

George Green's Voice: A Concept for Studying the History of Young People

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journals.sagepub.com/home/jch**Susanne Quitmann** 

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Abstract

Using the example of George Green and British child migration of the late nineteenth and twentieth century, this article aims at reconceptualizing ‘voice’ for the study of marginalized historical figures. Young people are particularly revealing subjects for the reconceptualization of voice: they were and are perceived as pure yet malleable, loud yet mute in the historical record. Criticizing the use of voice as a self-explanatory metaphor, charged with a liberal, democratic ideal, this article addresses four inherent analytical problems: the search for authenticity, the neglect of voices’ non-narrative dimension, the neglect of non-verbal voices and the one-dimensional interpretation of silences. The case of George Green lends itself to a demonstration of the epistemological potential of the analytical concept of voice as it touches on various aspects of voice: legal voices, vocal practices and sound as well as silences in the production, recording, archiving and excavation of marginalized voices.

Keywords

children, history of childhood, migration, silence, voice, youth

In November 1895, about seven months after his arrival from Britain, Everett George Green died at the age of 16 in Ontario, Canada. The constable, who saw Green shortly after his death, described the boy’s corpse graphically as ‘almost covered with sores of

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different kinds from head to feet'.¹ Green's employer, Helen Findlay, was charged with manslaughter by cruel treatment and neglect. The trial caused great furore in Canada. Curious spectators crowded the courtroom, and the media covered the trial meticulously.² The case gave cause for the Canadian public to discuss the child migration schemes, which had brought British youngsters to Canada since 1869. The media picked up the eugenic discourse at the time and questioned whether Green and other child migrants made for desirable members of Canadian society, as Findlay's defence argued that Green died not from cruel treatment but of inherited diseases, that he had been bodily sick and mentally retarded.³ The jury disagreed in the first instance.⁴ Only in a second trial the following year, when Findlay was no longer charged with manslaughter but with common assault, she was found guilty and sentenced to one year's detention in a reformatory. By then, the media attention had faded.⁵ In the years following, the Canadian provinces introduced legislation to regulate child migration. Rather than focusing on child migrants' welfare, the new laws were meant to prevent the immigration of minors considered unhealthy in mind or body.⁶

According to Canadian historian Joy Parr, following his death, 'more Canadians knew about him [George Green] than about any other of the children brought by British charitable agencies'.⁷ Today, Green's name appears in many studies about the history of the British child migration schemes. Green's fate is described as a cynic catalyst for

1 'C.C. Pearce', *In the County Court of the County of Grey: Before His Honor Judge Creasor and a Petit Jury: The Queen vs. Helen Findlay* (1895), 80–5, para. 31, Library and Archives Canada (LAC), Immigration Branch, RG 76, vol. 124, file 25399.

2 'Owen Sound, Dec. 12', *Mail* (December 1895), LAC, Immigration Branch, RG 76, vol. 124, file 25399; 'Owen Sound, Dec. 13', *Mail* (December 1895), LAC, Immigration Branch, RG 76, vol. 124, file 25399. For collections of media reports, see *George Everett Green, Death Of* (1895), LAC, Immigration Branch, RG 76, vol. 124, file 25399; *Scrapbooks Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children, J. J. Kelso*, vol. 2: English Children (1895–1898), 21–46, Archives of Ontario (AoO), RG 29.

3 See e.g. the newspaper clippings in *Scrapbooks Kelso*, 32–4, 36; on the Canadian eugenics discourse, see A. McLaren, *Our Own Master Race. Eugenics in Canada, 1885–1945*, Canadian Social History Series (Oxford 1990), esp. chap. 3; for the defence's position, see 'Dr. C. M. Lang', *In the County Court of the County of Grey: Before His Honor Judge Creasor and a Petit Jury: The Queen vs. Helen Findlay* (1895), 162–92, LAC, Immigration Branch, RG 76, vol. 124, file 25399; 'Dr. Thomas H. Middlebro', *In the County Court of the County of Grey: Before His Honor Judge Creasor and a Petit Jury: The Queen vs. Helen Findlay* (1895), 192–220, LAC, Immigration Branch, RG 76, vol. 124, file 25399.

4 'The Alleged Manslaughter of a Barnardo Boy in Canada [Reuter's Telegram.]', *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser* (19 December 1895), 8.

5 *No. 2169: Helen R. Findlay* (1896), AoO, RG 20-50-5. For one of the very few media reports on the second trial, see 'The Death of a Barnardo Boy', *Lloyd's Illustrated Newspaper* (14 June 1896), 2. Considering the lack of media attention, it is not surprising that the second trial was only rediscovered in 2012 by Lori Oschefska and Bob Wilkinson of the British Home Children Advocacy & Research Association (today: Home Children Canada), cf. L. Oschefska, 'British Home Children and the Death of George Green', *MOSAIC*, 20, 9 (June 2013), 8; 'George Everett Green', *British Home Children in Canada*, <https://canadianbritishhomechildren.weebly.com/george-everett-green.html> (accessed 5 August 2022).

6 Ontario: 'An Act to Regulate the Immigration into Ontario of Certain Classes of Children', 1897, 60 Vict., chap 53; Manitoba: 'An Act to Regulate the Immigration into Manitoba of Certain Classes of Children', 1897, 60 Vict., chap 1; Quebec: 'An Act Respecting Certain Immigrant Children', 1899, 62 Vict., chap. 47; Nova Scotia: 'Of the Transfer of Immigrant and Orphan Children', 1900, in *Revised Statutes of Nova Scotia* (1900), chap. 118.

7 J. Parr, 'Green, George Everitt', in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (Toronto 2003). Available at: http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/green_george_everitt_12E.html (accessed 15 December 2022).

nationalist and eugenic efforts to curb the influx of cheap labour in the form of British youngsters, and he has become a symbol for the suffering caused by child migration.⁸ The case of George Green offers different actors a narrative to use for their cause. It is open to interpretation, in part because Green himself was silent in all these debates. So far, Green has been a token to be talked about rather than a voice to be listened to. Does Green himself have a voice that historians are able to listen to?

Like most young people, Green talked and sang, cried and screamed. Such utterances by children and juveniles, however, are rarely recorded and transformed into archival records. As a result, the history of childhood as an academic field often deals with adult actors, with how they saw and treated children.⁹ Where children themselves come into focus, agency has long been the most important analytical category. The agentic individual – rationally and independently directing their path of life – is the opposite of what the child is constructed as in Western society. More recently, scholars have therefore criticized the concept's epistemic value for studying the history of children.¹⁰ The concept of voice, I think, can help fill this epistemological gap.

8 For Green's case as a catalyst for nationalist and eugenic efforts, see e.g. K. Bagnell, *The Little Immigrants: The Orphans Who Came to Canada* (Toronto, ON 1980), chap. 3; J. Parr, *Labouring Children: British Immigrant Apprentices to Canada, 1869–1924* (Montreal, QC 1980), 107; S. Constantine, 'Children as Ancestors: Child Migrants and Identity in Canada', *British Journal of Canadian Studies*, 16, 1 (2003), 150–9, 150f.; R. Parker, *Uprooted: The Shipment of Poor Children to Canada, 1867–1917* (Bristol 2008), 155f.; R. Kershaw and J. Sacks, *New Lives for Old: The Story of Britain's Home Children* (Kew 2008), 115f.; for Green as a symbol of British child migrants' suffering, see e.g. G. Sherwood, *Legends In Their Time: Young Heroes and Victims of Canada* (Toronto, ON 2006), chap. 9.

9 M. Winkler, 'Kindheit als Konzept aus historischer Perspektive', in J. Drerup and G. Schweiger (eds), *Handbuch Philosophie der Kindheit* (Berlin 2019), 9–17, 15; see also: S. Swain, 'Locating the Child within the History of Childhood', in J. Faulkner and M. Zolkos (eds), *Critical Childhood Studies and the Practice of Interdisciplinarity: Disciplining the Child* (Lanham, MD 2016), 3–14, 8f.; D. Levison, M.J. Maynes, and F. Varus, 'Children and Youth as Subjects, Objects, Agents: An Introduction', in D. Levison, M.J. Maynes, and F. Varus (eds), *Children and Youth as Subjects, Objects, Agents: Innovative Approaches to Research Across Space and Time* (Cham 2021), 1–9, 5.

10 For theoretical considerations about childhood and agency, see e.g. A. James and A.L. James, 'Childhood: Toward a Theory of Continuity and Change', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Children's Rights, 575 (May 2001), 25–37; M.J. Maynes, 'Age as a Category of Historical Analysis: History, Agency, and Narratives of Childhood', *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, 1, 1 (Winter 2008), 114–24; A.J. Pugh, 'The Theoretical Costs of Ignoring Childhood: Rethinking Independence, Insecurity, and Inequality', *Theory and Society*, 43, 1 (January 2014), 71–89; for an example of the empirical use of 'agency' as a concept, see e.g. N. Goose and K. Honeyman (eds), *Childhood and Child Labour in Industrial England: Diversity and Agency, 1750–1914* (2nd edn, London/New York, NY 2016); therein specifically N. Goose and K. Honeyman, 'Introduction', in N. Goose and K. Honeyman (eds), *Childhood and Child Labour in Industrial England: Diversity and Agency, 1750–1914* (2nd edn, London/New York, NY 2016), 1–21, 8; for critical assessments of agency as a category in childhood history, see e.g. M. Gleason, 'Avoiding the Agency Trap: Caveats for Historians of Children, Youth, and Education', *History of Education*, 45, 4 (2016), 446–59, 449, identified three problems in analysing children's agency: (1) not examining children's perspective on its own terms, (2) reinforcing the adult/child binary, and (3) treating agency 'as an undifferentiated, monolithic and easily knowable phenomenon'; K. Vallgård, K. Alexander, and S. Olsen, 'Against Agency', *Society for the History of Children and Youth* (23 October 2018). Available at: <https://www.shcy.org/features/commentaries/against-agency/> (accessed 14 July 2020), suggested to instead focus on the concepts of 'emotional formation' and 'emotional frontiers'; cf. K. Alexander, 'Agency and Emotion Work', *Jeunesse: Young People, Texts, Cultures*, 7, 2 (2015), 120–8; and S. Olsen (ed.), *Childhood, Youth and Emotions in Modern History: National, Colonial and Global Perspectives*, Palgrave Studies in the History of Emotions (London/New York, NY 2015). These arguments build on critiques of

As an analytical concept, voice gained traction in Subaltern Studies with Gayatri Spivak's essay 'Can the Subaltern Speak?'.¹¹ This is somewhat ironic considering Spivak's emphatic 'No' to the rhetorical question she posed in the title. Nevertheless, searches for marginalized voices have since been undertaken in various fields of historical research, including childhood history.¹² This research is part of a trend in childhood history to focus more on young people's perspectives and experiences.¹³ For historical research, the indispensable analytical value of voice as developed in Subaltern Studies lies in its renewed focus on the development of the historical record and the historian's role as well as in its ability to tune our ears to expressions of marginalized actors. However, it deserves further theoretical reflection to fully reach its potential. The conceptualization of voice varies greatly and is rarely clear-cut.¹⁴ Voice is often used as a self-explanatory metaphor, charged with a modern democratic ideal and the assumption of a

agency as an analytical concept for the study of other marginalized individuals such as W. Johnson, 'On Agency', *Journal of Social History*, 37, 1 (2003), 113–24.

11 G.C. Spivak, 'Can the Subaltern Speak?', in C. Nelson and L. Grossberg (eds), *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture* (Urbana, IL/Chicago, IL 1988), 271–313.

