

**Reconciling British Child Deportation to Australia,
1913-1970: Apologies, Memorials, and Family
Reunions**

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Abstract

In 1986, Margaret Humphreys, a social worker from Nottingham, received a letter from a former child migrant called Mary, who had been deported to Australia at the age of six. Mary pleaded with Humphreys to help her be reunited with her birth family. Many other former child migrants subsequently came forward asking for help with tracing their ancestries, prompting Humphreys to establish the Child Migrants Trust the following year. The ensuing media coverage of her work raised significant questions about the historic maltreatment of these British children, and the need for national governments to address these institutional errors. Discussions surrounding the future of the reconciliation process have played a peripheral role within scholarly discourses of apology studies and the shameful legacies of British colonialism, something this study addresses.

This thesis considers how both the UK and Australian Federal Governments have used apologies, memorials, and family tracing programmes as a means of reconciling their involvement in the deportation of approximately 7,000 mostly British children between the years 1913 to 1970. Through this analysis, alongside investigations into governmental inquiries that facilitated their implementation, it maps out how these reparations sought to recover the previously marginalised narratives of former child migrants and the extent to which these measures accepted that the deportation of children was a failure of government. These issues are of contemporary significance due to increasing abundance of academic debates concerning the legacies of British imperialism, the advancing age of former child migrants, and their role within recent inquiries concerning the institutional abuse of children conducted in both nations. This thesis argues that governmental efforts to reconcile the deportation of British children to Australia have not adequately

addressed the class, racial, and imperial motivations behind these programmes, with narratives concerning the successes of former child migrants in adulthood detracting from many of the wrongdoings perpetrated by these respective sovereign states and agencies operating under their direction. While former child migrants continued to be considered a distinct group of care-leavers within the context of the UK, the apology offered by the Australian Federal Government was also aimed at the Forgotten Australians, resulting in their once distinct histories to increasingly become entwined. Ultimately, measures remedying institutional and national wrongs have been severely limited by their late implementation, meaning that many former child migrants did not live to have their personal histories validated, nor their personal identities fully reconciled.

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Acronyms

ACMF	Australian Child Migrant Foundation
ACT	Australian Capital Territory
C-BERS	Christian Brothers Ex-Residents & Students Services
CLAN	Care Leavers of Australia Network
CMFS	Child Migrant Friendship Society
CMT	Child Migrants Trust
FaHCSIA	Department of Families, Housing, Communities and Indigenous Affairs
IAFCM&F	International Association of Former Child Migrants and their Families
IICSA	Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Abuse
ISS	International Social Service
MP	Member of Parliament
NCVCCO	National Council of Voluntary Child Care Organisations
NLA	National Library of Australia
NMA	National Museum of Australia
NSW	New South Wales
NT	Northern Territory
QLD	Queensland
SA	South Australia
TAS	Tasmania
VIC	Victoria
WA	Western Australia
UK	United Kingdom
UKHSC	UK Health Select Committee

Note on terminology

This thesis primarily concerns attempts to reconcile with the approximately 7,000 mostly British-born children from principally working-class backgrounds who were deported to Australia and placed in institutional care between the years 1913 to 1970 as a result of child migrant schemes. In the following chapters, the terms ‘child migrants’, ‘former child migrants’, and ‘British-born former wards of the Australian state’ are used when addressing this group in isolation. It is, however, important to note that approximately 500,000 Australian children were institutionalised throughout the twentieth century.¹ As is explained throughout this work, reconciliatory campaigns in support of other former wards of the Australian state ran parallel to those championing former child migrants, and impacted the apologies, memorials, and family tracing measures offered to British-born former wards of the Australian state in meaningful ways. Due to the greatly differing circumstances that led to other former wards of the Australian state to become institutionalised, it is notwithstanding imperative that their histories are considered as distinct from one another.

Throughout this century, approximately 450,000 Australian-born non-indigenous children were raised in institutions throughout the nation. Adult care-leavers from this demographic are known as the ‘Forgotten Australians’, a term which sometimes has been misleadingly applied to refer to all Australians who grew up in children’s institutions during this century. As a means of delineating this group from former child migrants, the terms ‘Forgotten Australians’ and ‘Australian-born non-indigenous former wards of the Australian state’ are used interchangeably to address these particular care-leavers. Additionally, between the approximate period

¹ M. Jones and C. O'Neill, ‘Identity, records and archival evidence: exploring the needs of Forgotten Australians and Former Child Migrants’, *Archives & Records*, 35, 2 (2014), 117.

of 1910 to 1970, as many as one in ten children of First Nation Australian origin were forcibly separated from both their cultures and biological families to be raised in state or philanthropically-run children's homes.² These victims of indigenous child removal are most commonly referred to as the 'Stolen Generations', with this thesis also using the term 'indigenous former wards of the Australian state' to refer to this demographic specifically.

Collectively, former child migrants, the Forgotten Australians and the Stolen Generations are referred to as 'former wards of the Australian state'.³ This broader term is used throughout this thesis when referring to shared experiences of institutional care in Australia throughout the twentieth century. When addressing shared reparations offered to both former child migrants and the Forgotten Australians but not the Stolen Generations, most notably the apology issued by the Australian Federal Government in the year 2009, these first two groups are referred to together as 'non-indigenous former wards of the Australian state'. Lastly, the period 1947 to 1982 saw over 1,000,000 British adult and family migrants arrive in Australia as a result of subsidised migration programmes. These particular British emigrants are commonly referred to as the 'Ten Pound Poms', as well as the 'Ten Pound Immigrants'.⁴ Due to the voluntary nature of these passages, the narratives of these UK nationals who settled in Australia in the almost four decades after the end of the Second World War are kept distinct from the histories of former child migrants, almost all of whom were cajoled into leaving their country of birth under false

² R. Wilson and M. Dodson, *Bringing them Home: Report of the National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from Their Families* (Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia, 1997), 31.

³ D. Cuthbert, K. Murphy, and M. Quartly, 'Adoption and feminism: Towards framing a feminist response to contemporary developments in adoption', *Australian Feminist Studies*, 24, 62 (2009), 399-400.

⁴ R. Appleyard, *The Ten Pound Immigrants* (London: Boxtree, 1988), 2.

pretences, with many being subjected to inhumane and repugnant maltreatment while in care.

