction suitable to both agricultural and non-agricultural pupils, Brampton County Secondary School offers a good example of what can be done through the science course. The syllabus gives a thorough grounding in physics and chemistry, but is related throughout to agriculture by means of practical work in the grounds and gardens of the school. The raising of seedlings, the rotation of crops, simple manurial experiments, the composition of the soil have an equal place with indoor

work in experimental science. For girls the science course is adapted to farm household needs by dairy work and the study of simple food-stuffs. In order to reconcile the work of the school with matriculation requirements the Durham University has approved as a subject of examination, "Experimental Science in Relation of Agricultural Life", and thus removed the difficulty which external examinations always present to departures from the ordinary curriculum.

At public schools the teaching of agriculture receives less attention than at secondary schools, only six making definite provision for the subject. Eton and Harrow have classes for a few senior boys. At Oundle a number of boys study biology with an agricultural bias and attend practical demonstrations on the school farm. Repton and Sherborne make agriculture alternative to Latin or a second foreign language.

Christ's Hospital has exploited most thoroughly the possibilities of agricultural training with a view to oversea settlement. Every year since 1923 a number of boys have been placed in agricultural employment overseas through the Public Schools' Employment Bureau,

I. Particulars of the work of the foregoing schools are taken mainly from the Reports of the British Association Committee, which contain many valuable suggestions as to the teaching of agriculture.

See:

Report of the Ninety-second meeting of the British Association, 1924, p.345

Report of the Ninety-third meeting of the British Association, 1925, p.271

Report of the Ninety-fourth meeting of the British Association, 1926, p.450

Report of the Ninety-fifth meeting of the British Association, 1927, p.309

Report of the Ninety-seventh meeting of the British Association, 1929, p.283.

and in 1928 the school entered into an agreement with the Oversea Settlement Committee, under which scholarships tenable at Macdonald College, Montreal, are provided for Christ's Hospital boys.

Though definite agricultural training is given to only a small number of boys, the rural surroundings of the school, the farm which supplies dairy produce for the whole establishment, the encouragement of nature-study and out-of-door hobbies, and the manual training which is compulsory for every boy are all factors which induce a lively interest in rural life, while the school's record of migration predisposes boys to think of oversea settlement.

Physics and chemistry retain their usual place in the curriculum, but for boys who intend to take up work on the land, these subjects lead up to a course of biology which fits in with practical work in the laboratories and out-of-doors. Boys in the agricultural class spend two mornings per week, besides a great deal of their own spare time, on a small experimental farm of five acres. Here the usual farm crops are grown and accurate records kept of conditions of sowing, fertilizers used, rate of growth and yields. Flax is cultivated, being specially useful for simple experiments in plant-breeding and for demonstrating the manufacture of rough linen and of linseed oil and meal, all of which processes can be carried out at the school. Live-stock, such as pigs, poultry, goats and rabbits are kept, boys taking it in turns to feed and tend them, and keeping records of the foods used, the growth and condition of the stock and of breeding experiments. The expenditure and the returns in each branch of farming are calculated by the boys themselves. Besides these activities, boys carry on independently a poultry club, buying shares with their pocket money, doing the work themselves, marketing the produce,

(mostly to the school itself) and distributing the profits under the supervision of the master in charge of agriculture. Gardening is carried out in much the same way, except that the plots are usually managed by individual boys and not by a company. Special manual training in both wood and metal work is included in the curriculum of the agricultural class.<sup>1</sup>

After one year of agricultural training, boys going overseas spend another year in full-time work on the school farm. Under the direction of the manager they put into practice the theory learnt in the previous year and are thus well equipped for life on the land in the Dominions.

The problem of training girls for oversea life presents even greater difficulties than the training of boys. In the primary stage suitable preliminary instruction can be given by domestic science work and school gardening. It is unfortunate that far fewer girls than boys are enabled to take gardening in elementary schools.<sup>2</sup> Girls of elementary school age are peculiarly appreciative of the beauties of nature, far more so than boys, and lack of contact with nature in school work has a serious tendency to draw them away from the country. A Departmental committee on "The Practical Education of Women for Rural Life", referring to a school with a strong rural bias in its curriculum, makes this observation,<sup>3</sup> "The senior children in this school were invited to discuss "Town versus Country", and left quite free to express their views. Every child preferred the country for

1. Information supplied personally by the master in charge of agriculture.
2. The Practical Education of Women for Rural Life, the Report of a Sub-committee of an Inter-departmental committee of the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries and the Board of Education, 1928, p.39.
3. Ibid, Appendix III.

varying reasons — beauty, health, quietude, friendliness and so on. The same exercise was given in a school where rural pursuits are not much encouraged; eighty per cent of the class desired a town life".