12 See e.g. J.H. Arnold, 'The Historian as Inquisitor: The Ethics of Interrogating Subaltern Voices', *Rethinking History*, 2, 3 (1998), 379–86; P. Hempenstall, 'Releasing the Voices: Historicizing Colonial Encounters in the Pacific', in R. Borofsky (ed.), *Remembrances of Pacific Pasts: An Invitation to Remake History* (Honolulu, HI 2000), 43–61; C.H. Dayton, 'Rethinking Agency, Recovering Voices', *American Historical Review*, 109, 3 (June 2004), 827–43; J. Hoegaerts, 'Voices That Matter? Methods for Historians Attending to the Voices of the Past', *Historical Reflections*, 47, 1 (Spring 2021), 113–37; on the legacy of Spivak's essay, see R.C. Morris (ed.), *Can the Subaltern Speak?: Reflections on the History of an Idea* (New York, NY 2010); for voice in childhood history specifically, see e.g. K. Alexander, 'Can the Girl Guide Speak? The Perils and Pleasures of Looking for Children's Voices in Archival Research', *Jeunesse: Young People, Texts, Cultures*, 4, 1 (2012), 132–45; K. Moruzi, N. Musgrove, and C. P. Leahy (eds), *Children's Voices from the Past: New Historical and Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, Palgrave Studies in the History of Childhood (Cham 2019); on voice in Childhood Studies, see, with a critical summary, A. James, 'Giving Voice to Children's Voices: Practices and Problems, Pitfalls and Potentials', *American Anthropologist*, New Series, In Focus: Children, Childhoods, and Childhood Studies, 109, 2 (June 2007), 261–72.

13 E.g. C. Soares, *A Home from Home? Children and Social Care in Victorian and Edwardian Britain, 1870–1920* (Oxford 2023); S. Pooley and J. Taylor (eds), *Children's Experiences of Welfare in Modern Britain* (London 2021); D. Levison, M.J. Maynes, and F. Varus (eds), *Children and Youth as Subjects, Objects, Agents: Innovative Approaches to Research Across Space and Time* (Cham 2021).

14 When K. Alexander and S. Sleight, 'Introduction', in K. Alexander and S. Sleight (eds), *A Cultural History of Youth in the Modern Age*, The Cultural Histories Series (London/New York/Dublin 2023), 1–17, 3, write that 'this collection seeks to showcase young people's voices', for example, they mean that the volume's focus is on young actors rather than on structures; N. Musgrove, C.P. Leahy and K. Moruzi, 'Hearing Children's Voices: Conceptual and Methodological Challenges', in N. Musgrove, C.P. Leahy and K. Moruzi (eds), *Children's Voices from the Past: New Historical and Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, Palgrave Studies in the History of Childhood (Cham 2019), 1–25, 12, on the other hand, equate 'voice' with children's 'actual[...] thoughts, feelings, and actions. In Childhood Studies, voice is often understood in terms of children's participatory rights, for a critical summary see A. James, 'Giving Voice to Children's Voices: Practices and Problems, Pitfalls and Potentials', *American Anthropologist*, New Series, In Focus: Children, Childhoods, and Childhood Studies, 109, 2 (June 2007), 261–72; on voice and children's rights, see e.g. R.A. Hart, *Children's Participation: From Tokenism to Citizenship*, Innocenti Essays 4 (Florence 1992), https://www.unicef-irc.org/publications/pdf/childrens_participation.pdf; A.L. James, A. James, and S. McNamee, 'Turn Down the Volume? Not Hearing Children in Family Proceedings', *Child and Family Law Quarterly* 16, 2 (2004), 189–203. On diverging conceptualisations of voice, cf. G. Bloom, *Voice in Motion: Staging Gender, Shaping Sound in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia 2007), 12f., criticized the 'undertheorized system of analogies between voice, body, subjectivity, and agency' in feminist thought.

liberal subject.¹⁵ Thus, the search for historically marginalized voices is framed as a moral undertaking, aiming at finding a voice and thereby empowering the historical subject. Such framing, however, belittles the epistemological value of studying marginalized voices.

I want to argue that voice is a useful concept to gain insight into child migrants' experiences and broader social dynamics if it is used as an analytical concept rather than a loaded metaphor. Walter Johnson has criticized that scholars' attempts to 'give back' agency to historical actors suggest a form of redress, which writing history cannot provide. The same could be said about attempts of 'giving back' a voice.¹⁶ While advocacy groups explicitly say they want to 'give a voice' to child migrants,¹⁷ the gesture is controversial among historians. Greg Dening has called the humanities 'the great unsilencing art' and stated his ambition as 'fill[ing]' 'the silence of those who for one reason or another had no voice'. Similar to Johnson, Martin Dusenberre criticized this position, stating that '[e]levation should not be for the global historian', and Spivak considered any attempt of Western humanities scholars to make the subaltern speak a continuation of Western domination (one could, analogously, think of adult domination).¹⁸

The gesture of rendering certain people audible is not a phenomenon that emerged with late-twentieth-century scholarship and should therefore be historicized. Making the marginalized heard was a common charitable and reformist gesture among nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century British philanthropists. In explaining and advertising their mission, child rescuers claimed to make the children's 'cry' heard. This 'cry of the child'-trope also figured in child migration agencies' appeals.¹⁹ There was a religious aspect to the trope: equalling the English poor children's cry with the cry of the Children of Israel in Egypt, the cry was elevated from that of an individual or a certain social group

15 On the latter point, cf. Joe Maggio's criticism of Spivak in J. Maggio, "'Can the Subaltern Be Heard?': Political Theory, Translation, Representation, and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak', *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, 32, 4 (December 2007), 419–43.

16 Johnson, 'On Agency', 199f.; L. Jordanova, 'New Worlds for Children in the Eighteenth Century: Problems of Historical Explanation', *History of the Human Sciences*, 3, 1 (1990), 69–83, 81, lamented that the history of childhood often amounted to an 'unfocused sentimentality about giving children a voice'. There is a difference concerning British child migrants sent to Australia, of whom many are still alive and raise(d) their voice as adults, e.g. in oral history interviews or government inquiries, see e.g. National Library of Australia (ed.), *Forgotten Australians and Former Child Migrants Oral History Project*. Available at: <https://www.nla.gov.au/collections/what-we-collect/oral-history-and-folklore/forgotten-australians-and-former-child> (accessed 26 June 2020); Senate Community Affairs References Committee Secretariat, Parliament of Australia, *Lost Innocents: Righting the Record: Report on Child Migration Australia* (Canberra 2001), appendix 1. Available at: https://www.aph.gov.au/~media/wopapub/senate/committee/clac_ctte/completed_inquiries/1999_02/child_migrat/report/report_pdf.ashx (accessed 11 August 2020).

17 E.g. the Ontario East British Home Child Family organization in C. Sanders, 'Britain's children fought for Canada: Honoured with wreath in Ottawa for first time', *Winnipeg Free Press* (12 November 2013). Available at: <https://www.winnipegfreepress.com/local/2013/11/12/britains-children-fought-for-canada> (accessed 11 August 2022).

18 G. Dening, 'Writing, Rewriting the Beach: An Essay', *Rethinking History*, 2, 2 (June 1998), 143–72, 145; M. Dusenberre, 'Japan, Global History, and the Great Silence', *History Workshop Journal*, 83, 1 (2017), 130–50, 144; Spivak, 'Can the Subaltern Speak?'.

19 E.g. 'A Plea for the Children', *Our Waifs and Strays*, V, 149, New Series (September 1896), 342; T.R. Ackroyd, 'The Cry of the Children', [unknown newspaper] (November 1910), MA, GB127.M189/8/5/4.

to that of God's people as a whole.²⁰ The biblical reference also pointed towards God and Christianity as guidance in responding to the cry. As a rhetorical tool, the metaphor conveys authenticity, immediacy and bolsters a sympathetic conception of the child as weak and in need of adult help. Historians should study this gesture as a historical phenomenon and isolate it from the analytical concept of voice.

Reading about the abuse George Green and other child migrants suffered, the idea of being able to give something back is tempting. However, history is about the present, albeit through the filter of the past. The voice dominating this article is certainly not Green's but mine: the voice of a twenty-first-century historian. Instead of trying to democratize the past, to posthumously empower subjects, my goal is to learn about the structural patterns amplifying and silencing voices in the past and the present. For such an undertaking, exploring the ifs and maybes of young people's voices and vocal practices is more important than finding a single explanation or finding authenticity. Rather than providing the complete picture by adding marginalized voices, this approach raises awareness for the inevitable gaps and blanks in history and historical research. I see the analysis of young people's voices in the past as neither a moral gesture towards these individuals nor an end in itself; I see it as a heuristic tool, allowing historians to reach a more complex understanding of certain aspects of history. Constituting voice as an analytical concept rather than an end in itself, I will address central problems in the current conceptualization of voice and show the epistemological potential the idea of voice offers if it is reconceptualized.

At first glance, Green is not an obvious example for studying a young person's voice. There are no known, accessible ego-documents by Green, and according to his first employer, he 'was quiet, always quiet'.²¹ During the court proceedings against Findlay, several neighbours testified that they had seen Findlay physically abuse Green and had heard him cry in pain. Mr. W.H. Horne, a neighbouring farmer, for example, recalled:

I heard the boy cry and thought I heard a blow and I looked up to see what was the matter; they were working in the barley field, Miss Findlay had a fork in her hand and the boy was making away from her and she was scolding him and following him up with the fork in her hand.²²

No one, however, had ever heard Green complain or talk back. 'In all that you heard her [Findlay] say to him, swearing or scolding and these blows', the Crown prosecutor asked another neighbour, Jessir McKinley, 'did you ever hear one word of a back answer from

20 Cf. e.g. G. Smith, *The Cry of the Children from the Brickyards of England: And How the Cry Has Been Heard; With Observations Upon the Carrying Out of the Act* (6th edn, London 1879), 121.

21 'W.A. Cranston', *In the County Court of the County of Grey: Before His Honor Judge Creasor and a Petit Jury: The Queen vs. Helen Findlay* (1895), 10–4, para. 41, LAC, Immigration Branch, RG 76, vol. 124, file 25399.

22 'W.H. Horne', *In the County Court of the County of Grey: Before His Honor Judge Creasor and a Petit Jury: The Queen vs. Helen Findlay* (1895), 30–5, para. 21, LAC, Immigration Branch, RG 76, vol. 124, file 25399.

him?' 'No sir I never did'. 'Never once?', the prosecutor inquired. 'No sir', McKinley responded.²³ Green only spoke when spoken to,²⁴ and except for his employers and Findlay's domestic, no one in Canada seems to have exchanged more than a few words with him. The main source about Green's life in Canada are the court protocols. At the time they were produced, Green, of course, was already dead. In the protocols, historians encounter the court stenographer's (sometimes inaccurate²⁵) records of court testimonies, in which the defendant and several witnesses recalled Green's voice. Personal motives and the interrogation process shaped these recollections.²⁶ Understanding the circumstances in which Green raised his voice, in which it was heard or ignored, recorded, archived and in which it is excavated and written into the historical record today is central to the analytical concept of voice.

Young people are particularly intriguing subjects for a reconceptualization of voice: they were and are perceived as pure yet malleable, loud and chatty yet 'mutes'²⁷ in the historical record. In this article, I will use George Green as an example to disclose the complex web of social forces behind and interpretations of young people's voices and vocal practices in the past and the present, illustrating both the difficulties and the epistemological possibilities of historians' search for marginalized voices. The case of George Green and the history of British child migration more generally lend themselves to a discussion of voice as an analytical concept because they touch on various facets of voice: minors' legal say in matters affecting them, everyday vocal practices, sound and silences. Moreover, in the process of migration, a number of records were produced about individuals, who, in all likelihood, would have gone unnoticed by historians otherwise. The child migration schemes' bureaucracy and the controversy surrounding the practice throughout the time they existed created a rich source base that historians can work with, even if the number of ego-documents from child migrants themselves is small.²⁸

This article is a narrative about an individual's life and experiences, an analysis of structural patterns amplifying and silencing certain voices, as well as an exploration of a research concept. After briefly introducing the historical context in which Green

23 'Jessie McKinley', *In the County Court of the County of Grey: Before His Honor Judge Creasor and a Petit Jury: The Queen vs. Helen Findlay* (1895), 41–5, paras 48f., LAC, Immigration Branch, RG 76, vol. 124, file 25399.

24 'Cranston', paras 41, 64f.; 'Mary Brown', *In the County Court of the County of Grey: Before His Honor Judge Creasor and a Petit Jury: The Queen vs. Helen Findlay* (1895), 54–78, para. 57, LAC, Immigration Branch, RG 76, vol. 124, file 25399.

25 Dr Allan Cameron, a witness at the trial, stated that the stenographer, who had taken down his earlier evidence, had 'made some mistakes', 'Dr Allan Cameron', *In the County Court of the County of Grey: Before His Honor Judge Creasor and a Petit Jury: The Queen vs. Helen Findlay* (1895), 137–61, para. 209, LAC, Immigration Branch, RG 76, vol. 124, file 25399.