Introduction

‘Child migration was a bad and, in human terms, costly mistake. [...] We have met many former child migrants who continue to suffer from emotional and psychological problems arising directly from this misguided social policy.’

Conclusion of the UK Health Select Committee’s Third Report, 1998.⁵

Historical Context

Throughout the mid-nineteenth to mid-twentieth centuries, many thousands of unaccompanied British children were forcibly emigrated to the imperial outposts of Canada, New Zealand, the former Rhodesia, and Australia. Estimates from the 2001 Australian Senate Committee report concerning child migration suggest that approximately 7,000 children were deported to Australia between the years 1913 to 1970 principally from mainland Britain, with small numbers having also originated from Ireland and Malta.⁶ The majority of child migrants sent to Australia were from deprived economic and social backgrounds, had previously experienced time in British orphanages, and had been told that they would have a better quality of life by emigrating to homes on the other side of the world.⁷ Child migrant programmes were, in effect, a replacement for social care programmes in Britain, and highlighted the UK Government’s refusal to take care of thousands of working-class children who had experienced institutional care. Charitable organisations, such as the

⁵ Commons Select Committee, *Health – Third Report: The Welfare of Former British Child Migrants* (London: HMSO, 1998), para 98.

⁶ J. Murphy, ‘Memory, Identity and Public Narrative’, *Cultural and Social History* 7, 3 (2010), 298.

⁷ K. Paul, ‘Changing Childhoods: Child Emigration since 1945’, in J. Lawrence & P. Starkey (eds.), *Child Welfare and Social Action from the Nineteenth Century to the Present* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2001), 121-122.

Fairbridge Society, had previously created a farm school system in Canada and later created new institutions in rural Australian locations including Pinjarra, WA. It was here where child migrants resided for much of their early lives, receiving an education as well as domestic or agricultural training.⁸ The importance of vocational training also underpinned the imperial motivations behind forced child emigration. Kingsley Fairbridge, the architect of Fairbridge Farm Schools, sought to fulfil many of the territorial ambitions of British empire builders such as Cecil Rhodes. They sought to populate perceived empty swathes of imperial land with white British settlers under the guise of a philanthropic mission where destitute children in the UK could be moulded into the next generation of white imperial citizens.⁹ These schemes were facilitated not only by Australia's Immigration Restriction Act of 1901, reflecting a desire to maintain an ethnically white population of British ethnic origin, but also Britain's overarching ambition of creating assisted passages for its citizens to its imperial outposts, embodied by the Empire Settlement Act of 1922.¹⁰

At the time, these schemes were advertised as being beneficial both for the British Empire and child migrants themselves, as highlighted in Figure 1. They were perceived as being a successful means of alleviating urban poverty in Britain while civilising and improving the lives of poor children who were being cared for by the state. Promotional materials in support of child migration to Australia sought to generate patriotic sentiment while also arguing that emigrating to a new country improved the lives of these children. Posters promoting familial migration to Australia described it as a place with world-leading employment prospects, high wages, and

⁸ K. Uusihakala, 'Rescuing Children, Reforming the Empire: British Child Migration to Colonial Southern Rhodesia', *Identities*, 22, 3 (2015), 276-277.

⁹ K. Rundle, 'Improbable Agents of Empire: Coming to Terms with British Child Migration', *Adoption & Fostering* 35, 3 (2011), 31.

¹⁰ *Federal Register of Legislation*, Immigration Restriction Act 1901. Available online: <https://www.legislation.gov.au/Details/C1901A00017> [Accessed 26/01/2021].

greater life opportunities.¹¹ Advancing such publicity, publications promoting child migration demonstrated similar notions of opportunity and prosperity while also highlighting the vocational training and emotional benefits of migrating to Australia. Child migrants were represented as being not only happy with their new surroundings, but also that they had been saved from squalor and destitution in Britain.¹² This is not to say that these schemes received universal public or governmental acclaim at the time. A 1955 British fact-finding mission found many failings in these institutions, including the separation of siblings who travelled to Australia together, a poor level of staff training, and substandard living conditions.¹³ Although this critical report was published, farm schools continued to operate in Australia and it was not until the 1980s that the British and Australian public became fully aware of the more pernicious aspects of forced child trafficking and related institutional malpractice.¹⁴

One cannot discuss the history of British child deportation to Australia, nor efforts to reconcile with this history, without an understanding of the importance of social worker Margaret Humphreys. By the year 1986, Humphreys was an experienced social worker in the British city of Nottingham and had established a support group known as The Triangle, which aimed to help adults who had been raised in foster care as children.¹⁵ That same year, she received a letter from a former child migrant called Mary, who wrote to Humphreys explaining her early life in

¹¹ National Archives of Australia, *Australia, the land of opportunity – poster promoting British migration*. Available online: <https://www.naa.gov.au/learn/learning-resources/learning-resource-themes/society-and-culture/migration-and-multiculturalism/australia-land-opportunity-poster-promoting-british-migration> [Accessed 26/01/2021].

¹² Australian National Maritime Museum, *Immigration and Salvation*. Available online: <https://www.sea.museum/discover/online-exhibitions/britains-child-migrants/new-lands-new-life/youth-migration/immigration-and-salvation> [Accessed 26/01/2021].

¹³ Commonwealth Relations Office, *Child Migration to Australia - Report of a Fact-Finding Mission*. (London: HMSO, 1955), 5-6.

¹⁴ A. Ferriman, 'Lost Children of the Empire', *The Guardian*, 19 July 1987, 17.

¹⁵ P. Bean & J. Melville, *Lost Children of the Empire* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 157.

Britain and asked for help in tracing her lost family: 'I left England as a very small child on a boat to Australia with other children and I've no idea who I am. I've never been adopted, never been fostered, please can you help me as I originate from Nottingham.'¹⁶ After purchasing a copy of Mary's birth certificate and conducting research into her family background, Humphreys was able to successfully reunite this former child migrant with her biological mother, the latter of whom was completely unaware that her daughter had been deported to Australia as a child.¹⁷

Establishing the Child Migrants Trust in 1987, Humphreys helped reunite over 1,000 British-born former wards of the Australian state with their birth families within the first year of the charity's existence.¹⁸ Over time, and with an increasing number of former child migrants requesting support from the CMT, the general public became aware of the inhumane treatment to which British-born former wards of state were subjected during their time in institutional care. This included sexual, physical, and emotional abuse, being exploited as a source of cheap or unpaid labour, receiving a sub-standard level of education, loss of personal identity due to the alteration of birth certificates, names and dates of birth, and being falsely told that their parents had passed away or no longer wanted to look after them.¹⁹

¹⁶ Bean & Melville, *Lost Children of the Empire*, 157.