In secondary schools for girls very little is being done to fit pupils for life in the Dominions. A questionnaire on the subject issued by a committee of the British Association in 1923 to one hundred and fifty girls' schools was replied to by only one third of that number, and a third of these replies indicated that little interest was taken in the matter. In schools which included some practical training in the curriculum, the object of doing so was to fit girls for home and not oversea employment. Though the value of practical work was recognized, especially in developing backward girls, it was evident from the replies that parents still demanded a literary and scientific education for their daughters. Suitable preparation could be given by a domestic science course, together with gardening and sufficient farm-training to make the girl familiar with dairy work and the tending of farm live-stock. Though facilities for domestic science teaching are increasing, elementary farm-training, a very necessary preparation for oversea settlement, is still neglected. There are only nine mixed schools which attempt to train girls for rural life. Apart altogether from the question of migration, it is clear that insufficient attention is given in secondary schools for the needs of girls destined for a country life at home. The Committee on the Practical Education of Women for Rural Life, whose report has already been quoted, attributes this largely to the requirements of the school-leaving certificate.

For those girls who have had a good domestic science training, the most thorough preparation for country life overseas may be got

by a course at one of the county agricultural or horticultural schools. In 1927, the Lancashire County Council arranged at Hutton special training lasting one year for secondary school girls who wished to fit themselves for work in the Dominions. A course in dairy work is followed by a poultry course, each lasting nineteen weeks. Specialization is then allowed and either the senior dairy or the senior poultry course may be taken. The remainder of the year is spent in domestic <sup>work</sup> in the hostel and in gaining an elementary knowledge of general farming and gardening. This course fits a girl not only for service in the country to which she goes, but also for independent ownership of a small mixed farm. Unfortunately the expense of such special training limits the number able to take advantage of it. Secondary schools might give similar but less elaborate training for domestic work in the country. It would certainly be an effective means of stimulating interest in oversea settlement among a class of girl which the Dominions most urgently need.

Some of the findings of the Committee which the British Association for the Advancement of Science appointed to investigate the educational training of boys and girls in secondary schools for oversea life have already been quoted. This Committee, with the late Dr. H.B.Gray as its first chairman, included men and women distinguished in commerce and agriculture, as well as in education and oversea settlement. Their reports are particularly valuable as showing how oversea settlement might be fostered by education; they are also rather discouraging as showing the apathy displayed by parents and schools to this important problem.

## I.

The following questionnaire was issued to the headmasters of 296 schools for boys: the school, (b) on his character, (c) on his inter-

1. Has the question of any special training suggested by the above preamble, and the possibility of its being introduced into the educational scheme of the school, been considered: (a) if so, what is the nature of the provision made? (b) if not, what are the possibilities of such being introduced in the near future, or what reasons would prevent such development?
  2. Has there been at any time any expressed desire on the part of the boys or their parents for such training?
  3. Do many boys, or any, leave each year who, in your opinion, would have done better if they had adopted an overseas life on the land than by remaining in England?
  4. What facilities exist in the school for manual work suitable as a preparation for the ordinary activities likely to occur in working on the land?
  5. Is such manual training a definite part of the school curriculum or is it optional and taken only in out-of-school hours, instead of games?
  6. If adopted in any shape, at what age would you consider a start should be made in giving boys the opportunity of using their hands in manual work, or of becoming interested in agricultural or horticultural operations?
  7. If any scheme has been adopted at your school to arouse interest, as sketched above, in out-of-door pursuits, what impressions have
- I. Report of the Ninety-second meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, Toronto, 1924, p.257.

you gained as to its effect (a) on the boy's attitude towards the general work of the school, (b) on his character, (c) on his interest and employment during out-of-school time? Are many of the boys so interested?

8. Where no opportunity exists of boys working on the land while at school owing to its situation, has any of the science work in the laboratories any practical agricultural or rural industrial bias, e.g. problems that concern the properties of the soil, the growth of plants and animal physiology?