26 On the 'multivocal[ity]' of court documents, see E. Muir and G. Ruggiero, 'Introduction: The Crime of History', in E. Muir and G. Ruggiero (eds), trans. C.B. Curry, M.A. Gallucci, and M.M. Gallucci, *History from Crime* (Baltimore, MD 1994), ix.

27 R.L. Schnell, 'Childhood Rescued and Restrained In English Canada', in P. T. Rooke and R. L. Schnell (eds), *Studies in Childhood History: A Canadian Perspective* (Calgary, AB 1982), 204–12, 204.

28 Similar to Foucault's 'infamous men', see M. Foucault, *Das Leben der infamen Menschen*, ed. and trans. W. Seitter (Berlin 2001), esp. 22f.

emigrated to Canada and providing some particularities of his case, I will turn to the concept of voice, identifying and discussing four problems I see in how voice is usually thought of and conceptualized: the search for authenticity, the neglect of the non-narrative dimension of voices, the neglect of non-verbal voices and the one-dimensional interpretation of silences. All these problems can be turned into opportunities for future research.

In the late nineteenth century, the British child rescue movement drew on earlier, scattered examples of child migration and set up government-supported schemes, which brought economically and socially disadvantaged youngsters to the British settler colonies, most of them to Canada and Australia.²⁹ Between 1869 and 1970³⁰, close to 90,000 British children and juveniles³¹ were trained as farm labourers and domestics in private homes, farm schools and orphanages overseas. The schemes intended to give young people a future as productive Christian citizens of the Empire and to populate the British colonies. Moreover, they brought financial relief to government and philanthropic welfare efforts in Britain. The Canadian and Australian governments, as well as their farmers, supported the child migration schemes as they brought cheap labour and white stock to the colonies.³² Initially, child migration agencies focused their work on Canada and placed child migrants individually on farms or, in rare cases, in urban households. In the 1920s, child welfare concerns on the one hand and economic downturn and xenophobia on the other hand prompted the Canadian government to enact a ban on the immigration of unaccompanied children under the age of 14.³³

29 On the early history of child migration, see e.g. B.M. Coldrey, 'A Thriving and Ugly Trade': *The First Phase of Child Migration, 1617–1757* (Victoria 1995); G. Lynch, *Remembering Child Migration: Faith, Nation-Building and the Wounds of Charity* (London/New York, NY 2016), chap. 1; for a historical overview of the child migration schemes of the nineteenth and twentieth century, see M. Harper and S. Constantine, *Migration and Empire*, *The Oxford History of the British Empire* (Oxford 2010), chap. 9; Lynch, *Remembering Child Migration*.

30 For the end date of child migration, see G. Lynch, *UK Child Migration to Australia, 1945–1970: A Study in Policy Failure*, *Palgrave Studies in the History of Childhood* (Cham 2021), 146.

31 For the estimated number of child migrants, I added the 300 plus child migrants sent to the Fairbridge Farm School in British Columbia (for this number, see Fairbridge Chapel Heritage Society and Fairbridge Canada Association, *Information Board at Fairbridge Historical Site: 'Prince of Wales Fairbridge Farm School: Party Arrivals'* [Duncan, BC, n.d.]) to the calculations in Harper and Constantine, *Migration and Empire*, 248.

32 On the motives behind child migration and changes over the decades, see Lynch, *Remembering Child Migration*; E. Boucher, *Empire's Children: Child Emigration, Welfare, and the Decline of the British World, 1869–1967* (Cambridge 2014), chaps 1–3, 5; G. Wagner, *Children of the Empire* (London 1982); for the post-war period also Lynch, *UK Child Migration*.

33 The Canadian Council on Child Welfare, *Age Limit for Juvenile Immigrants* ([1925]), LAC, Immigration Branch, RG 76, vol. 66, file 3115, part 14; cf. J. Bullen, *Children of the Industrial Age: Children, Work, and Welfare in Late Nineteenth-Century Ontario*, PhD Thesis, University of Ottawa (1989), 310–14, 322; Lynch, *Remembering Child Migration*, 48f.; Boucher, *Empire's Children*, 88f. The Prince of Wales Fairbridge Farm School on Vancouver Island was the only scheme excepted from the 1920s ban; it opened in 1935, during a period of heightened fear about Asian immigration to British Columbia; for details, see P. Dunae, 'Gender, Generations and Social Class: The Fairbridge Society and British Child Migration to Canada, 1930–1960', in J. Lawrence and P. Starkey (eds), *Child Welfare and Social Action from the Nineteenth Century to the Present* (Liverpool 2001), 82–100; P. Dunae, 'Child Emigrants, Child Welfare and the Fairbridge Society in British Columbia, 1931–1951', in D. Purvey and C. Walmsley (eds), *Child and Family Welfare in British Columbia: A History* (Calgary, AB 2005), 91–122; emphasizing racial fears as a factor: D. Vallance, *Child Immigrants to the 'Edge of Empire': Fairbridge Child Migrants and British Columbia's Quest for the*

Following this ban, agencies shifted their operations to Australia, where some had already been active. After the Second World War, child migrants under school-leaving age were placed in institutions, farm schools and orphanages. This shift happened at the very point in time when British child welfare turned against institutionalization and, for that matter, against family separation. British government officials recognized this discrepancy but feared alienating their Australian partner. Child migration eventually slowly died out because parents and local officials in Britain refused to send young people abroad.³⁴

Nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century British social reformers' conception of childhood was born out of images and narratives developed during Enlightenment and Romanticism. Enlightenment philosophers, most famously Rousseau, opposed the Christian doctrine of the original sin and cultivated the idea of childhood innocence. Romantic thinkers went a step further, discovering childhood as the basin of true being and morality.³⁵ The idea of childhood innocence led to a fetishizing of children's vulnerability and put parents into the focus of social reforms. Considered blank slates, the environment in which children were brought up was thought to determine the adults they would become. Consequently, children constituted both a risk and a potential for society and the state. Left with those whom middle- and upper-class reformers considered unfit parents, in an environment of (real or imagined) crime and immorality, lower-class children were believed to grow up a burden for the British people. If, however, they were taken 'out of the gutter', separated permanently from their families, and brought up in a morally sound environment with a good work ethic, they would turn into productive citizens.³⁶ The Custody of Children Act of 1891, aptly dubbed the 'Barnardo's Act', after the evangelical philanthropist Thomas Barnardo, strengthened the power of government agencies and welfare organizations to intervene in the family. It legalized Barnardo's practice of 'philanthropic abduction', emigrating children under the age of 16 without

Construction of the 'White Man's Province', *MA Thesis, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, BC* (2013). Available at: <https://doi.org/10.14288/1.0073660> (accessed 22 May 2020).

34 Lynch, *UK Child Migration*, chap. 7; Boucher, *Empire's Children*, chap. 6; G. Sherington, *Australia's Immigrants, 1788–1988, The Australian Experience* (2nd edn, Sydney, NSW/Wellington/London/Winchester, MA 1980), 131; S. Constantine, 'The British government, child welfare, and child migration to Australia after 1945', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 30, 1 (2002), 99–132; B. Coldrey, '"A Charity Which Has Outlived Its Usefulness": The Last Phase of Catholic Child Migration, 1947–56', *History of Education*, 25, 4 (1996), 373–86, 376.

35 A. Levene, 'Community', in E. Foyster and J. Martens (eds), *A Cultural History of Childhood and Family*, vol. 5: In The Age of Enlightenment (Oxford/New York, NY 2010), 33–48, 48; E. Foyster and J. Martens, 'Introduction', in E. Foyster and J. Martens (eds), *A Cultural History of Childhood and Family*, vol. 5: In The Age of Enlightenment (Oxford/New York, NY 2010), 1–13; C. Heywood, *History of Childhood: Children and Childhood in the West from Medieval to Modern Times* (2nd fully revised and expanded edn, Medford, MA 2018), 28f.; J. Faulkner, 'Vulnerability of "Virtual" Subjects: Childhood, Memory, and Crisis in the Cultural Value of Innocence', *SubStance* 42, 3, Vulnerability, 132 (2013), 127–47.

36 S. Swain and M. Hillel, *Child, Nation, Race and Empire: Child Rescue Discourse, England, Canada and Australia, 1850–1915*, Studies in Imperialism (Manchester 2010); Boucher, *Empire's Children*, esp. chaps. 1, 2; on the fetishizing of children's vulnerability specifically, see Faulkner, 'Vulnerability'; on reformers' focus on parents, see H. Cunningham, *The Children of the Poor: Representations of Childhood since the Seventeenth Century*, Family, Sexuality and Social Relations in Past Times (Oxford/Cambridge, MI 1991), 143–5.

their parents' consent if these were deemed unfit.³⁷ To understand the history of Green, it is important to point out that while social reformers had adopted this new conception of childhood, modified ideas about original sin in the form of heredity ills were powerful in British and Canadian society. Discussing the case of Green, a journalist of the *Hamilton Times* wrote: 'The offspring of the vicious and the vile cannot be a good mixture for our population'.³⁸

Barnardo's charitable organization, the Dr Barnardo's Homes (today: Barnardos), ran the biggest and longest running child migration scheme. Green was one of 733 minors the agency sent to Canada in 1895 alone.³⁹ The emigration party, which brought Green to Canada, also included his younger brother, Walter. In 1886, Catherine and Charles Green had left their two sons as well as their older daughter, Margaret, to the care of the Edmonton Poor Law Union's Old Parish School, before the children were admitted to Enfield Farm School in Northern London. Charles died two years later. In 1894, Catherine persuaded then 17-year-old Margaret to leave the Farm School and take a paid job. In response, the parish returned George and Walter to their mother's care as well. Too poor to take care of her sons, Catherine asked for the two boys to be admitted to the Dr Barnardo's Homes in July 1894. Not even a year later, they were sent to Canada. After their arrival in April 1895, George and Walter were both employed at W.A. Cranston's farm, south of Toronto. After the customary one-month trial period, however, Cranston sent the boys back to the Dr Barnardo's Homes' Receiving and Distribution Home in Toronto. He found that because George was blind in one eye, he was not suitable for working on his farm. Subsequently, George was sent further north, to Findlay's farm in the town of Keppel.⁴⁰

37 'Custody of Children Act', 1891, 54 & 55 Vict., chap. 3; cf. B. Coldrey, *Child Migration: Consent of Parents to the Children's Emigration: The Legal and Moral Dimension* (Cheshire, WA 1996), 26–28; on the practice of 'philanthropic abduction', see Parr, *Labouring Children*, 62–81; Swain and Hillel, *Child, Nation, Race and Empire*, 113, 141; Kershaw and Sacks, *New Lives for Old*, 129. On the legal development since 1891, see Coldrey, *Consent*. Whether agencies acquired legally necessary parental consent has come under scrutiny since the public debate about the history of child migration began in the 1980s. In his apology to former child migrants, British prime minister Gordon Brown declared: 'They [child migrants] were sent mostly without the consent of their mother or father.' (G. Brown, '[Address]', in House of Commons Hansard Archives (ed.), *Daily Hansard – Debate re: Child Migration* [24 Feb 2010], col. 301f., col. 301, <https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200910/cmhansrd/cm100224/debtext/100224-0004.htm> [accessed 3 March 2020]). Most historians, however, argue that agencies obtained parental consent in most cases: M. Langfield, 'Righting the Record? British Child Migration: The Case of the Middlemore Homes, 1872–1972', in K. Fedorowich and A.S. Thompson (eds), *Empire, Migration and Identity in the British World*, Studies in Imperialism (Manchester/New York 2013), 150–68, 155, for example, argues: 'The popular perception that most children were "emigrated" [...] without parental consent or knowledge, is largely erroneous.'

38 [No title], *Hamilton Times* (November 1895), AoO, RG 29, vol. 2, 32; cf. on ideas about heredity and environment in Canada, M. Gleason, 'Between Education and Memory: Health and Childhood in English-Canada, 1900–1950', *Scientia Canadensis*, 29, 1 (2006), 49–72, 55.

39 On the history of the Dr Barnardo's Homes, see G. Wagner, *Barnardo* (London 1979); Rose, *For the Sake of the Children*; on the Dr Barnardo's Homes' child migration schemes to Canada specifically, see G.H. Corbett, *Barnardo Children in Canada* (Peterborough 1981); for the number of children sent to Canada in 1895, see *ibid.*, 122.