¹⁷ Bean & Melville, *Lost Children of the Empire*, 158.

¹⁸ Bean & Melville, *Lost Children of the Empire*, 159.

¹⁹ Commons Select Committee, *Health – Third Report*, Memorandum by the Child Migrants Trust, Section 1.

Figure 1 – “Australia for the British Boy,” a promotional poster for child migrant programmes.



Source: Australian National Maritime Museum, *Immigration and salvation*. Available

online: [https://www.sea.museum/discover/online-exhibitions/britains-child-](https://www.sea.museum/discover/online-exhibitions/britains-child-migrants/new-lands-new-life/youth-migration/immigration-and-salvation)

[migrants/new-lands-new-life/youth-migration/immigration-and-salvation](https://www.sea.museum/discover/online-exhibitions/britains-child-migrants/new-lands-new-life/youth-migration/immigration-and-salvation) [Accessed

08/10/2020].

To date, many former child migrants struggle with addictions, difficulties forming emotional bonds, and psychiatric disorders including depression, all of which the CMT have attributed to the deportation and sustained maltreatment of British-born former wards of the Australian state.²⁰ The work of Margaret Humphreys and the CMT, which initially focused on tracing and reuniting lost families, has greatly expanded and proved pivotal in revealing the repugnant consequences of child migrant programmes, the legacies of which both the UK and Australian Federal Governments are continuing to come to terms.

There were two defining moments in this decade concerning governmental reconciliation. Firstly, on 23 July 1998, the UKHSC published its third report, the focus of which was upon the legacies of the deportation of British children to colonial territories throughout the twentieth century.²¹ Although this report addressed the role of charities, religious orders, and local authorities in bringing child migrant programmes to fruition, the introduction of this inquiry framed the deportation of children primarily as a social care issue, thereby accepting that this history was first and foremost a failure of successive UK Government administrations.²² Although this report acknowledged that British child migrants were sent to numerous overseas outposts during their lifespan, the focus of the inquiry rested on the lived experiences of those sent to New Zealand and, in particular, Australia. The fact that the deportation of British children to Canada concluded prior to the outbreak of the Second World War, coupled with the fact that this report was published approximately six decades after the termination of child migrant programmes to

²⁰ Commons Select Committee, *Health – Third Report*, Memorandum by the Child Migrants Trust, Section 1.

²¹ Commons Select Committee, *Health – Third Report*.

²² Commons Select Committee, *Health – Third Report*, para 1.

North America, meant that the overwhelming majority of surviving former child migrants resided in Australasia.²³ This report sought not simply to discover what happened to British children who were forcibly removed from their families and their homelands as a result of child migrant programmes, but instead to assess their ongoing needs in helping them reconnect with their families and address the psychological trauma that many suffered.²⁴ Although the recommendations outlined in the closing stages of the report were pertinent to all British children who were deported to imperial outposts throughout much of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, these recommendations were most applicable to reconciling with those deported to Australia during the period in question.²⁵

The recommendations section of this report, which contained seventeen suggestions for how reconciliation ought to be advanced proved pivotal for the creation of a second important moment in the process of coming to terms with the wrongs of child migrant schemes, namely the creation of the Child Migrants Support Fund. While the report acknowledged the lack of public recognition given to former child migrants, either in the form of heritage or an official governmental apology, the recommendations found in the inquiry stated that the focus of reconciliation at this time ought to rest on tracing and reuniting separated families. The creation of the Child Migrants Support Fund, a three-year long travel bursary that lasted between the years 1999 to 2002 and received nearly 200 applicants, directly fulfilled the fourth recommendation of the report, as listed below:

²³ Commons Select Committee, *Health – Third Report*, para 23.

²⁴ Commons Select Committee, *Health – Third Report*, para 23.

²⁵ Commons Select Committee, *Health – Third Report*, para 23.

‘The British Government should establish a Travel Fund with the intention of giving former child migrants the opportunity to visit the country of their birth, attend family reunions or visit sites of personal importance. Representative organisations should be allowed to submit applications on behalf of former child migrants. All such visits should be properly monitored and supervised, since many former child migrants are in a fragile mental, emotional and sometimes physical condition.’²⁶

The Australian Federal Government became formally involved in national reconciliation on 20 June 2000, when Senator Andrew Murray formally recommended that the Australian Federal Government conduct an inquiry into historic child migrant programmes. The resulting inquiry, entitled *Lost Innocents: Righting the Record: A Report on Child Migration*, was published on 30 August 2001. It began with an introduction akin to that of the UKHSC report, stating that while these former state wards were cared for by receiving agencies, including children’s charities and religious orders, both the UK and Australian Federal Governments were the joint architects of these programmes, in addition to the fact that these children were ultimately under the aegis of the latter national government upon arrival:

‘This report describes a very sorry chapter in Australia’s history. It is a story which has to be told and in so doing, exposes the role of both the British and Australian Governments in bringing child migrants to this country. The British and Australian Governments entered into agreements for the migration of

²⁶ Commons Select Committee, *Health – Third Report*, para 105.

children to Australia. The Australian Government was the legislated guardian of the children but then transferred responsibility for their care to State Governments. In turn, the State Governments transferred responsibility to receiving agencies.²⁷

Spanning across ten different chapters, the report contained 35 recommendations concerning how the Australian Federal Government ought to reconcile their involvement in child migrant programmes. Among these proposed policies were the creation of a fund to help establish child migrant memorials in each of Australia's six states, in addition to a range of measures designed to facilitate family reunions.²⁸ These included the creation of a national child migrant database, streamlining the process of gaining Australian citizenship, improving access to personal records, implementing a travel bursary similar to that of the Child Migrants Support Fund, and increased funding for the CMT.²⁹ The principal results of these recommendations were the establishment of a AUS\$100,000 bursary for state memorials dedicated to former child migrants, and the creation of the Australian Travel Fund, a bursary that lasted between the years 2002 to 2005 that enabled overseas family reunions, as well as allowing all applicants to gain citizenship of the country to which they were deported as children.³⁰ A separate recommendation existed in *Lost Innocents* that the Australian Federal Government express remorse

²⁷ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents: Righting the Record: A Report on Child Migration*, (Canberra: Government of Australia, 2001), prologue.