9. Has the school access to any land of which it could make use for the purpose of educational work, or if not, is there any prospect or possibility, of such being acquired?

10. In the absence of any direct agricultural work at school, to what extent, if any, has the school sent boys to "training" farms for overseas life, either in England or in the Colonies?

11. General remarks or suggestions.

Replies were received from only 156 boys' schools, i.e. from about half the number addressed. These replies revealed that some twenty five schools included agriculture in their curriculum; thirteen had endeavoured to do so, but were prevented by difficulties of staff or finance; three schools had considered the question, but the headmasters were either averse to the change, or did not express an opinion; twenty two schools had not previously given it any thought, but would make the change when circumstances permitted it, and ninety schools had not considered the question, and were either opposed to adopting any such scheme or could see no sufficient reason for it.

From the replies to the questionnaire it was clear that there



was no general wish on the part either of the parents or of the boys for the introduction of agricultural work into the curriculum. Parental disapproval of preparing boys for life on the land either in England or in the Dominions, was recorded in a number of instances. Though fifty per cent of the schools had access to suitable land for practical agriculture, only nine per cent made use of it. Yet the majority of the headmasters who replied to the questionnaire agreed that many of their boys would be more successful in agricultural employment overseas than in the occupations available in England. In some cases this was considered to be true of ten per cent of all boys leaving the school. Yet only one in every eight of the schools addressed made any contribution to juvenile migration, and most of these sent only one or two boys overseas annually. The following are the chief conclusions arrived at by the Committee:

- (1) That when properly worked, the introduction of studies on soil, the growing plant, the management and utilization of the soil and the broad outlines of agriculture has been found to raise the standard of attainment in other subjects, besides giving boys and girls the kind of practical training necessary to equip them not only for life overseas, but for life generally.
- (2) That examinations for the school certificate should be modified so as to give due credit to practical training.
- (3) That there is need for a continued exploration of the whole subject of school curricula with regard (1) to the incorporation of practical subjects, (2) to the development of schemes of practical work suitable for different types of schools - urban as well as country.
- (4) That there is even greater need for a thorough exploration of the means of obtaining teachers suitably qualified to undertake the direction of these practical studies.

There is no doubt that the teaching of agriculture, apart altogether from its influence on migration, is neglected as a means of education. The study of living things is surely no less important than the study of inanimate matter, yet only one secondary school in every sixty in Great Britain makes definite provision for it. A small experimental farm is a more expensive item than many schools can afford; for a long time it will probably be beyond the reach of most secondary schools, but a garden and a laboratory equipped for the elementary study of plants and animal life should be part of every secondary school. In the educational world fifty years ago, physics and chemistry were regarded in much the same light as agricultural science is today -- an unwelcome and expensive innovation. Yet it came to be seen that no school was complete without its physical and chemical laboratories. In the interests of Great Britain, of the Dominions, and of the pupils themselves, a similar change of policy with regard to the teaching of agriculture is now urgently needed.

It must be admitted that many difficulties lie in the way of such a reform. The greatest comes from the indifference of school authorities and parents, especially of the latter. It is they who, in the last resort, determine the type of secondary education which their children are to receive, and the tradition that the main aim of secondary education is to fit pupils for "black-coated" occupations dies very slowly. Even where rural secondary education has been an undoubted success, there has been no demand which would justify any great extension of the system. Contrariwise, when training with an agricultural bias has caused a decided improvement in the progress of pupils who, in ordinary school work has been considered dull, this

improvement is often followed by an enquiry from the parents, "Don't you think my boy is too good to be a farmer?"<sup>I.</sup> As for agricultural training designed to lead to migration, the attitude of many parents is summed up in the reply of one headmaster to the British Association Questionnaire, "Parents may think imperially, but generally about other people's children". However, remembering that juvenile migration from public and secondary schools is a comparatively recent movement, and that the best recruiting agent for migration is the successful migrant, one can, perhaps, anticipate a growing readiness on the part of both parents and boys to consider oversea settlement as opening up a suitable career. To accelerate the movement, the schools, the Oversea Settlement Department and the Dominions might well co-operate in providing special assistance for boys educated at secondary schools with a definite agricultural bias in their curriculum. This plan is already in operation at Christ's Hospital where scholarships tenable at Macdonald College, Quebec, are offered to a small number of boys. Other obstacles in the way of agricultural education lie in the size of schools, the difficulty of obtaining qualified teachers, and in the already overcrowded state of the curriculum. Agricultural science can be taught successfully only to small classes, and this condition limits such teaching to small schools, or to a small number of pupils in the school. Even for two hundred pupils the organization of a curriculum with a definite rural bias and the provision of practical work are difficult problems.