40 For Green's history prior to his emigration, see Home Children Canada (ed.), *British Home Children Registry*, no. 29209. Available at: <http://www.britishhomechildrenregistry.com/Person/bhcInfo/29209> (accessed 16 August 2022); Green's time at the Enfield Farm School was also mentioned in 'George Green's Death:

When he was sent to Canada, George Green was believed to be 15 years old, even though he was already 16.⁴¹ At that age, Green was among the older ones who emigrated under the Dr Barnardo's Homes' migration scheme.⁴² Some historians prefer the term 'juvenile migrants' for migrants age 14 and older.⁴³ Until the beginning of migration schemes specifically for juveniles in the 1920s, however, the term did not exist.⁴⁴ I will use 'child migrant' as an umbrella term for all minors sent abroad under the British child migration schemes. A binary division between 'child migrants' and 'juvenile migrants' captures neither the gradual differences between various age groups, nor the divergence between the ideals and the realities of childhood and youth. Since the early twentieth century, youth or adolescence is considered as a distinct life phase in Western societies, and, while often included in childhood history, the history of youth is a booming research field of its own. Even before the intellectual discovery of youth, however, there was a period of transition between childhood and adulthood, the form and length of which depended on different social factors such as gender and class.⁴⁵ The way child migrants were perceived, treated and thought of themselves, however,

Particulars Regarding the Unfortunate Barnardo Boy Furnished by Mr. A. B. Owen – System of Visiting', [unknown newspaper] (1895), AoO, RG 29, vol. 2, 22; for the Green brothers' journey to Canada, see *Passenger Lists of the PARISIAN Arriving in Halifax, N.S. on 1895-04-01* (1985), 8, LAC, Immigration Branch, RG 76 C1b, item 8598; for their early employment in Canada and their return, see 'Cranston'; 'Alfred B. Owen', *In the County Court of the County of Grey: Before His Honor Judge Creasor and a Petit Jury: The Queen vs. Helen Findlay* (1895), 1–10, LAC, Immigration Branch, RG 76, vol. 124, file 25399.

41. There are conflicting statements as to George Green's age: the Dr Barnardo's Homes' representative, Alfred B. Owen, claimed that Green had been 15 years old when he arrived in Canada in April 1895 and that Green himself had told him he had been born on 11 November, see 'Owen', para. 8. This would mean that, on the date of his death, Green was two days short of his 16th birthday. It is likely, however, that Owen mixed Green up with his younger brother, Walter Green, who was born on 7 November 1881, 'Birth Certificate: Walter Henry Green', *Tottenham, Middlesex, Oct–Nov–Dec 1881*, vol. 3a, 291. According to Parr, 'Green', Green was born in February 1880. 1880 is also the year of birth engraved in Green's 2013 memorial stone, cf. 'George Everett Green', *British Home Children in Canada*, <https://canadianbritishhomechildren.weebly.com/george-everett-green.html> (accessed 5 August 2022). Green's birth certificate, in contrast, states 8 February 1879 as his date of birth, 'Birth Certificate: Everett George Green', *Tottenham, Middlesex, Jan–Feb–Mar 1879*, vol. 3a, 256. It is possible that Green was mistakenly registered as 15 years old with the Dr Barnardo's Homes, which, given his February birthday, later led to confusion regarding the year he was born in. In all likelihood, Green was 16 years of age but considered 15 by the Dr Barnardo's Homes and maybe even himself.

42. The other persons in Green's emigration party were between five and 20 years old, see *Passenger Lists PARISIAN*.

43. E.g. A. Gill, *Orphans of the Empire: The Shocking Story of Child Migration to Australia* (Milsons Point, NSW 1997), 4f.

44. In the 1920s, child and juvenile migration schemes were increasingly separated, see G. Lynch, 'Welfare and Constraint on Children's Agency: The Case of Post-War UK Child Migration Programmes to Australia', in S. Pooley and J. Taylor (eds), *Children's Experiences of Welfare in Modern Britain* (London 2021), 175–96, 177. With this, the term 'juvenile migrant' began to appear in the sources.

45. On the history of youth and adolescence, see D.M. Pomfret, 'Introduction', in D.M. Pomfret (ed.), *A Cultural History of Youth in the Age of Empire*, The Cultural Histories Series (London/New York/Dublin 2023), 1–14, esp. 1–4; Alexander and Sleight, 'Introduction'; D.M. Pomfret and N.L. Syrett, 'Concepts of Youth', in K. Alexander and S. Sleight (eds), *A Cultural History of Youth in the Modern Age*, The Cultural Histories Series (London/New York/Dublin 2023), 19–40; Heywood, *History of Childhood*, 33–5; C. Comacchio, *The Dominion of Youth. Adolescence and the Making of Modern Canada, 1920–1950*, *Studies in Childhood and Family in Canada* (Waterloo, ON 2006); on current developments in the history of youth, see Alexander and Sleight, 'Introduction', 11; D.M. Pomfret, 'Introduction', 6–8.

often ran counter to ideas about childhood and youth. Several employers, for example, made child migrants of school age work full time – regardless of legal or contractual obligations –,⁴⁶ denying them a childhood, which was increasingly seen as a period of protection and guidance, of play and learning.⁴⁷ Green was no longer a child in some ways: he no longer had to attend school⁴⁸ and was appertain to wages for his full-time work, although he might not have had any cash, as accumulated wages could be paid at the end of an indenture period, which would not have been prior to Green's 16th birthday.⁴⁹ Green was not a 'teenager', an actor in mass consumerism, a figure that would emerge later, in the post-Depression era.⁵⁰ Legally, Green was still a minor, under the control of his employer and the Dr Barnardo's Homes. The agency had negotiated the terms of his indenture, and he was not allowed to leave his position without permission from the Dr Barnardo's Homes or his employer. Moreover, his voice was and is perceived and treated as that of a dependent person in the making and a historically marginalized figure. There was a notable shift in how the Canadian media portrayed Green's age throughout the trial against his employer. Initially, he was depicted as the vulnerable child, 'an innocent, simple Barnardo waif'.⁵¹ As the trial progressed and the newspaper reports took over the defence's line of argument, however, the attribute 'boy' no longer evoked sympathy and signified innocence, but stood for childish weakness and youthful impertinence instead. In its headline, one newspaper described Green as 'A Repulsive Boy: Disobedient, Dirty, Unable to Work, but a Big Eater'.⁵² In the historiography, Green is labelled a child, a 'lad' or 'boy', rather than a 'young man' or a 'juvenile', invoking sympathy with a helpless figure in need of protection.⁵³

In the collected volume *Children's Voices from the Past*, the editors 'take children's "voices" to mean [...] what young people *actually* thought, felt and did rather than what they were *expected* or *assumed* to think, feel and do'.⁵⁴ This quest for authenticity

46 There are several cases of child migrants under the age of 14 not attending school, e.g. contemporaneously recorded in Department of Immigration, *Juvenile Inspection Report Cards* ([c.1913–1932]), LAC, T-15420–T-154207, e.g. Barnardo's child migrant Clarence Radford in Department of Immigration, *Juvenile Inspection Report Cards: [O–S]* ([c.1913–1932]), LAC, T-15425; or recalled in P. Harrison (ed.), *The Home Children: Their Personal Stories* (Winnipeg, MB 1979), e.g. 38f., 52, 57, 62, 101.

47 On this idea of childhood, see H. Hendrick, *Children, Childhood and English Society, 1880–1990*, New Studies in Economic and Social History (Cambridge 1997), esp. 10f.; P. N. Stearns, 'Defining Happy Childhoods: Assessing a Recent Change', *Journal of the History of Childhood and Youth*, 3, 2 (2010), 165–86.

48 Since 1891, full-term school attendance was mandatory for children between the ages of eight and 14 in Ontario, see Ontario Statutes, 1891, chap. 56, s. 2, reprinted in J.J. Kelso, *Laws Affecting Children: Compiles from the Dominion and Ontario Statutes by J. J. Kelso, Superintendent of Neglected and Dependent Children of Ontario* (Toronto 1895), 11, LAC: Immigration Branch, RG 76, vol. 65, file 3115, part 2.

49 For the different stages of Dr Barnardo's Homes' child migrants' boarding-out, apprenticeship, and employment, see Parr, *Labouring Children*, 85f.

50 Alexander and Sleight, 'Introduction', 4.

51 'A Single Woman: Miss Findley Charged With Killing a Boy', [unknown newspaper] (1895), AoO, RG 29, vol. 2, 21.

52 'A Repulsive Boy: Disobedient, Dirty, Unable to Work, but a Big Eater', [unknown newspaper] (November 1895), AoO, RG 29, vol. 2, 26–8.

53 E.g. Parr, 'Green'; Wagner, *Children of the Empire*, 151–3; Bagnell, *Little Immigrants*, 59–64.

54 Musgrove, Leahy and Moruzi, 'Hearing Children's Voices', 12 (emphases in original).

assumes that there is an authentic core hidden under layers of social pressure and cultural distortion. Such assumptions are based on the idea of a liberal subject and the modern Western construction of the child as pure and primal as well as malleable and impressionable.⁵⁵ In searching for the authentic voice, historians imprint their own cultural predisposition, their own notions of childhood and youth, on their research object. As David M. Rosen has shown, researchers' notions of childhood heavily influence their quest for the authentic child. In analysing the discourse about child soldiers, Rosen demonstrated that if a child's actions were seen as positive and fit the observer's idea of the innocent child, the child was presented as an active agent; if not, the child was presented as a manipulated victim – even if this interpretation was at odds with the child's self-perception.⁵⁶

Jo-Ann Wallace drew an analytical distinction between 'the child'/'childhood' as theoretical constructs and 'children' as 'real historical beings who cannot as yet be defined outside of those discursive formations'.⁵⁷ Just like adults, young people do not exist outside their social context and categorization as children or juveniles. Consequently, there is no 'authentic' voice, free from social influences and categorizations. Voice is not the expression of an 'authentic' inner self, but of a social being. The language and form that a young person raises his or her voice in are already the result of social influence. As E.H. Carr put it: 'the individual apart from society would be both speechless and mindless'.⁵⁸ When encountering traces of children's and juveniles' voices, historians should ask not whether these are authentic, but what they can tell about these individuals and their time.

One example challenging notions of authenticity is child migrants' consent to their own emigration. Confronted with the public interest in Green's case, Barnardo published a newspaper article defending his child migration scheme. In this article, Barnardo claimed that Green emigrated 'with his own desire'.⁵⁹ The Poor Law Amendment Act of 1850, the legal basis on which the late-nineteenth-century government-assisted child migration schemes relied, allowed for the emigration of a child under the age of 16 in

55 Cf. Christine J. Walley's quarrel with and dismissal of the Western idea of an 'inner core untouched by our contemporary surroundings' in C.J. Walley, 'Searching for "Voices": Feminism, Anthropology, and the Global Debate over Female Genital Operations', *Cultural Anthropology*, 12, 3 (August 1997), 405–38, 412; on the construction of childhood in Western thought, see H. Cunningham, *Children and Childhood in Western Society Since 1500*, (2nd edn, London/New York, NY 2005).

56 D.M. Rosen, 'Child Soldiers, International Humanitarian Law, and the Globalization of Childhood', *American Anthropologist*, New Series, In Focus: Children, Childhoods, and Childhood Studies, 109, 2 (June 2007), 296–306; cf. G. Griffiths, 'The Myth of Authenticity: Representation, Discourse and Social Practice', in C. Tiffin and A. Lawson (eds), *De-Scribing Empire: Post-Colonialism and Textuality* (London/New York, NY 1994), 70–85, warned against fetishizing the 'authentic', thereby creating the Other in ways suiting the white liberal discourse.

57 J. Wallace, 'De-Scribing the Water-Babies: "The Child" in Post-Colonial Theory', in C. Tiffin and A. Lawson (eds), *De-Scribing Empire: Post-Colonialism and Textuality* (London/New York, NY 1994), 171–84, 173, referencing T. de Lauretis, *Alice Doesn't: Feminism, Semiotics, Cinema* (Bloomington, IN 1984), 5.