²⁸ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, xv-xix.

²⁹ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, xv-xix.

³⁰ International Social Service - Australian Branch, *The Journey of Discovery: A Report on the Australian Former Child Migrant Travel Fund*. (Pyrmont: International Social Service - Australian Branch, 2005), 2.

for the harms caused by child migrant programmes.³¹ However, an apology would not be forthcoming for a further eight years.

The Australian Federal Government published a follow-up report, this time addressing the experiences of all non-indigenous former wards of state, entitled *Forgotten Australians and Former Child Migrants Revisited* in the year 2009. Although this report jointly considered the lived experiences of all non-indigenous former wards of state, both groups were still addressed in separate passages of the inquiry's official findings. It was not until the publication of this latter report that formal apologies would be issued by both the Australian Federal Government and the UK Government in the years 2009 and 2010 respectively. The former apology proved influential to the process of reconciling with historic child migrant programmes for three principal reasons. It merged the histories of former child migrants into wider non-indigenous experiences of institutional care in Australia during the twentieth century, it announced the creation of new heritage projects targeted at all non-indigenous former wards of state, and it prompted the UK Government to issue their own apology to former child migrants the following year. Although occurring later than that of the Australian Federal Government, the UK Government's apology to former child migrants specifically addressed concerns of British-born former wards of the Australian state, while also proving especially influential in the creation of new travel funding and the sustained bankrolling of the CMT, both of which are vital resources for the continued reunion of families and are discussed further in the latter part of this thesis.

After the publication of *Lost Innocents*, Australian national reconciliation for involvement in historic child migrant programmes has concentrated on creating an

³¹ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, xix.

apology, memorials, and family tracing initiatives. This thesis compares the efforts of the UK and Australian Federal Governments in advancing national reconciliation with reference to these three areas, while exploring the ways in which these measures targeted towards former child migrants overlap with wider national attempts to reconcile with wrongdoings perpetrated against children, concluding with a series of recommendations regarding the advancement of national reconciliation.

Literature Review

At the time of writing, there has yet to be a transnational study into efforts to repair historic injustices suffered by former child migrants. This study seeks to remedy this by addressing the parallels between the efforts of both the UK Government and the Australian Federal Government in providing non-financial reparative measures to British-born former wards of the Australian state, concentrating on the realms of apologies, memorials, and family tracing. While there exists a vast scholarship concerning these three areas of reconciliation politics, these literatures have focused their attention on the efforts of a singular nation, namely Australia or the UK, rather than offering a sustained critical comparison of the approaches of these respective countries. This thesis also addresses the extent to which these respective governments influenced each other regarding the ways in which they developed such measures, or whether they collaborated in any meaningful sense to provide joint reparations. This study deviates from the approach of addressing the work of a singular government and instead brings both national approaches to reconciliation together.

The era of reconciliation for the harms created by British child migrant schemes coincided with a global movement of apologising for historic ills often

dubbed the 'age of apology', a term attributed to Roy Brooks.³² While explaining that apologies in the global northern political tradition can be traced back centuries prior to the 1990s, the aftermath of the Cold War heralded the beginning of a period in which governments and institutions around the world reckoned with historic wrongs. Rather than being a passing trend, the apology movement connected contemporary societies with shameful national histories and sought to ensure that injustices were not repeated.³³ Brooks' work poses some important questions about the importance of apologies and the controversies associated with addressing shameful histories. Many former child migrants, for example, have rejected the apologies that they have received, claiming that the harms inflicted upon them cannot be so easily remedied, as Suellen Murray explains.³⁴

Academic debates about the importance and authenticity of apologies greatly increased around the turn of the new millennium, with different scholars creating their own criteria relating to what constitutes a successful apology. Writing in their 2001 article "The Status of State Apologies", Mark Gibney and Erik Roxstrom explain that while, in principle, national apologies have the potential to contribute to the improvement of international human rights legislation by acknowledging and acting upon historic injustices, the vast majority of apologies given by governments around the world had, up until the year 2001, failed to place past wrongdoings within a wider historical context.³⁵ Using the example of the UK Government's statement of regret for the occurrence of the Irish Potato famine, Gibney and Roxstrom argue that such political statements have neglected to address the wider context in which the

³² Brooks, *When Sorry Isn't Enough*, 3.

³³ Brooks, *When Sorry Isn't Enough*, 3-4.

³⁴ S. Murray, *Supporting Adult Care-Leavers: International Good Practice* (Bristol: Bristol University Press, 2015), 65.

³⁵ M. Gibney and E. Roxstrom, 'The Status of State Apologies', *Human Rights Quarterly*, 23, 4 (2001), 915.

wrongdoings in question took place, with the Irish famine acknowledgment neglecting to place the failures in question within a broader historical landscape of atrocities committed by the British Empire, nor did it sufficiently outline the policies that enabled this wrongdoing to occur in the first instance.³⁶ Gibney and Roxstrom further argue that political apologies have most commonly involved the transgressor forcing an apology upon the victims, a process that places the burden of forgiveness on those being apologised to without considering whether they wish for an apology to take place.³⁷ They argue that this power imbalance ought to be rectified either by the apologising country asking for forgiveness, or by allowing those receiving the apology to be given the chance to decide whether an acknowledgement of wrongdoing is sufficient.³⁸ Apologies do not always receive universal acclaim and must acknowledge past wrongdoings, as well as ways to remedy similar contemporary issues. They can set the tone for the reconciliation process but ought not to be issued in lieu of other commitments and promises.

While other scholars offered a more robust defence of apologies and their potential to heal past injustices, most have broadly agreed that the speeches in question must place past wrongdoings within a wider context, and that apologies are merely a part of reconciliation, rather than being the ending thereof. Michael Murphy's 2011 article "Apology, Recognition, and Reconciliation" outlines public apologies as one of many tools states and individuals can use to make right historic wrongs. Just as Brooks wrote twelve years prior, Murphy explains that apologies in and of themselves are not a new concept, but their meaning and purpose changed drastically during the 1990s. He distinguishes between three different types of public

³⁶ Gibney & Roxstrom, 'The Status of State Apologies', 933.

³⁷ Gibney & Roxstrom, 'The Status of State Apologies', 935.