I. The Report on "The Experiment in Rural Secondary Education Conducted at Knaresborough", Board of Education Pamphlet No. 29 notes frequent examples of this. See p. 24.

Experience has shown that the work must be in the hands of highly qualified and enthusiastic teachers. To them it owes its present measure of adoption and success; without them the rural bias soon disappears from the curriculum. With the comparatively small numbers of schools providing such instruction, the supply of qualified teachers has, up to the present, been sufficient to meet the demand. The Board of Education notes, as one of the most hopeful features in the outlook for agricultural education, the large number of young head-teachers in total secondary schools and the number of trained biologists on their staffs. But if rural bias in secondary education is to become more general, many more teachers will have to be trained in both agriculture and biology at universities, training colleges and special short courses.

The danger of further overcrowding the curriculum presents a serious difficulty. It is agreed that there is no room for another subject, at any rate in the lower forms. An agricultural bias must be introduced gradually through the chemistry and physics courses; for definite agricultural training can only be built on a thorough grounding in these subjects. However, by co-ordinating the physics, chemistry and agricultural syllabuses, overlapping and overcrowding can be prevented, and a progressive course of instruction built up without detriment to any particular course. And it is not science work alone that can be made to contribute to agriculture; arithmetic and geometry, history and geography can be related to rural life, and <sup>be made</sup> so serve the same end. Much can be learnt from the Dominion systems of secondary education in nearly all of which agriculture occupies a

prominent position, e.g. in the New Zealand district high schools agricultural science is taken by 71 per cent of the boys and 23 per cent of the girls, wood and metal work by 62 per cent of the boys, needlework and cookery by 64 per cent of the girls.

The matriculation requirements imposed by the various examining bodies at present seriously hamper the teaching of agriculture.

"Soft options" are rightly deprecated, but there seems to be good reason for the inclusion of agriculture as a subject of examination by all examining boards.. The Central Welsh Board contributed greatly to the success of the Welshpool experiment in rural secondary education already noted, by allowing the school to present alternative courses of work, and results have justified this allowance. "The introduction of the rural trend in various subjects of the curriculum has not interfered in the least with the success, examinational or intrinsic, of pupils of the more academic type in the school. This is proved by the results in recent years of the higher certificate examination and the competition for county exhibitions tenable at places of higher education, while at the present time we have, in addition to others, old pupils preparing for degrees in arts and medicine. ---- So we think the inference is justified that the rural bias has not been a hindrance to work of the academic kind, but rather that it has contributed to the basis of a good general education. In fact, it does not seem to be too ambitious a claim to make for it that it has tended to make the pupils all round more alert, and to

- See also the National Education Council's Book Lists on the Oversea Dominions and the British Association Committee. See also Report of Imperial Education Conference 1927, Chap.4 and the Year Books of the various Dominions?

excellently written and illustrated book by G.E. Brown, entitled "Australia, a General Account", which should find its way into all British secondary and public schools.

and here must be made to give them a more directly trained intelligence and a wider outlook".<sup>1.</sup>

Other difficulties in the way of a rural bias in secondary education are chiefly financial, and can be expected to disappear as the schools become stronger and find ways and means of meeting the initial outlay and running costs of practical work in agriculture.

If education with a rural bias is to have its maximum effect in stimulating juvenile migration, it must be accompanied by the teaching of Empire history and geography. This need has occupied the attention of successive Imperial Education Conferences; at each Conference the lack of suitable text-books and maps has been stressed. Following on a resolution passed in 1923, the Imperial Studies Committee prepared a syllabus for a two years' course in Empire history and geography, and a list of books on the subject.<sup>2.</sup>

At the Conference held in 1927 it was pointed out that the story of expansion of the British Empire was neglected in schools for the study of early British history, and that geography, if taught as the search for trade rather than as statistical information, would not only be more interesting to the pupils, but far more valuable to them as citizens of a world wide Empire. The dearth of books, especially of text-books suitable for children and young students was deplored. This need is being slowly supplied.<sup>3.</sup>