58 E.H. Carr, *What Is History?*, Introd. R.J. Evans (reprinted with new introduction, Houndmills, Basingstoke 2001), 25; on children in particular, see M. Dolar, *A Voice and Nothing More*, Short Circuit Series (Cambridge, MA/London 2006), 26f., concluded that 'the [infant's] voice is already caught in the structural web, that there is no voice without the other'; cf. also Jordanova, 'New Worlds for Children', 78f.

59 '[no title]', [unknown newspaper] ([November 1985]), AoO, RG 29, vol. 2, 33.

government care at public expense under the condition that the child gave their consent. Only after the passing of the Children Act of 1948 could the Secretary of State give their consent instead if the child was considered too young to make such a life-changing decision. Neither Act, however, applied to child migrants like Green, who were sent from and at the expense of private charities such as the Dr Barnardo's Homes.⁶⁰ It was nevertheless common for child migration agencies throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century to ask all prospective child migrants whether they wanted to emigrate.

In the speech act of consenting, voice becomes agentic, an act transcending speech.⁶¹ Retrospective judgments of this practice vary, particularly with regard to the degree of agency young people had and the authenticity of their consenting voices. The issue came up repeatedly in recent government inquiries into the sexual abuse of children and juveniles in care, including child migrants in Australia. The witnesses, who often suffered sexual abuse after their emigration, recalled deception, pressure, and a lack of agency.⁶² Those who fared well after emigration, on the other hand, tend to stress their own agency. In an interview, a former child migrant identified as Cliff recalled: 'So Barnardos anyway at least did the right thing by the kids [asking for volunteers to go to Australia] and I certainly remember putting my hand up saying I wanted to go'. In contrast to many of the witnesses in the inquiries cited above, for Cliff, emigration was an escape from sexual abuse.⁶³ Historians generally agree that many child migrants 'left before they were old enough to give an informed consent to their emigration'.⁶⁴ Like

60 'Poor Law Amendment Act', 1850, 13 and 14 Victoria, chap. 101, s. IV; 'Children Act', 1948, 11 & 12 Geo., chap. 43, s. 2: 'Provided that where a child is too young to form or express a proper opinion on the matter, the Secretary of State may consent to his emigration notwithstanding that the child is unable to consent thereto'. Department of the Interior official W.J. Burgess added a hand-written note to a newspaper clipping about Green, stating: 'He was not a former inmate of a Workhouse', see 'A Woman Fiend: Terrible Ill-Usage of a Young Barnardo Boy', *Ottawa Citizen* (25 November 1895), LAC, Immigration Branch, RG 76, vol. 124, file 25399; on Green's institutional care history, cf. Home Children Canada, *Registry*, no. 29209.

61 For the foundations of Speech-Act-Theory, see J.L. Austin, *How To Do Things With Words: The William James Lectures Delivered at Harvard University in 1955* (London 1962); J. Searle, 'Austin on Locutionary and Illocutionary Acts', *The Philosophical Review*, 77, 4 (1968), 405–24; J. Searle, *Speech Acts: An Essay in the Philosophy of Language* (Cambridge 1969).

62 For example, witness reports quoted in A. Hart, D. Lane and G. Doherty, *Report of the Historical Institutional Abuse Inquiry* (2017), vol. 2, chap. 6, 66–8. Available at: <https://www.hiainquiry.org/historical-institutional-abuse-inquiry-report-chapters> (accessed 11 August 2020); see also the several testimonies in The Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Abuse (IICSA), including witness A11 in 'Child Migration Programmes Case Study Public Hearing Transcript: Day 7 (8 March 2017)', in *Independent Inquiry Child Sexual Abuse Child* (2017), 42; and witness A13 in 'Child Migration Programmes Case Study Public Hearing Transcript: Day 6 (7 March 2017)', in *Independent Inquiry Child Sexual Abuse Child* (2017), 50.

63 Cliff, quoted in K. Ely-Harper, 'The Staging of Social Policy: The Photographing of Post-War British Child Migrants', in P.L. Arthur (ed.), *Migrant Nation: Australian Culture, Society and Identity*, Anthem Studies in Australian Literature and Culture (London/New York, NY 2018), 69–90, 81.

64 Harper and Constantine, *Migration and Empire*, 248; cf. Boucher, *Empire's Children*, 208; C. West and D. Hopkins, 'Why, How and Where?', *Canadian Stories*, Special Edn: An Anthology of British Home Child Stories (2012), iii; Wagner, *Children of the Empire*, 137; Parr, *Labouring Children*, 27, argued that child migration schemes were 'more like British transportation and indentured service policies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries than the private and voluntary population movements of the nineteenth and twentieth'. One of the few to disagree is Lynch, *Remembering Child Migration*, 99: 'The fact that child migrants paid to go to Canada by local Poor Law unions also had to give their consent to their migration in front of a magistrate – and that some children refused to give this when presented – also indicates a degree of choice for some'.

agency, voice illuminates power structures. They affected whether and how children and juveniles could raise their voices, whether these were recorded and archived, and whether they are excavated today. The analytical concept of voice, however, also asks what an action (not) taken or a word (not) spoken expresses. This allows insight into young people's experiences. Dismissing child migrants' voices as non-agentic, distorted or inauthentic yields no insights. Instead, historians should ask what these voices *can* tell them.

Historical research has criticized the binary analytical distinction between voluntary and involuntary migration.⁶⁵ The circumstances motivating people of any age to migrate are rarely chosen voluntarily. Green was probably familiar with the Dr Barnardo's Homes' rhetoric portraying Canada as a land of spiritual and economic opportunity.⁶⁶ Without a father, he was in a precarious social and economic situation. Green needed to make a living and probably longed for a better life. Other child migrants were tempted by stories about a land 'where a person was free to pick an apple in the orchard; or pick a ripe tomato from the garden; ride horseback; stroll through the forest',⁶⁷ or, as one former child migrant recalled, a land, where she would 'have real reindeer to pull my sleigh to school'.⁶⁸ Throughout the decades, youngsters voiced their wish for an escape from the dull routine of institutional life or the dire realities of poverty, not knowing what consequences their voice would ultimately have. Because it was considered standard procedure (though not legally required) to have child migrants' consent, it was important for Barnardo to claim that Green had given his consent in order to defend his child migration scheme. The legal development and the fact that, today, historians reject the practice counters the historical narrative of a linear development of children's rights from protective to participatory rights in the twentieth century.⁶⁹ The idea that young people's voices were neglected in the past and progressively listened to in the twentieth century does not capture the complex and contradictory nature of the development.

Sources about young people's voices are sparse. Attending to the non-narrative dimension, the dimension of sound, gives historians an additional layer from which to draw information. So far, most scholarship on marginalized voices has neglected the non-narrative dimension of voices. One reason certainly lies in the lack of sound records, particularly from the nineteenth century and earlier periods. There are, however, some exemplary studies in Australian convict historiography. Alan Atkinson, for instance, studied

65 M. Bivand Erdal and C. Oeppen, 'Forced to Leave? The Discursive and Analytical Significance of Describing Migration as Forced and Voluntary', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 44, 6 (2018), 981–98.

66 See e.g. T.J. Barnardo, *Something Attempted. Something Done! One Hundred and Twentieth Thousand* (London 1889), chap. XXV.

67 'Ed Youngman's Column', *The Canadian Statesman* (10 October 1962), 4.

68 J. Vallentin, 'Thoughts on Fairbridge', *Fairbridge Gazette* (Summer 2006), 12, BC Archives: NW 971.63 F164.

69 For such a narrative, see e.g. P.S. Fass, 'A Historical Context for the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, The Child as Citizen, 633 (January 2011), 17–29; C.R. Margolin, 'Salvation versus Liberation: The Movement for Children's Rights in a Historical Context', *Social Problems*, 25, 4 (April 1978), 441–52.

dialect and vocal practices in Australian nation-building, Catie Gilchrist analysed convicts' verbal culture and dialects, and Penny Russell used a variety of sound-related attributes of voice to give insight into 'the politics of hearing and listening in nineteenth-century New South Wales'.⁷⁰ These examples show how productive inspiration can be drawn from scholarship on linguistics, orality and music as well as from the field of Sound Studies to examine written sources on aspects of sound and voice.

In the trial against Findlay, James Jeffrey, a local blacksmith's apprentice and, like Green, a child migrant from the Dr Barnardo's Homes, testified for the prosecution. In the fall, he told the jury, he had cut Green's hair and in return, Green had sung two songs for him. Asked about the peculiarity of Green's singing, Jeffrey replied: 'When he went up too high he would fail. [...] He would stop. You have heard people trying to talk when they had a terrible cold, well something like that'.⁷¹ The court did not allow Jeffrey to present evidence about a conversation he had had with Green 'as to Miss Findlay's treatment of him'.⁷² Therefore, Jeffrey's testimony contains no information about Green's voice on a narrative level. Attending to the non-narrative dimension of Green's voice, however, allows insight into Green's physical condition and his experiences.

The way Jeffrey recounted the sound of Green's voice contrasted his earlier depiction of Green on his arrival as '[v]ery healthy looking', making it evidence of Green's ill state of health.⁷³ Thereby, the reported sound of Green's voice furthered the prosecution's case that Findlay had denied adult help in the form of medical attention to a child in need. Regardless of his physical state, however, singing might have put Green in a heightened emotional state, which led his voice to fail. Some years earlier, child migration agent Annie Macpherson had described a goodbye scene in Montreal, when the newly arrived British boys were about to be sent to their different placements: '[F]or the last time as a little band singing, as we looked over the city, the sweet hymn, "Shall we gather at the river?" In parting many of their voices became like my own – very

70 A. Atkinson, *The Commonwealth of Speech: An Argument about Australia's Past, Present & Future* (Melbourne, VIC 2002); A. Atkinson, 'Speech, Children and the Federation Movement', in J. Damousi and D. Deacon (eds), *Talking and Listening in the Age of Modernity: Essays on the History of Sound* (Canberra, ACT 2007), 35–47; C. Gilchrist, '"A Life of Noisy Riot, of Filth, Indecency and Profaneness": The Convict Voice and the Bourgeois Imagination', *Journal of the Royal Australian Historical Society*, 9, 1 (June 2006), 29–45; P. Russell, 'Throwing Down the Gauntlet: Voice, Power and Sexual Violence in Penal New South Wales', in J. Damousi and P. Hamilton (eds), *A Cultural History of Sound, Memory and the Senses*, Routledge Studies in Cultural History (London/New York, NY 2017), 94–108; for a similar approach in childhood history, see e.g. J. Schroeder, 'The Schooled Voice: Sound and Sense in the Victorian Schoolroom', *Zeitschrift für Anglistik und Amerikanistik*, 63, 1 (2015), 31–49.

71 'James Jeffrey', *In the County Court of the County of Grey: Before His Honor Judge Creasor and a Petit Jury: The Queen vs. Helen Findlay* (1895), 278–84, paras 53–5, 59f., LAC, Immigration Branch, RG 76, vol. 124, file 25399.

72 Procedural note in 'Jeffrey', para. 27.

73 'Jeffrey', para. 15. It is unlikely that the failure of Green's voice was due to his voice changing as a result of puberty. Puberty being a phase in between childhood and adulthood, this would have certainly been picked up by one of the different actors involved in the trial – the prosecution, the defence, or even the media – to stress either Green's maturity or youth. Moreover, Green was already 16 years old and no other witness recalled that Green's voice was breaking.

choking'.⁷⁴ Leaving the people they had travelled with for an unknown future, several boys' emotions affected their singing voices.

Child migrants shared and cherished songs they knew from British culture or their time in the care of a child migration agency such as the Dr Barnardo's Homes.⁷⁵ Barnardo was an outspoken advocate of using music in childcare institutions. He saw music as a way to educate the youngsters in his care culturally and religiously, while providing a tool for both discipline and pleasure. Music was present in the Dr Barnardo's Homes' institutions and accompanied farewell ceremonies for child migrants.⁷⁶ Alfred B. Owen, the Dr Barnardo's Homes' representative in Canada, who accompanied the child migration party that Green was in on its way from Britain, recalled seeing Green 'with a Hymn book in his hand singing a hymn'.⁷⁷ This was probably during a church service or the farewell ceremony. For many of the uprooted youngsters, music held valued memories of their lives back in Britain. Being a child migrant was associated with being alien, with the stigma of poverty, growing up in care, and illegitimacy. For the stigmatized child migrants, music provided an acoustic home and a community. Green likely sang songs he and Jeffrey knew from their time back in Britain. These songs would have reminded them of home and the community they shared as 'Barnardo boys'. While this could have provided some comfort to Green, it might have also thrown him into an emotional state of loneliness and homesickness,⁷⁸ leading his voice to fail.