³⁸ Gibney & Roxstrom, 'The Status of State Apologies', 935.

apologies: celebrity apologies, corporate apologies, and official apologies for past injustice. The latter became especially prominent in the post-Cold War era and to avoid being simply a strategic apology, official apologies for past injustices must address mistakes that occurred at both micro and macro levels. In other words, individual policies and decisions must be scrutinised, in addition to the exact harms that were inflicted and how such failures will be avoided in the future. In many cases, victims of historic wrongdoings have called upon governments to recognise their past actions as a means of initiating the reconciliation process and respecting the memory of their ancestors, as was the case with the apology by the UK Government towards the indigenous organisations of New Zealand in 1995.³⁹ Murphy suggests an apology is a call for states to acknowledge their own responsibilities and for past atrocities to never be repeated.⁴⁰

Although this scholarship has greatly influenced scholarly writing on the apologies offered either partially or fully to former child migrants, the majority of this literature overlooks what apologies meant specifically for British-born former wards of the Australian state. For example, Denise Cuthbert and Marian Quartly have placed the apology offered by the Australian Federal Government to all non-indigenous former wards of state in the year 2009 within a context of reconciling the institutional maltreatment of children more broadly.⁴¹ They explain that the apology that was offered partially to former child migrants was both influenced by efforts to heal the shameful legacies of indigenous child removal, while also paving the way for the later apology offered to victims of historic forced adoption policies, a speech

³⁹ Murphy, 'Apology, Recognition, and Reconciliation', 48-51.

⁴⁰ Murphy, 'Apology, Recognition, and Reconciliation', 57-62.

⁴¹ D. Cuthbert and M. Quartly, 'Forced Child Removal and the Politics of National Apologies in Australia', *American Indian Quarterly*, 37, 1-2, (2013), 179.

which was issued by the Australian Federal Government in the year 2013.⁴² Their work draws upon advocates of non-indigenous former wards of the Australian state by explaining that each of the Senate inquiries into the institutionalisation of children formed part of a wider process of illuminating the ways in which children, in particular state wards, had been neglected from popular discourses on human rights, with the 2008 apology given to the Stolen Generations being perceived by non-indigenous former wards of state as an opportunity to have their own suffering formally recognised.⁴³ Cuthbert and Quartly explain that while the apology to victims of indigenous child removal facilitated the acknowledgement of wrongdoing offered to non-indigenous former state wards, the latter apology more explicitly underlined the innocence of the Forgotten Australians and former child migrants, while addressing the physical and emotional pain that resulted from institutionalisation and familial separation.⁴⁴

Meanwhile, scholarship concerning the UK Government's apology, which specifically addressed the harms suffered by former child migrants, borrow from pre-existing apology literature by attempting to place this speech within a wider historical context, namely the harms resulting from British imperialism. Kristen Rundle, the granddaughter of former child migrant and attendee of the UK ceremony Joseph John Rundle, argues that while the apology was a sincere and successful statement of remorse of the failures to adequately provide social care to former child migrants by allowing them to be deported, the speech all but overlooked the mechanisms by which these deportations occurred.⁴⁵ Rundle explains that the speech accepted

⁴² Cuthbert & Quartly, 'Forced Child Removal', 179-180.

⁴³ Cuthbert & Quartly, 'Forced Child Removal', 189-191.

⁴⁴ Cuthbert & Quartly, 'Forced Child Removal', 191-193.

⁴⁵ K. Rundle, 'Improbable Agents of Empire: Coming to Terms with British Child Migration', *Adoption & Fostering*, 35, 3 (2011), 30.

responsibility for the widespread maltreatment of British children that arose from their being removed from their biological families and placed in care in Australia, but neglected to mention that these deportations of primarily working-class children were also used for empire building and forced labour.⁴⁶ Furthermore, Rundle claims that in failing to adequately accept that the wrongdoings in question, in addition to not admitting to the fact that these children were removed from their homelands non-voluntarily, the lessons that can be learned from the apology were inherently limited.⁴⁷

Additionally, Katja Uusihakala has expanded upon the silences and limitations of Gordon Brown's apology to former child migrants while using a methodological framework similar to that of Michael Murphy. Uusihakala's 2019 article "Revising and Re-Voicing a Silenced Past: Transformative Intentions and Selective Silences in a Public Apology to British Child Migrants" makes important interventions within the academic literature concerning this apology. By understanding the apology both as a transformative political event and as an attempt to give a voice to previously silenced groups, Uusihakala argues that the apology in fact served to continue silencing child migrants.⁴⁸ Although the apology accepted the many wrongs inflicted upon these forced child deportees and praised the victims in question for their success in overcoming adversity, she has further stated that it failed to understand the wider context of these schemes and how this episode was an example of coerced imperial settlement.⁴⁹ This concept of silence is of particular importance to the story of British child migrants in Australia for three reasons. Firstly, it was not until the late 1980s

⁴⁶ Rundle, 'Improbable Agents of Empire', 31.

⁴⁷ Rundle, 'Improbable Agents of Empire', 36.

⁴⁸ K. Uusihakala, 'Revising and Re-Voicing a Silenced Past: Transformative Intentions and Selective Silences in a Public Apology to British Child Migrants', *Suomen Antropologi*, 44, 1 (2019) 53-54.

⁴⁹ Uusihakala, 'Revising and Re-Voicing a Silenced Past', 62.

that the child migrant scandal first came to popular attention.⁵⁰ As a result, many child migrants never got to tell their own stories of maltreatment in any public forum, including the national inquiries orchestrated by the UK and Australian Federal Governments. Lastly, being sent to Australia to live in rural institutions while maintaining little if any contact with their biological families, in addition to having one's personal identity altered, compounded suffering in adulthood.⁵¹

However, Sanderijn Cels has sought to defend the apology offered by the UK Government by acknowledging the wider ceremony in which the speech took place, rather than simply the phrasing of the speech itself. Her 2015 article "Interpreting Political Apologies: The Neglected Role of Performance" uses this apology as a means of explaining why political apologies more generally ought to be judged by the ways in which they are delivered, rather than simply the message that the apology is attempting to convey.⁵² In judging such apologies in a wider context, she creates four categories by which they ought to be assessed, namely casting, staging, scripting, and acting.⁵³ The first of these categories, namely casting, refers to the process of inviting guests to attend the ceremony in question and the extent to which they were able to take an active role within the process of the apology being given, meanwhile the notion of staging refers to the location and setting in which the act in question took place.⁵⁴ The idea of scripting goes beyond the realm of what was said during the speech, instead looking at the ways in which the apologising agency plans the

⁵⁰ Ferriman, 'Lost Children of the Empire', 17.

