

Brevity of text precludes a more thorough coverage of many questions and may justify the absence of peripheral details (such as use of a 'poster-catalogue' in lieu of more elaborate publications). Choice of format also, very unfortunately, excludes an adequate treatment of color and texture, vital factors in a successful exhibition. Headings and sub-headings assist the quick location of the various sections. However, the importance of key guidelines could have been more emphatically presented. Checklist summaries would have been one means of highlighting them. Readers may be troubled by other flaws in the presentation. Explanatory captions are applied in apparently random manner to illustrations and for some the quality of reproduction severely limits their value. Others seem adrift from the text, neither juxtaposed to the appropriate section nor tied verbally.

Casterline directs the manual to the inexperienced exhibitor. Passing mention is made of the benefits to be derived from visits to exhibits for purposes of critical study and learning about techniques and equipment. The novice unable to visit an exhibit could use the manual's illustrations as the subject of analysis, by assigning oneself the task of identifying and commenting on examples of the points listed below and suggesting at least two means of improving each:

- reduction ratios, focus and contrast in lighting where photographs are used as illustrations
- photographs versus line drawings
- juxtaposing and relating text and illustrations
- explanatory captions
- spatial relations in layouts and the drawbacks of clutter.

Anyone who has prepared an exhibition is well aware that it is impossible to please everyone, although it may be possible to satisfy a large proportion of the public. The viewer's attention span is limited and selective. Perhaps Casterline is wise to provide us with a survey of the field and suggestions for further reading when we feel ready to go on. Our interests are given momentary satisfaction at the time of reading but we are not overwhelmed by exhaustive detail. Not everyone will be entirely happy with the manual, but it *is* a compact compendium of information and a source of valuable guidance for beginners in display.

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Labouring Children: British Immigrant Apprentices to Canada, 1869-1924.

JOY PARR. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, © 1980. 181 p. illus. ISBN 0 7735 0517 2 \$25.95.

Canada, as a country of immigrants, has produced few good studies of immigrants and their absorption into the Canadian community. In an earlier period, nativist Canadians savaged the immigrants and warned that they would never become Canadians. Second generation immigrants responded and chronicled, often at excessive length, the rise of a small ethnic middle-class which successfully competed in the big league. In more recent times, the trend has been for most commentators to adopt the concept of exploitation to characterize the experience of the newcomers. Naive and unwary immigrants fleeing poverty, ignorance and class stratified societies are presented as turning to virgin America in the fervent hope of a new life — perhaps a life as comfortable as present day suburbia. These recent historians, however, find that the immigrant experience was quite different and their emphasis is placed on illustrating the ensuing trials and tribulations encountered by the immigrants. Joy Parr's study, although better in many respects than

previous studies of Canada's immigrants, falls into this latest trend by dwelling on the hardships of the child immigrants.

Parr attempts an ambitious study covering the immigration of some 80,000 children over a period of more than a half century. It is primarily designed to be a "study of the life and work of child immigrants in Britain and Canada" (p. 13). It is also intended to "reveal a darker side of evangelicalism, of turn-of-the-century childhood, and of Canadian rural life than the record has so far been allowed to express" (p. 12). As well, the author proposes to present "brief notes. . . on the history of evangelical social work and on the development of social welfare and immigration history" (p. 13). All of this in less than 150 pages!

In actual execution the study consists of two sections of equal length. The first deals with the world which acted on the children. This section draws heavily on secondary sources and on a very narrow range of primary sources. Parr presents the British origins as rooted in the economic determinism of the poverty cycle which kept people on the edge of survival. The stable family plays a central role in this system of economic interdependence. However, "there was trust and affection too" (p. 16). The British "child savers" are presented as salvation-minded (largely of themselves) reformers, and as insecure social conservatives interested in rescuing "working-class children in innocent danger of drifting into the lapsed masses and the dangerous classes" (p. 40). The "promised land" was not as arcadian as billed by the child savers. Community leaders in rural areas distrusted these immigrants from the urban slums; the trade unionists who were "plagued by intermittent unemployment" attacked assisted immigration; the urban reformers tended to view these children as "unwelcome competitors" for Canadian foster homes. Canadian immigration officials tried to cope with the situation by bending to various adult pressure groups, but not to the needs of the immigrants themselves. These characterizations of the world which acted on the children are far too simple. It is clear that children were abandoned and orphaned. It is readily apparent that middle-class reformers do assume the paternalistic role of the master class. Canadian protests against this immigration did exist but they were scattered and only periodic.