Prior to Green's arrival in Keppel, the Dr Barnardo's Homes had placed two other child migrants at the Findlay farm. According to Owen, there had been no complaints from these boys.⁷⁹ This may be right as far as verbalized complaints are concerned. The second boy placed at the Findlay farm, however, had expressed himself in another way: he had run away. According to Findlay, this was 'because he had stolen a pistol

74 A. Macpherson, *Canadian Homes for London Wanderers* (London 1870), 25.

75 For more details, see S. Quitmann, 'Voicing Imperial Order, Identity, and Resistance: The Singing of British Child Migrants', in J. Hoegaerts and J. Schroeder (eds), *Ordinary Oralities: Everyday Voices in History* (Berlin 2023), 153–69.

76 Cf. Thomas Barnardo's article for the *Musical Herald*, fully reproduced in S.L.E. Barnardo and J. Marchant, *Memoirs of the Late Dr Barnardo*, introd. W.R. Nicoll (London 1907), 134–6; for the presence of music at farewell ceremonies, see e.g. Barnardo, *Something Attempted*, 186, featuring an image of the boys' band saying goodbye to the emigrants on the train platform; in 1905, a newspaper report depicted a typical departure scene: 'Before they left they sang the "Glory Song"', and 'as the train steamed away the Barnardo boys' band played "Auld Lang Syne"', 'Barnardo Boys for Canada', *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser* (31 March 1905), 8.

77 'Alfred B. Owen Recalled', *In the County Court of the County of Grey: Before His Honor Judge Creasor and a Petit Jury: The Queen vs. Helen Findlay* (1895), 161f., para. 18, LAC, Immigration Branch, RG 76, vol. 124, file 25399; for details on the migration party, see *Passenger Lists PARISIAN*.

78 On the psychological mechanisms behind emotional arousal through music, see P.N. Juslin, L. Harmat, and T. Eerola, 'What Makes Music Emotionally Significant? Exploring the Underlying Mechanisms', *Psychology of Music*, 42, 4 (2014), 599–623.

79 Owen, quoted in 'Owen Sound, Nov. 21', *Globe* (November 1895), LAC, Immigration Branch, RG 76, vol. 124, file 25399. In the Dr Barnardo's Homes' Canada magazine, *Ups and Downs*, Owen claimed that the first boy sent to the Findlay farm 'has written and spoken in the highest terms of the treatment he received' and argued that things must have changed after Helen Findlay's brother died and she started running the farm on her own, see A.B. Owen, [no title], *Ups and Downs*, I, 5 (1 December 1895), 2f.

of mine'.⁸⁰ Whether his treatment also played a role in his decision to leave the farm, we do not know. If voice is used both literally and figuratively, there is a variety of non-verbal expressions to analyse, including both individual acts and patterns of behaviour. There are some great examples of the variety of expressions historians can use to capture and interpret historical figures' voices: Greg Denning made a case for the importance of facial expressions and gestures to interpret the spoken word on a narrative level, and Noelani Arista showed how the act of name-giving can be interpreted as a voice.⁸¹

Green did not take any daring actions of the kind his predecessor did. Neither did he hit back when scolded or attempted suicide as some other child migrants did.⁸² A behaviour, however, which was discussed in some detail in court, was Green's bedwetting. Green was far from the only child migrant suffering from enuresis. Medical inspections of prospective child migrants prior to emigration usually covered enuresis and – at least in theory – barred young people suffering from it from emigration.⁸³ Child migrants' records show that bedwetting could appear and disappear, depending on the situation they found themselves in, as it did in Green's case. Green's first employer testified that Green did not wet the bed, and Findlay recalled he only began doing so some time after his arrival. At some point in summer, she claimed, Green started wetting his pants during daytime as well. In her testimony, Findlay admitted to forcing Green to sleep in the barn for two nights as punishment for wetting his bed. The punishment did not better Green's enuresis, which, apparently, did not surprise Findlay. Although she considered punishment appropriate, she does not seem to have considered bedwetting as a conscious act preventable by the threat of punishment. Neither, however, did she consult a doctor.⁸⁴

As an expression, bedwetting is potentially rich in information. However, it was interpreted differently at different times, reminding me, as a historian, of my positionality. The nineteenth century saw a variety of attempts to interpret the cause of and find a treatment for youngsters' bedwetting. Though often called a 'dirty habit',⁸⁵ which would indicate a lack of discipline or manners, enuresis was generally seen as

80 Quoted in 'The Barnardo Boy: Miss Findlay Sent For Trial For Manslaughter', *Hamilton Times* (22 November 1885), AoO, RG 29, vol. 2, 28f.

81 G. Denning, *Mr Bligh's Bad Language: Passion, Power and Theatre on the Bounty* (Cambridge 1992), 61; N. Arista, 'Listening to Leoiki: Engaging Sources in Hawaiian History', *Biography*, 32, 1 (2009), 66–73.

82 Cf. Lynch, *Remembering Child Migration*, 92; Parr, *Labouring Children*, 108.

83 E.g. Certificate of Health issued by the Reading Union, used as of June 1891, cited in J. Chamberlain to Department of the Interior, 'Letter', Copy for Canada (25 September 1903), LAC, Immigration Branch, RG 76, vol. 65, file 3115, part 3; Father Berry's Homes, Emigration Department, *Form of Application for the Emigration of a Child* (n.d.), LAC, Immigration Branch, RG 76, vol. 285, file 252093, part 1; Canadian Catholic Emigration Society, *Form of Application for the Emigration of a Child* (n.d.), LAC, Immigration Branch, RG 76, vol. 202, file 87308, part 1.

84 'Cranston', para. 34f.; 'Helen Rose Findlay', *In the County Court of the County of Grey: Before His Honor Judge Creasor and a Petit Jury: The Queen vs. Helen Findlay* (1895), 329–79, paras 114, 121–3, 129, LAC, Immigration Branch, RG 76, vol. 124, file 25399. The punishment Findlay chose was not unheard of at the time: Just two years earlier, William White, a ward of the London Children's Aid Society in Ontario, had died after his master made him sleep in the stable during winter for wetting his bed, cf. Parr, *Labouring Children*, 107; H. Cunningham, *The Invention of Childhood* (London 2006), 167. For other child migrants' changing patterns of enuresis, see e.g. Manchester and Salford Boys and Girls Refuges, *Emigration Reports and Letters*, vol. 8: 1897–8, MA, GB127.M189/7/3/16, 12, 14.

85 Cf. e.g. Cranston referring to enuresis as 'dirty habits', in 'Cranston', para. 34.

having a physical cause. Nevertheless, psychological methods such as punishment were common.⁸⁶ During the trial, the Crown prosecutor asked two medical practitioners about the cause of Green's 'incontinency of urine'. Both gave a medical cause. Dr Allan Cameron reasoned that '[b]lows on the back' were 'likely' to have caused it. Under cross-examination, Dr C.M. Lang named 'depression of the system' as the cause for Green's incontinence.⁸⁷

Since the mid-twentieth century, experts see the causes of bedwetting in a variety of factors, partially organic but more often in 'emotional disturbance'.⁸⁸ Based on the volatility of the condition recorded in child migrants' reports, in most cases, bedwetting cannot be ascribed to physical causes alone. The fact that several child migrants seem to have developed enuresis or turned worse after emigration supports a thesis Barry M. Coldrey proposed for the postwar period, which is that bedwetting was at least in part caused by the stress these young people experienced through their migration.⁸⁹ Bedwetting has been interpreted as an act of delinquency or defiance, as a sign of physical or psychological problems.⁹⁰ While, as I will explain in the next paragraph, an intentional act seems unlikely in Green's case, his bedwetting could have been caused by physical as well as emotional problems. Following shifting medical and social conceptions, as an expression, it would have been interpreted differently over time. To claim a psychological over a medical interpretation would therefore be anachronistic.

Sometimes, it is not medical or psychological knowledge contemporaries or historians need to understand the causes of enuresis, but an understanding of young people's perspective. I will use two different examples to explain what I mean by that. Since bedwetting was a reason for deportation back to Britain, in the 1920s, an official from the Church Army, another child migration agency, feared homesick youngsters could strategically wet their beds.⁹¹ Given that the possibility of deportation or even replacement was never mentioned in the court records, and considering his otherwise docile behaviour as well as the discomfort, shame and punishment Green suffered because of his bedwetting, his behaviour was most likely unintentional. So was Isaac Rosenbloom's. In early 1894, Mr. Burke, a farmer in Manitoba, brought 10-year-old Rosenbloom to immigration officials. The boy had arrived in Canada in May of the previous year under a child

86 M.A. Salmon, 'An Historical Account of Nocturnal Enuresis and Its Treatment', *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine*, 68 (July 1975), 443–5.

87 'Cameron', paras 300f.; 'Dr C.M. Lang', *In the County Court of the County of Grey: Before His Honor Judge Creasor and a Petit Jury: The Queen vs. Helen Findlay* (1895), 162–92, para. 273, LAC, Immigration Branch, RG 76, vol. 124, file 25399.

88 E.g. Home Office, *Memorandum by the Home Office on the Conduct of Children's Homes* (1952), para. 23, National Archives, DO 35/6383.

89 B.M. Coldrey, *Child Migration and the Western Australian Boys Homes* (2nd edn, Crows Nest, NSW 1995), 52.

90 Salmon, 'Nocturnal Enuresis'; I. Miller, 'Bedwetting, Doctors, and the Problematization of Youth in Britain and America, c.1800–1980', *Journal of Social History*, 52, 3 (2019), 761–82.

91 The Church of England in Canada, The Church Army Juvenile Emigration Distributing Hostel to Department of Immigration and Colonization, 'Letter Re: Boys for Deportation; Re: Boys Who beyond Doubt Are Not Suitable for Farming and Are Very Unhappy in Their Present Circumstances; Re: Boys under Our Supervision; Re: Location Maps' (December 1927), LAC, Immigration Branch, RG 76, vols. 372 and 373, file 504791, part 4.

migration scheme operated by W.J. Pady.⁹² Burke told immigration officials: 'The lad is [...] possessed of a most filthy habit, he makes his water and allows his bowels to evacuate in his bed at night and in his pants in the day time'.⁹³ A doctor inspected the boy. To him, Rosenbloom was said to have explained: 'there were no conveniences at the farm except he went into the stable, and he was afraid of the horses and it was too cold in the open air. It may be stated here that he is very small for his age 10 years and delicate in appearance'.⁹⁴ For a small child, horses are intimidatingly big in relative size. At least in part, Rosenbloom's enuresis was an expression of his fear of horses and the cold. We need to keep in mind young people's literal and figurative perspective in interpreting their voices.

Besides his actions, Green's body itself, 'almost covered with sores of different kinds from head to feet',⁹⁵ could be interpreted as a voice. As the literal bone of contention, the Crown prosecution produced a finger of Green's in court to demonstrate the condition his body had been in at the time of his death.⁹⁶ After the death of another child migrant, Arnold Walsh, in early 1906, his employer was accused of causing his death. At his trial, the judge reminded the jury: 'You must take into account the fact that that boy's mouth is now silent – he cannot come here and lodge his complaints; he cannot come here and say whether he endured ill-treatment or not'. The only way the boy could speak to the jury was through his body:

The coffin was brought before the Coroner, and on opening the coffin a sight most disgusting and discouraging offered itself to the eyes of the gazers by. The boy was actually laid in filth, and as I have said, the coffin was too small for the body [...]. His head was covered with vermin and there were signs that something had happened to him, whether by blows or acts of violence or otherwise.⁹⁷

While the case of Arnold Walsh was rather uncontentious, Green's contemporaries could not agree on how to interpret his dead body's voice, as evidence of abuse or of a poor physical constitution.⁹⁸

92 On the 'shadowy figure of W.J. Pady', see Parker, *Uprooted*, 115–21.

93 T. Bennett to H.H. Smith, 'Letter' (13 February 1894), LAC, Immigration Branch, RG 76, vol. 64, file 2932, part 1.

94 Office of the Commissioner of Dominion Lands, Department of Interior to The Secretary, Department of Interior, Ottawa, 'Letter', Copied for enclosure to High Commissioner (15 February 1894), LAC, Immigration Branch, RG 76, vol. 64, file 2932, part 1; this explanation, however, did not lead the doctor examining Rosenbloom to exclude physical causes, cf. *ibid.*, 2.