⁵¹ J. Penglase, *Interview with Marilyn Rock in the Forgotten Australians and Former Child Migrants oral history project* [Recorded conversation], 2012.

⁵² S. Cels, 'Interpreting Political Apologies: The Neglected Role of Performance', *Political Psychology*, 36, 3 (2015), 351.

⁵³ Cels, 'Interpreting Political Apologies', 356-357.

⁵⁴ Cels, 'Interpreting Political Apologies', 356-357.

ceremony in such a way as to get a specific reaction from the invited audience, and acting refers to how this planned scripting plays out in reality.⁵⁵

Turning to the theme of memorialisation, Sabine Marschall's 2009 monograph "Landscape of Memory: Commemorative Monuments, Memorials and Public Statuary in Post-Apartheid South Africa" was one of the first scholarly works to consider the importance of heritage as a reparative tool within a postcolonial context. Although there has yet to be any kind of truth-telling inquiry established concerning historic failures to care for former child migrants, several parallels can be drawn between the state-led processes of publicly remembering Apartheid in South Africa and the experiences of former child migrants in Australia. According to Marschall, the process of memorialising racial segregation in post-Apartheid South Africa has been defined by two overarching challenges, namely attempting to move away from previous commemorative practices that traditionally overlooked victim narratives, and addressing what the state specifically chooses to remember, as well as what they decide to forget.⁵⁶ In the same way that a programme of memorialisation dedicated to former child migrants commenced as a direct result of the conducting and publication of the Australian Senate inquiry *Lost Innocents*, Marschall explains that the rationale behind the creation of memorials representing the legacies of Apartheid in South Africa was rooted in the process of truth-telling which began with the nation's Truth and Reconciliation Commission.⁵⁷ Marschall argues that this has been the case in post-apartheid South Africa due to their acceptance of the published outcomes of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, in addition to the practical

⁵⁵ Cels, 'Interpreting Political Apologies', 357.

⁵⁶ S. Marschall, *Landscape of Memory: Commemorative Monuments, Memorials and Public Statuary in Post-Apartheid South Africa* (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 62.

⁵⁷ Marschall, *Landscape of Memory*, 62.

failure to offer financial redress to apartheid survivors and their descendants.⁵⁸ This phenomenon of reconciling historic injustices is also evident in the aftermath of the publication of *Lost Innocents*, which saw the issuing of indirect reparations to former child migrants and their descendants in the form of funding for memorials, travel bursaries, and continued bankrolling of the CMT, as opposed to direct monetary compensation.

Additionally, heritage scholars that have examined the representation of children, especially those who have been raised in institutions, argue that their narratives have most often been deliberately excluded. The third chapter of this thesis refers to the work of Alison Atkinson-Phillips, especially her 2019 book “Survivor Memorials: Remembering Trauma and Loss in Contemporary Australia.” In this study, Atkinson-Phillips argues that public memorials, in particular those connected with trauma and survival, typically serve at least one of three purposes, namely to grieve the passing of a notable individual or group of people (or, in the words of Atkinson-Phillips, ‘Memorials as Mourning’), to be a part of a wider celebration (‘Memorials as Artwork’), or to represent some form of shared history (‘Memorials as Public Intervention’).⁵⁹ Two further strands of Atkinson-Phillips’ research that are of particular relevance to the child migrant story are the specific representation of individuals or groups typically excluded from the national narrative, in addition to how memorialisation reflects wider misunderstandings about the nation’s colonial past.⁶⁰ Moreover, her work advocates that Australian survivor memorials have often acted as a symbolic form of reparation, with Senate inquiries

⁵⁸ Marschall, *Landscape of Memory*, 77.

⁵⁹ A. Atkinson-Phillips, *Survivor Memorials: Remembering Trauma and Loss in Contemporary Australia* (Crawley: UWA Publishing, 2019), 27-38.

⁶⁰ Atkinson-Phillips, *Survivor Memorials*, 42-44.

including *Lost Innocents* stipulating the importance of publicly acknowledging the suffering of institutionalised children.⁶¹ “Survivor Memorials” has provided an analysis of all five of the Australian state memorials featured in section three of this thesis.

Although scholarship concerning the British memorialisation of former child migrants is all but non-existent, a relatively new area of literature utilised within this thesis concerning British heritage related to philanthropic efforts to support unaccompanied child refugees. Marie-Catherine Allard’s 2020 article “Modelling Bridges Between Past and Current Issues of Forced Migration: Frank Meisler’s Memorial Sculpture Kindertransport – The Arrival”, for example, argues that the UK has constructed a celebratory narrative concerning the nation’s role in assisting the arrival of child refugees and child-centric philanthropy more broadly.⁶² Although her work doesn’t address unaccompanied children being forced to leave the UK, her article is useful in exploring the transnational context of the memorialisation of former child migrants, including the noticeable absence of this history in the nation from which the majority of these children were deported. Although it is vital that the UK celebrates their humanitarian efforts in supporting individuals, including children, fleeing conflict or religious and ethnic persecution, it is important that this celebratory narrative does not stand in the way of recognising failures of child-centred philanthropy, including the maltreatment of former child migrants in white settler colonies such as Australia. Allard explains that this triumphant history of Britain supporting child refugees arriving into the country persists to this day and only began to be challenged in 1989 when a reunion of children who participated in the

⁶¹ Atkinson-Phillips, *Survivor Memorials*, 116-132.

⁶² Allard, ‘Modelling Bridges’, 86.