No less important than good text-books are enthusiastic teachers

1. An Experiment in Rural Secondary Education at Welshpool County School for Boys, p.39.
2. See also the National Book Council's Book Lists on the Oversea Dominions and the Short List of Books on the British Empire Overseas for use in schools, issued by the Historical Association and the Imperial Studies Committee of the Royal Empire Society.
3. For example, at the time of writing there has just appeared an excellently written and illustrated book by G.S.Browne, entitled, "Australia, a General Account", which should find its way into all British secondary and public schools.

and here must be mentioned the work of the League of the Empire in arranging the exchange of teachers between Great Britain and the Dominions, and thus giving them a first hand knowledge of parts of the Empire other than their own. The influence of this exchange of teachers on juvenile migration, though exercised involuntarily, is none the less great. Speaking at the opening of the Imperial Education Conference in 1927, the Prince of Wales said, "I know that teachers from this country who are able not merely to visit, but to settle for a time in one of our Dominions or Colonies and carry on

I. The proposal for the exchange of teachers was first mooted at the 1907 conference of the League of the Empire. In 1913 the system commenced to operate by the direct exchange of twelve women teachers between Canada and London. The war put a stop to further exchanges, but in 1919 the scheme was revived, and owing to the shortage of teachers in Great Britain, the number of oversea teachers taking appointments at home was greater than the number of home teachers going abroad; during 1919 and 1920 the numbers were 200 and 100 respectively. In 1922, when the shortage of teachers was at an end, it was decided to keep the numbers equal. Between 1919 and 1928, 1314 teachers have been exchanged, 605 from more than one hundred Local Education Authorities going to the Dominions, and 109 from almost every State or Province of Canada, Australia and New Zealand and the Union of South Africa taking appointments in Great Britain. The period of exchange is one year. Hitherto all teachers have been from elementary schools, and ninety five per cent have been women. If the attempts that are now being made to increase the proportion of men and to extend the system to secondary schools, are successful, the influences of this exchange of teachers in stimulating an interest in juvenile migration may be expected to increase.

Oversea Dominions and facilitate the flow of labour to those parts where it is most urgently required.

We have seen how, in the last century, juvenile migration grew from haphazard attempts to rid the country of neglected children into a movement which conferred incalculable benefit on thousands of young

I. Report of the Imperial Education Conference 1927, Appendix 3.

their work there, in new surroundings and under different conditions, must gain that breadth of vision and that wider horizon that travel alone can give. Further, on their return to resume teaching in schools at home, they will be able to bring some part of the Empire vividly to the minds and imaginations of their pupils, so that the Empire will not remain for them just a splash of red upon a world map, but will be seen as a living community of men and women united by a common loyalty in a common service<sup>I.</sup>. Where teachers with this experience are not available, a wider vision of the Empire may be brought before pupils by such means as lectures and cinematograph displays, by illustrated magazines and pamphlets portraying oversea life and by exhibits of Dominion industries and products, such as those prepared by the Imperial Institute or by the migration authorities in London.

Along the lines suggested in this chapter the ordinary system of education might bring its far-reaching influence to bear on the problem of distributing to better advantage the population of the Empire. It is not claimed that the schools should undertake the work of training for oversea life, nor that they should become fields for migration propaganda, but rather that they should provide such instruction in the history and geography of the Empire, and in the principles and practice of agriculture as will arouse interest in the Oversea Dominions and facilitate the flow of labour to those parts where it is most urgently required.

We have seen how, in the last century, juvenile migration grew from haphazard attempts to rid the country of neglected children into a movement which conferred inestimable benefit on thousands of young



lives; in the present century it has proved its value to the whole Empire and received the support of Home and Dominion Governments. In the future its importance seems likely to grow. It is, perhaps, stating a truism to say that the intelligent development of the natural resources of the Empire, its future welfare and very existence depend on its children -- whether or not they are instructed in the responsibilities of their heritage, and whether or not they are fitted by education and upbringing to fulfil the claims it has upon them. But this truism has special significance in our day. Empire Settlement, the most urgent of national duties, has become to a large extent a problem of training young agricultural workers and fitting them individually to the work awaiting them overseas. Every effort should be made to increase the number of juvenile migrants and, at the same time, to maintain the present high standards of selection, placement and supervision.

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