95 'Pearce', para. 31.

96 'Repulsive Boy'.

97 *The King vs James Kelly: For the Killing of Arnold Walsh, a Ward of the Catholic Emigration Association, 1906: Draft of Judge's Charge to Jury* (Hull, 11 January 1907), 13, 7, LAC, Immigration Branch, RG 76, vol. 285, file 252093, part 9.

98 For details, see the testimonies of the medical professionals testifying for the prosecution: 'Dr Wm. G. Dow', *In the County Court of the County of Grey: Before His Honor Judge Creasor and a Petit Jury: The Queen vs. Helen Findlay* (1895), 85–122, LAC, Immigration Branch, RG 76, vol. 124, file 25399; 'Dr Wm. H. Scott', *In the County Court of the County of Grey: Before His Honor Judge Creasor and a Petit Jury: The Queen vs. Helen Findlay* (1895), 122–36, LAC, Immigration Branch, RG 76, vol. 124, file 25399; 'Cameron'; and of the medical professionals testifying for the defence: 'Lang'; 'Dr J.H.

In his attempt to find children's voices in the records of the British Philanthropic Society, Greg T. Smith focused on children's 'acts of resistance and defiance', which 'can be read, indirectly, as voicing discontent with their situation and illuminating their attitudes towards their circumstances and to institutional care'.⁹⁹ The sources lend themselves to such a focus, as the Philanthropic Society and others recorded resistance as aberrations from the norm, but rarely young people's norm-conforming behaviour. Given the modern concept of youth, historians expect juveniles in particular to exhibit resistance and autonomy.¹⁰⁰ In focusing only on active resistance and neglecting the analysis of silences, however, historians not only fail to understand the workings of institutional childcare or the child migration schemes, but they also silence a number of children and juveniles. It is a challenge to cast aside the binary categories of active resistance and passive submission as well as the sympathies of a democratic society for the agent resisting oppression. I try to avoid this resistance trap by analysing not only child migrants' adversarial expressions, but also voices in line with adults' expectations.

Subaltern Studies and Feminist Studies have made important contributions to our understanding of silence, criticizing the 'equation between voice and agency, and its inverse equation – silence and oppression'.¹⁰¹ Silence can be both literal and metaphorical, it can mean keeping silent as well as behaving conformed or passively. Silence appears on different levels: when voices are not raised, remain unheard or unrecorded, are not archived or not excavated by historians. Historians need to decipher the cultural meanings of silence and identify the different levels on which it appears in order to listen to young people's silent voices.¹⁰² During the trial

McCullough', *In the County Court of the County of Grey: Before His Honor Judge Creasor and a Petit Jury: The Queen vs. Helen Findlay* (1895), 220–33, LAC, Immigration Branch, RG 76, vol. 124, file 25399.

99 G.T. Smith, 'Muffled Voices: Recovering Children's Voices from England's Social Margins', in K. Moruzi, N. Musgrove, and C.P. Leahy (eds), *Children's Voices from the Past: New Historical and Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, Palgrave Studies in the History of Childhood (Cham 2019), 263–83, 265.

100 For this tendency in youth history, see Alexander and Sleight, 'Introduction', 12; critical: Gleason, 'Avoiding the Agency Trap', 447; on the modern concept of youth, see C. Benninghaus, 'Verschlungene Pfade – Auf Dem Weg Zu Einer Geschlechtergeschichte Der Jugend', in C. Benninghaus and K. Kohtz (eds), *'Sag Mir, Wo Die Mädchen Sind...': Beiträge Zur Geschlechtergeschichte Der Jugend* (Cologne/Weimar/Vienna 1999), 9–32, 18.

101 S. Malhotra and A.C. Rowe, 'Still the Silence: Feminist Reflections at the Edges of Sound', in S. Malhotra and A.C. Rowe (eds), *Silence, Feminism, Power: Reflections at the Edges of Sound* (New York, NY 2013), 1–22, 1f.; cf. R.P. Clair, *Organizing Silence: A World of Possibilities*, SUNY series in Communication Studies (Albany, NY 1998), 27–33; see also E. Hedges and S. Fisher Fishkin (eds), *Listening to Silences: New Essays in Feminist Criticism* (New York, NY/Oxford 1994); C. Glenn, *Unspoken: The Rhetoric of Silence* (Carbondale, IL 2004); L. Abu-Lughod, 'The Romance of Resistance: Tracing Transformations of Power Through Bedouin Women', *American Ethnologist*, 17, 1 (February 1990), 41–55, 41f., warned about 'a tendency to romanticise resistance, to read all forms of resistance as signs of the ineffectiveness of systems of power and of the resilience and creativity of the human spirit in its refusal to be dominated'; in developing the concept of 'Eigensinn', A. Lüdtkke, *Eigen-Sinn: Fabrikalltag, Arbeitererfahrungen und Politik vom Kaiserreich bis in den Faschismus* (Hamburg 1993), demonstrated the importance of looking beyond resistance to understand the functioning of societies.

102 Examples for an in-depth analysis of silences are, with an focus on early modern Europe, P. Burke, *The Art of Conversation* (Ithaca, NY 1993), chap. 5; Gilchrist, "'A Life of Noisy Riot'", described the introduction of silence as a disciplinary measure in the nineteenth century as well as the following growing fear of silence as

against Findlay, the Crown prosecutor, A.G. MacKay, interrogated David Gunson, a local Keppel resident:

Q. [MacKay] What kind of lad was he [Green]? A. [Gunson] He was a quiet boy.

Q. Mannerly or otherwise? A. Rather a mannerly little fellow, I think, as far as talking was concerned.

Q. And as far as actions how was he? A. Quiet.¹⁰³

Gunson's description was in line with other witnesses' accounts of Green.¹⁰⁴ Green raised neither his voice nor his hand against Findlay, nor did he turn to neighbours for help. Green's quiet manner went so far that Owen described him as 'a boy who would not make any active stand for his rights'.¹⁰⁵ Social conventions, fear and shame may have been among the factors contributing to Green's silence.

As the exchange between Gunson and the Crown prosecutor shows, silence can have different meanings. It can follow social norms, rendering it mannerly, or be in rejection of them, making it impertinent and disrespectful. Just like sounding speech, silence is an act of communication and always relational.¹⁰⁶ Social conventions and hierarchies affected whom Green could speak to and how. In 1911, the Liverpool Sheltering Home, another child migration agency, sent a Christmas letter to the youngsters they had sent to Canada. The Home asked the young readers to take as their motto for the upcoming new year 'LEARNING TO OBEY IN SILENCE AND AT A RUN'. The child migrants were instructed not to talk back – 'Our Father in Heaven asks for **obedience**'.¹⁰⁷ The same social norms had been taught to Green. Raising his voice against Findlay, his employer and senior, would have been an affront. Neither the neighbours nor Findlay's domestic, Mary Brown, ever heard Green doing so.¹⁰⁸ Being a child migrant and separated from his brother, Green had no family to turn to. While Findlay was responsible for Green's bodily wellbeing, he did not confide in her when seriously ill.¹⁰⁹ Considering that she had caused at least some of his bodily ills, this is not surprising. By remaining silent in speech and

clandestine communication; for a more sociological approach, see e.g. A. Hahn, 'Schweigen, Verschweigen, Wegschauen Und Verhüllen in Schweigen', in A. Assmann and J. Assmann (eds), *Schweigen*, Archäologie der literarischen Kommunikation (Paderborn 2013), 27–50; A. Assmann, 'Formen Des Schweigens', in A. Assmann and J. Assmann (eds), *Schweigen*, Archäologie der literarischen Kommunikation (Paderborn 2013), 51–68; for a Feminist Studies' perspective, see C. Keating, 'Resisting Silences', in S. Malhotra and A. C. Rowe (eds), *Silence, Feminism, Power: Reflections at the Edges of Sound* (New York, NY 2013), 25–33.

103 'David Gunson', *In the County Court of the County of Grey: Before His Honor Judge Creasor and a Petit Jury: The Queen vs. Helen Findlay* (1895), 19–21, paras 5–7, LAC, Immigration Branch, RG 76, vol. 124, file 25399.

104 'Cranston', para. 40; 'Owen', para. 55; 'Jeffrey', paras 76–9, 82–4.

105 Crown prosecutor MacKay recalling a previous conversation with Owen in 'Owen', para. 101.

106 Burke, *Art of Conversation*, 123; Denning, 'Writing, Rewriting the Beach', 146.

107 Sheltering Home for Destitute Children, Myrtle Street, Liverpool, *Christmas Letter to Our Young Folks in Canada* (1911), 4, LAC, MG40 M26 (emphases in original).

108 'William McKinley', *In the County Court of the County of Grey: Before His Honor Judge Creasor and a Petit Jury: The Queen vs. Helen Findlay* (1895), 35–41, paras 54f., LAC, Immigration Branch, RG 76, vol. 124, file 25399; 'Jessie McKinley', paras 48f.; 'Brown', para. 56.

109 In her testimony, Findlay claimed: 'I never heard the boy complain until a week before he died', 'Findlay', para. 93.

action, Green tried to remain inaudible and unnoticed as much as possible, thereby escaping any further violent outbursts from Findlay.

Besides his lack of familiarity with the district and its people, shame might explain why Green did not talk to any neighbours about his treatment. Defending his child migration scheme and the selection of candidates for emigration, Barnardo claimed that Green 'ought to have been able [...] to defend himself and to resist the violence of any woman'.¹¹⁰ As a male adolescent, being physically abused by a woman was not in line with gender norms of the time. Staying silent about his abuse, Green protected himself from embarrassment.

The Doyle Report of 1875 had put pressure on the Canadian government as well as on child migration agencies to exercise more oversight over the child migrants.¹¹¹ For the agencies, inspection visits and written communication were the most important means of supervision. In Canada, the child migrants lived in remote places, scattered over far distances in sparsely populated regions; roads were poor, communication was slow. Inspections and communication were far less frequent than for young people boarded out in Britain. The Dr Barnardo's Homes conducted annual inspections of their child migrants.¹¹² The agency's inspector, who had visited the Findlay farm several months prior to Green's arrival, had found the circumstances to be satisfactory. Green died just a few weeks before the next inspection had been scheduled, and never had the chance to speak to the inspector.¹¹³ Whether Green was literate was therefore a particularly important question during the trial, as it could help the jury understand if he had been in a position to complain to the agency about the alleged mistreatment. Many child migrants were illiterate; some were too young to have received any literacy training, while others were denied proper education.¹¹⁴ However, Findlay and Jennie Wriglay, a short-time live-in help at Findlay's house, both testified to having seen Green write.¹¹⁵

110 T.J. Barnardo, 'Emigration to Canada', *The Times* (November 1895), LAC, Immigration Branch, RG 76, vol. 124, file 25399.

111 A. Doyle, *Pauper Children (Canada): Return to an Order of the Honourable The House of Commons, dated 8 February 1875; – for, Copy 'of a Report to the Right Honourable the President of the Local Government Board, by Andrew Doyle, Esquire, Local Government Inspector, as to the Emigration of Pauper Children to Canada.'* John Kambert (Secretary). Ordered, by The House of Commons, to be Printed, 8 February 1875, LAC, Immigration Branch, RG 76, vol. 65, file 3115, part 1; for the background and effects of the Doyle report, cf. records in LAC, Immigration Branch, RG 76, vol. 65, file 3115, part 1; Parr, *Labouring Children*, 51f.; Lynch, *Remembering Child Migration*, 35–40; Wagner, *Children of the Empire*, ch. 5.

112 Barnardo had begun boarding out young people in Britain the same year he started his migration scheme, in 1883; on the agency's aftercare for boarded-out children in Britain, see Rose, *For the Sake of the Children*, 112–8; on the agency's aftercare in Canada see Barnardo, *Something Attempted*, 185; A.B. Owen, *Directions for Lads on Leaving for Situations* (1888), 12, LAC, AC901 A7 188 c.2 no.0009.