Kindertransport took place.⁶³ While Frank Meisler's sculpture acknowledges the unique experiences of Jewish child refugees during their time in Britain, Allard explains that the plaques surrounding the memorial, coupled with its location at a prominent point of arrival for the Kinder at Liverpool Street Station in London, reinforces the celebratory narrative.⁶⁴ Allard further notes that the celebratory narrative is reflected in this sculpture by recognising the people who were omitted from the memorial and therefore the *Kindertransport* itself, namely the parents of Jewish child refugees and children with disabilities.⁶⁵

Meanwhile, the fourth chapter of this thesis is shaped by the work of Adele Chynoweth, who co-curated *Inside: Life in Children's Homes and Institutions*, one of the exhibitions analysed.⁶⁶ Her 2020 chapter entitled "A Call to Justice at The National Museum of Australia" makes the case that all museums have a very important role to play within the process of achieving social justice. Chynoweth explains that representing survivor narratives must always involve direct consultation with the individuals in question, adding that it is an obligation for museums to display these histories and it ought not to be viewed as a privilege for those who have experienced injustice.⁶⁷ The obligation to support survivors and express gratitude for their co-operation in these projects is an ongoing duty which continues long after the relevant exhibitions cease operations.⁶⁸ In relation to children in care, Chynoweth argues that many of the challenges in enabling the display of their lived experiences came from within the NMA itself.⁶⁹ Although the museum had represented the lived

⁶³ Allard, 'Modelling Bridges', 91.

⁶⁴ Allard, 'Modelling Bridges', 94-95.

⁶⁵ Allard, 'Modelling Bridges', 95.

⁶⁶ A. Chynoweth, 'A Call to Justice at the National Museum of Australia', in Adele Chynoweth, et al (eds.), *Museums and Social Change: Challenging the Unhelpful Museum* (Abingdon: Taylor & Francis Group, 2020), 173-183.

⁶⁷ Chynoweth, 'A Call to Justice', 180-181.

⁶⁸ Chynoweth, 'A Call to Justice', 182-183.

⁶⁹ Chynoweth, 'A Call to Justice', 174.

experiences of the Stolen Generations in a very limited way, she explained that until the unveiling of *Inside: Life In Children's Homes and Institutions*, the museum had been highly reluctant to display anything pertaining to children who had experienced time in the Australian care system, including children's institutions.⁷⁰ Chynoweth adds that this exhibition only came about as a result of the 2009 Australian Federal apology and that the museum had done little up to that point to reconcile with the suffering of adult care-leavers.⁷¹

There is a rich scholarship that addresses the significance of the UK-Australian exhibition *On Their Own: Britain's Child Migrants* within a wider discussion concerning how Australian sites of historical learning have sought to represent national histories of migration. Eureka Henrich's 2014 article entitled "Children's Toys and Memories of Migration in Australian Museums" analyses this exhibition dedicated to British-born former wards of the Australian state alongside five other museum projects in an attempt to understand the joint challenges of representing histories of migration alongside histories of childhood.⁷² Henrich explains that stereotypes and nostalgia linked to both histories means that both are prone to being distorted, while using the case study of former child migrants as a means of highlighting the trauma found within both of these overlapping narratives. A significant piece of evidence that forms the groundwork for Henrich's analysis is a small toy replica of an English cottage that belonged to former child migrant Pamela Smedley.⁷³ This cottage not only represented a source of optimism that Smedley would once again be able to return to her country of birth, but was further symbolic

⁷⁰ Chynoweth, 'A Call to Justice', 174-175.

⁷¹ Chynoweth, 'A Call to Justice', 175.

⁷² Eureka Henrich, 'Children's Toys and Memories of Migration in Australian Museums', *Childhood in the Past*, 7, 2 (2014), 2.

⁷³ Henrich, 'Children's Toys', 11-12.

as representing her desire to be a part of a family, something that had been denied to her as a result of being deported from the UK to Australia.⁷⁴ Henrich added that this exhibit facilitated an exploration into the work of the CMT, who successfully reunited Pamela with her mother in the year 1989, having previously believed that she had been abandoned at birth.⁷⁵

Meanwhile, Claudia Soares' 2016 article "Care and Trauma: Exhibiting Histories of Philanthropic Childcare Practices" explores the ways in which personal testimonies and belongings from former child migrants were utilised in *On Their Own* as a means of exploring the trauma they suffered as a result of their deportation, in addition to enabling visitors to critically assess the philanthropic ideals that led to their being placed in institutional care.⁷⁶ Soares explains that personal belongings and recollections of child migrant programmes were present throughout the exhibition and sought to address the various stages of these schemes, as well as to highlight the range of emotions felt by these former state wards as a result of being sent to Australia. When addressing the process of leaving one's country of birth in the first instance, Soares notes that testimonies and letters created by former child migrants highlight that many believed that they were being given a new start in life and remarked on the high standard of hospitality they received on their journey to Australia.⁷⁷ Meanwhile, other recollections and personal belongings showed that many former child migrants were scared of being sent overseas, felt uncertain of their futures, and were unaware that their deportation to imperial outposts would be permanent.⁷⁸ Later parts of the exhibition featured short films, pieces of music,

⁷⁴ Henrich, 'Children's Toys', 12.

⁷⁵ Henrich, 'Children's Toys', 12.

⁷⁶ C. Soares, 'Care and trauma: exhibiting histories of philanthropic childcare practices', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 52 (2016), 104.

⁷⁷ Soares, 'Care and trauma', 106.

⁷⁸ Soares, 'Care and trauma', 106.

spoken and written testimonies from former child migrants concerning their maltreatment in care and official responses to these historic wrongdoings, which Soares believes formed a vital opportunity for these former state wards to participate in a form of truth-telling regarding their experiences of deportation and institutionalisation that had previously been absent from academic histories and archival collections on the subject.⁷⁹

Lastly, scholarship in the realm of family tracing explains the significance of meeting one's birth family for those who have experienced out-of-home care, especially from the vantage point of establishing one's personal identity. Throughout, analysis into this aspect of reconciliation refers to the work of Michael Jones and Cate O'Neill, in particular their 2014 article "Identity, records and archival evidence: exploring the needs of Forgotten Australians and Former Child Migrants." Jones and O'Neill highlight that the process of tracing the families of adults who experienced institutional care as children has both logistical and emotional challenges.⁸⁰ On a practical level, the personal records of children in care are often fragmentary, and even in instances where care leavers are able to gain access to these documents, they are often held across multiple repositories owned by different organisations.⁸¹ This has been compounded by the cost of viewing these documents and the requirement to produce proof of identity, with many people wishing to access these records having never been given a birth certificate.⁸² From an emotional standpoint, many care leavers, including Forgotten Australians and former child migrants, experienced some degree of maltreatment during their time in institutions. While the

⁷⁹ Soares, 'Care and trauma', 106.

⁸⁰ M. Jones and C. O'Neill, 'Identity, records and archival evidence: exploring the needs of Forgotten Australians and Former Child Migrants', *Archives & Records*, 35, 2 (2014), 111.