The second part of the study dealing with the world which the children experienced concentrates almost entirely on the Canadian experience. This is the best section of the work, and at the same time the most disappointing. By looking at a large group of children and following them from rescue homes through to adulthood one can acquire significant insights about this particular group. However, because of the authors' almost uniformly negative approach, the study is of limited value.

The analysis of the experience of the child immigrants is primarily drawn from a sample of those emigrated by Dr Barnardo's Homes between 1882 and 1908. Barnardo's was the largest and most successful organization, sending one-quarter of all the children. The histories of 997 children were researched from the case histories compiled by the Barnardo organization, and were coded into 52 categories for computer-assisted analysis. This material was originally compiled for Parr's Ph.D. thesis, "The Home Children: British Juvenile Immigrants to Canada, 1868-1924" (Yale, 1977). For the present study the records of four other agencies, of the over fifty engaged in this work, were consulted. The author does not explain why these particular agencies were representative of any aspect of the movement, nor is there any attempt to present a justification of the statistical validity of the few handfuls of cases cited. One must question why the additional research applied to this study was not directed toward expanding the valid statistical sample so as to cover a larger portion of the period under study. The 1908 termination date for the Barnardo sample was explained in the thesis as due to the "researcher's limited capacities". A further detraction from the statistical integrity of the work is the use of some interviews with child immigrants. Parr states that the interviews are of "not typical child immigrants" (p. 124). However, a few pages later, inter-

views with two men are cited as part of the evidence used to draw a substantial conclusion about the adulthood of these immigrants (pp. 132-3). The reviewer noted only a total of four interviews cited, all conducted in early October 1975 at Milton and Paisley, Ontario. The statistical analysis is often confusing and unclear because there is an attempt to condense the earlier work. Referral to the thesis clarifies most of these ambiguities.

Much of the study is based on the use of the case histories which chronicle the hardships of the immigrant children. Heartrending references are made to ill-treatment, poor clothing, hard work, restriction of leisure time and limitation of schooling, but no attempt is made to quantify these occurrences. In the case of suicides, it is suggested that this action was not an uncommon occurrence. But Parr's evidence seems to be very limited, and there is no attempt to compare the incidence of immigrant suicides with a Canadian peer group, nor with a British peer group. In the case of pregnancy, the comparison with a rural Canadian peer group demonstrates that sexual activity was only slightly higher for the immigrant girls. The fact that the Barnardo girls experienced pre-marital pregnancies is largely attributed to rape by masters, their sons, and hired men. No substantial evidence is presented to verify this conclusion. Further, it is suggested that the absence of "mother's and sisters' counsel" contributed to these "moral falls" (p. 116). This ignores the question of how many of these girls were orphans and the issue of the effectiveness of familial advice. Since a significant proportion of these girls were taken into the rescue homes because of lax moral standards within their families, it could be suggested that the girls' attitude toward sex may have been more uninhibited than was/is acceptable. Given their British home environment, and the dislocation associated with emigration, it may be that these girls sought affection through their sexual involvements. In fact, what seems to have contributed to pre-marital pregnancy was the practice of the prudish middle-class reformers to discourage marriage until these girls reached the age of twenty-one. The average age of marriage in rural Ontario was considerably lower. The use of case histories in this study provides some very useful statistics, but in general Parr relies heavily on a more traditional approach.

Parr largely relates the hardships endured by these children to Canadian factors. It is implied throughout the study that these children, ignoring their origins in slums and broken families, could have been rescued and given childhoods which did not contain hardships. They failed to experience this idyllic childhood because a less than ideal "promised land" failed them. In an age when many children of affluence exhibit behaviour previously associated with deprived origins, historians should question such comfortably held Victorian notions about childhood. That rural Canadians had some suspicions about these children is quite understandable. Parr argues that this bordered on fear, and was manifested by rather sustained hostility towards these individuals. To this Parr adds the argument that people like Clifford Sifton held a prejudice against British immigrants. The immigration policy throughout this entire period gave highest preference to British immigrants. Immigration statistics conclusively demonstrate the results of this policy. Overall, the argument that a British child immigrant suffered a special burden is not convincing.

At the end, Joy Parr reluctantly concedes that the child immigrants did reasonably well in Canada, although she does dwell on the fact that not too many of them made it into the middle-class but gravitated more toward unskilled and skilled industrial employment. While it is true that the child-savers strongly emphasized the agricultural destiny of the child immigrants, their audience was not in the slums. These pronouncements were, in reality, propaganda addressed to guilt prone middle-class elements who funded these efforts.

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