113 For the inspector's assessment, see 'Barnardo Boy's Death: The Superintendent of the Home Will Make an Investigation', [unknown newspaper] (1895), AoO, RG 29, vol. 2, 22; for the next scheduled inspection, see 'George Green's Death'.

114 On limited educational opportunities for child migrants in Canada, cf. fn. 46; for child migrants in Australia in the twentieth century, see e.g. Senate Community Affairs References Committee Secretariat, Parliament of Australia, *Lost Innocents*, para. 4.7.

115 'Findlay', paras 308–31; 'Jennie Wriglay', *In the County Court of the County of Grey: Before His Honor Judge Creasor and a Petit Jury: The Queen vs. Helen Findlay* (1895), 233–9, para. 37, LAC, Immigration Branch, RG 76, vol. 124, file 25399.

It was certainly in Findlay's interest to claim that Green could write and therefore could have written a complaint had it been necessary. Nevertheless, Green's age and the fact that he had spent several years in government and private welfare institutions in England suggest that he did have at least basic reading and writing skills.

Owen testified that Green had sent him a postcard from his first placement.¹¹⁶ Like all Barnardo migrant boys, Green had received a booklet, *Directions for Lads on Leaving for Situations*, with the following instructions: 'On leaving for your situation, two addressed Post Cards will be given to you. One of these should be sent off as soon as you reach your destination, to let us know of your safe arrival'. After the one-month trial period, the boys were asked to write again, 'to let us know whether you are happily settled in your place'. If, however, the boys did not write, it was assumed that they were content to stay.¹¹⁷ This is likely what happened with Green after he went to Findlay's farm.¹¹⁸ In the Dr Barnardo's Homes Canadian magazine, *Ups and Downs*, which addressed benefactors and child migrants alike, Owen claimed that the postcards he had received in 1895 'show that they [the migrant boys] have [...] started life in Canada in a hopeful and happy spirit'. He called those complaining 'grumblers' but admitted that, '[o]ccasionally, [...] we find that a "round" boy has got into a "square" place, and that our judgement of the boy or the place has been at fault'.¹¹⁹ Not every boy would have been encouraged to share his worries with Owen after reading this.

While the agency gave its charges the means to send a letter, its content could come under the censorship of their employer.¹²⁰ In most cases, the only traces of censorship historians can find in the sources are silences, making conclusions highly speculative. There is, however, some more tangible evidence of the oversight employers conducted over child migrants' letters to their migration agencies. The files of the Manchester and Salford Boys' and Girls' Refuges and Homes hold several letters to the agency, which consist of messages written by the child migrant and their employer on the same piece of paper.¹²¹ None of these letters contains complaints by the young migrants. Based on Findlay's actions described by court witnesses, it seems unlikely that she would have allowed Green to send a complaint to the Dr Barnardo's Homes. Few trial witnesses ever saw Green outside the farm premises, so is it doubtful that he could have posted a letter without Findlay's knowledge.

116 'Owen Recalled', paras 6–8, 11–7.

117 Owen, *Directions for Lads*, 4f.; on Green being handed the booklet, see 'Owen Recalled', paras 2–5, 20.

118 Owen testified that he did not receive any complaint from Green, 'Owen Recalled', para. 10; Findlay claimed that Green wrote a card to the Dr Barnardo's Homes after his arrival at her farm but never sent it, 'Findlay', paras 311f.

119 A.B. Owen, 'Echoes of the Month', *Ups and Downs* II, 1 (1 August 1896), 1.

120 On the prevalence of censorship affecting child migrants' letters in Canada, see Parr, *Labouring Children*, 72–4.

121 Manchester and Salford Boys and Girls Refuges, *Emigration Reports and Letters*, vol. 1: 1883–5, Manchester Archives (MA), GB127.M189/7/3/1+2, folder 31; Manchester and Salford Boys and Girls Refuges, *Emigration Reports and Letters*, vol. 3: 1885–8, MA, GB127.M189/7/3/7, folder 34; Manchester and Salford Boys and Girls Refuges, *Emigration Reports and Letters*, vol. 10: 1902–3, 55, MA, GB127.M189/7/3/18; Manchester and Salford Boys and Girls Refuges, *Emigration Reports and Letters*, Girls: 1889–1893, MA, GB127.M189/7/4/2, folder 49; Manchester and Salford Boys and Girls Refuges, *Emigration Reports and Letters*, Boys: 1885–1892, MA, GB127.M189/7/5/1.

Nevertheless, silence is not to be equated with inaction. Rodney G.S. Carter noted that silence can be ‘a form of self-assertion; it can be an active resistance’.¹²² A quite dramatic example for this is the story of child migrant John Payne’s death. Like Green, Payne had been sent to Canada by the Dr Barnardo’s Homes. In February 1924, the *Toronto Daily Star* reported about the circumstances of the 15-year-old’s death:

Writhing in pain but silent as to its cause, young Payne was found by his employer in his barn about 11 o’clock on the morning [...] Payne steadfastly refused to tell what was wrong, but gradually grew worse until Fee [Payne’s employer], becoming alarmed, sent for neighbors. Their questioning as to what ailed the boy was no more successful than that of Fee. [...]

Johnnie Payne passed away in the doctor’s office late that night refusing to open his mouth to drink antidotes, and not admitting until near death that he had taken paris green.¹²³

That very morning, Payne had put potato peels in the wrong bucket, and his employer had threatened to return him to the Dr Barnardo’s Homes’ Receiving and Distribution Home in Toronto as a punishment. Payne, it seems, wanted to avoid this at all costs. By remaining silent about having taken the poisonous pesticide paris green, Payne retained control over his life and its end. Along these lines, one could argue that Green’s silence about the severity of his illness was suicidal, but there is no conclusive evidence for this.

So far, I have discussed the various circumstances that kept Green from raising his voice in any form. There is, however, another level of silencing, which lies in the writing of his history. As I have noted in the beginning, there are no known *accessible* ego-documents by Green that have survived. There could be ego-documents (such as the postcard Owen mentioned) in the file, which the Dr Barnardo’s Homes kept on every young person in their care. However, these files are not accessible to researchers.¹²⁴ They are accessible to care leavers or their descendants, but Green does not have any descendants. While Barnardos argues that the restriction is ‘due to the nature and sensitivity of the records’,¹²⁵ the practice inevitably leads to a shortage of young people’s voices in the corpus of sources from which child migration history is written. Another factor

122 R.G.S. Carter, ‘Of Things Said and Unsaid: Power, Archival Silences, and Power in Silence’, *Archivaria*, 61: Special Section on Archives, Space and Power (Spring 2006), 215–33, 229.

123 ‘Boy Was Threatened With Return To Home: Wife of Farmer for Whom Johnny Payne Worked Tells of Remonstrance’, *Toronto Daily Star* (4 February 1924), 3. Payne was actually one of several male child migrants in Canada and also in Australia whose suicides in the mid-1920s drew considerable press attention in Canada, see e.g. ‘No One Held to Blame for Death of Young Payne (By Canadian Press)’, *Winnipeg Evening Tribune* (5 February 1924), 13; ‘Boy Emigrant’s Suicide’, *Nottingham Evening Post* (25 January 1924), 3; ‘Another Boy Suicides’, [unknown newspaper] (June 1924), AoO, A-2019-053, RG 4-32; the issue also unnerved British officials, cf. copies of official files held in ‘Geoffrey Sherington: Further Papers Re Child Migration, 1880–2002’, box 3, State Library of NSW, MLMSS 9094.

124 Some researchers were granted exceptional access to the Barnardos records, e.g. Wagner, *Children of the Empire*; Rose, *For the Sake of the Children*; Parr, *Labouring Children*.

125 M. Parker to S. Quitmann, ‘Email Re: Barnardo’s – Academic Research’ (11 July 2019), in response to my request for access to the case files.

affecting the excavation and assessment of children's and juveniles' voices by historians is the already mentioned resistance trap. I myself have to confess that I was much more drawn to voices expressing discontent and deviance than to the ones in line with adults' expectations. Moreover, because the story of Green's death is so captivating and his voice has left so few traces in the records, he has become a tempting projection surface for past and present activists' agendas. Green became a token in Canada's late-nineteenth-century nationalist and eugenics discourse as well as in Canadian trade unions' anti-immigrant rhetoric. More recently, Green was used as a reminder against bullying and for social justice.¹²⁶

A nuanced and self-reflective interpretation of silences allows historians to listen to the (silent) voices of many more young people, including those, who were content and had no reason to resist, as well as those who, like Green, adopted a posture of fitting in, who did their best to avoid attracting any attention as a strategy of survival. Joy Parr observed that particularly children who grew up in institutions often developed a passivity, which led Canadian mistresses looking for companionship to complain about them as 'dull' and 'unsociable'.¹²⁷ While we must not lose sight of the power relationships in which these young people acted, neither must we limit our view on the diversity of young people's experiences or undervalue the complexity of their coping strategies.

Even though there is no accessible ego-document from Green, using the analytical concept of voice outlined in this article, historians can glean insight into his personal experiences and the social dynamics affecting him from the sources available. His consent, a voice that might have otherwise been dismissed as inauthentic, gives insight into his hopes for the future. Attending to the dimension of sound gives clues about Green's emotions, his homesickness, loneliness and longing for the community of Barnardo's child migrants. Green's behaviour and his body, figurative voices, hold tentative clues about his physical or psychological health, his treatment or heritage, but are problematic in their interpretation. Green's silence can be telling on a multitude of issues: his fears and shame, the power structures he was caught in and the inadequacies of Barnardo's aftercare system.

The reconceptualization of voice reveals not just specifics about Green but, more generally, about how young people's voices were treated, amplified or silenced. Green

126 On the former, cf. Wagner, *Children of the Empire*, 151–3; P.T. Rooke and R.L. Schnell, *Discarding the Asylum: From Child Rescue to the Welfare State in English-Canada* (Lanham/London 1983), 227f.; for the latter, see T. Richardson, 'Tragic Home Child Case Remembered', *The Sun Times* (17 June 2013). Available at: <https://www.owensoundsuntimes.com/2013/06/17/tragic-home-child-case-remembered/wcm/b71dd67e-5c32-b47f-c236-0b88f32c3306> (accessed 14 September 2020), quoting genealogist and writer Gloria Phillips: 'We have to remember that what happened to him [Green] was a form of bullying. We need to remember that each person is equal'; in his 2013 dedication statement for the George Green memorial stone, retired local minister A.J.V. Leeder said he wanted the stone to be 'forever a symbol of a society pledged to uphold the ever demanding cause of justice, fairness and opportunity to live in peace, always seeking the well being [sic] of every citizen of this beloved country Canada', A.J.V. Leeder, 'Dedication of Memorial Stone George E. Green', *British Home Children in Canada* (15 June 2013). Available at: <https://canadianbritishhomechildren.weebly.com/george-everett-green.html> (accessed 14 September 2020). As Leeder talks about Canadian 'citizens', it should be noted that Green was a British subject, not a Canadian citizen as applicable only for the time after the 1947 Canadian Citizenship Act, 10 Geo., chap. 15.

127 Parr, *Labouring Children*, 101.

played his part as the silent social inferior based on age and class; but neither he nor any child migrant was completely silenced. Examining the legal role child migrants' voices played in the migration process calls into question the scholarly narrative of a linear development of children's rights. Analysing the dimension of sound shows that singing was not just a disciplining tool but also an individual expression. Interpreting figurative voices demonstrates the need to historicize interpretations of such voices and the importance of historians reflecting their own positionality. Avoiding the resistance trap and studying silence in its own right helps acknowledge the diversity of young people's coping mechanisms while also highlighting power dynamics; this includes power dynamics in archival practices and the writing of history.

As historians, we should end the quest for authenticity, broaden our perspective to include the non-narrative dimension of voice as well as non-verbal voices and tune our ears to multiple forms of silence in the production, recording, archiving and excavation of marginalized voices. If we do this, we will find the voices of migrant children, despite their marginalization on the basis of age and origin and despite the scarcity of ego-documents. We will gain insight into the perception and use of young people's voices, as well as into the rationales, hopes and fears of youngsters leaving their country of birth, their friends and family. We will also develop a new understanding of broader historical dynamics, such as the construction of childhood and youth as social categories and the agenda of modern historical scholarship.

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Biographical Note

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