⁸¹ Jones & O'Neill, 'Identity, records and archival evidence', 111.

⁸² Jones & O'Neill, 'Identity, records and archival evidence', 113.

process of tracing families is an important form of compensation, the process of obtaining access to one's personal records can induce feelings of trauma rooted in their experiences of institutional maltreatment.⁸³ However, throughout the article, Jones and O'Neill address the shared challenges faced by all non-indigenous former wards of the Australian state in their attempts to trace their records, rather than delineating the individual obstacles affecting Forgotten Australians and former child migrants.

Moreover, Shurlee Swain's 2010 article "We Are The Stories We Tell About Ourselves: History and the Construction of Identity Amongst Australians Who, as Children, Experienced Out-Of-Home 'Care'" argues that formerly institutionalised children, including former child migrants, are routinely denied the ability to construct social and personal identities, due to histories of childhood being intertwined with histories of family.⁸⁴ According to Swain, children who have been raised within a family unit, instead of institutional care, are better equipped to create personal narratives by drawing upon historical markers that are created as a result of belonging to a family.⁸⁵ These may include physical items such as photo books and familial memorabilia, as well as family events including birthdays, christenings, and anniversaries.⁸⁶ Swain explains that when children are placed in out-of-home care, they not only lose contact and connections with their biological family, but also access to these items and a consistent personal narrative, which in turn inhibits their ability to adequately construct a sense of identity.⁸⁷ Swain adds that for formerly

⁸³ Jones & O'Neill, 'Identity, records and archival evidence', 111.

⁸⁴ S. Swain, 'We are the stories we tell about ourselves: History and the construction of identity amongst Australians who, as children, experienced out-of-home "care"', *Archives and Manuscripts*, 40, 1 (2012), 2-3.

⁸⁵ Swain, 'We are the stories', 2.

⁸⁶ Swain, 'We are the stories', 2.

⁸⁷ Swain, 'We are the stories', 3.

institutionalised children, including former child migrants, archives pertaining to their institutions stand in lieu of conventional family records, with many former state wards continuing to be denied access to repositories containing documents pertaining to their own lives or that of their families, thus preventing the development of a coherent personal identity.⁸⁸ Even once these files have been located and accessed, difficulties establishing one's sense of identity inevitably arise, with Swain further explaining that it is the role of the historian to help these formerly institutionalised children make sense of these documents and the decisions that led to their being taken into care.⁸⁹

Meanwhile, in the year 2019, Elizabeth Fernandez et al published a study which outlined the challenges faced by former child migrants in adulthood, many of which emanated from the harsh conditions in which they were raised, which involved separation from their biological families, while also struggling to access their personal records and to therefore reconcile one's personal identity. The article, entitled "'Uprooted from Everything that Attaches You': Long-Term Outcomes of Former Child Migrants in Care in the Twentieth Century in Australia", was constructed using the mixed methods of thirty-two focus groups, ninety-two surveys, and 669 interviews, conducted with care-leavers, government workers, as well as employees of non-governmental organisations and care-leaver charities.⁹⁰ Among the focus groups, twenty were conducted with care-leavers only, with five participants being former child migrants.⁹¹ Meanwhile, seven out of the ninety-two interviewees, and 67 out of 669 survey participants were former child migrants. The

⁸⁸ Swain, 'We are the stories', 3-4.

⁸⁹ Swain, 'We are the stories', 6-7.

⁹⁰ E. Fernandez, J-S. Lee, & P. McNamara, "'Uprooted from Everything that Attaches You": Long-Term Outcomes of Former Child Migrants in Care in the Twentieth Century in Australia', *British Journal of Social Work*, 49, 2 (2019), 526-527.

⁹¹ Fernandez, Lee, & McNamara, 'Uprooted from Everything that Attaches You', 526-527.

British-born former wards of the Australian state that took part in this study had a mean age of 71.5 years, over 77 per cent of which were male and just under 75 per cent were married or in a stable relationship.⁹² The study conducted by Fernandez et al contains data relating to all stages of the lives of former child migrants, beginning with the reasons why they were placed into care, followed by the extent to which the participants have maintained contact with family members, successes in reconciling identities, and whether these individuals have received sufficient aftercare.⁹³

This thesis' analysis of family tracing also critiques the scholarship of Australian social worker Suellen Murray, with a particular focus on her chapter 'Access to records and family reunification', taken from her 2015 book "Supporting Adult-Care Leavers: International Good Practice".⁹⁴ While other sections of this study have been referenced in relation to apologies and memorials recognising formerly institutionalised children, this thesis' sixth chapter offers an extended investigation of her research into family tracing. In a similar vein to the work of Jones and O'Neill that was explored in the previous chapter of this thesis, Murray argues that personal records of adult care leavers are often the only evidence they have of their childhoods, and are therefore a vital tool in aiding the reclamation of personal identities that were either altered or lost as a result of experiences in institutional care.⁹⁵ Murray explains that children raised in institutional care are typically unable to engage in the same forms of storytelling and remembrance available to those raised in family units, with many adult care-leavers lacking access to photographs or personal mementos relating to their childhood.⁹⁶ Access to personal records has

⁹² Fernandez, Lee, & McNamara, 'Uprooted from Everything that Attaches You', 526-527.

⁹³ Fernandez, Lee, & McNamara, 'Uprooted from Everything that Attaches You', 526-539.

⁹⁴ Murray, *Supporting Adult-Care Leavers*, 133-160.

⁹⁵ Murray, *Supporting Adult-Care Leavers*, 134.

⁹⁶ Murray, *Supporting Adult-Care Leavers*, 134.

therefore been the most important means of rationalising one's childhood experiences and establishing personal identity in adulthood.⁹⁷ Murray's work is of particular importance for this chapter for three reasons. This is due to her explorations of the role of apologies and official inquiries in facilitating access to records, family tracing and family reunions, the establishment of the Find and Connect programme by the Australian Federal Government in the year 2009, and the establishment of the Family Restoration Fund by the UK Government in the year 2010.

Additionally, Joanne Evans et al have addressed the legacies of the Find and Connect programme both as a tool for facilitating access to personal records and as a turning point for the advent of more inclusive archival practices. Their 2020 article "All I Want To Know Is Who I Am: Archival Justice for Australian Care Leavers" begins by introducing the notion of archival justice, a term grounded in the findings of Australian Senate inquiries including *Lost Innocents*, which outlined the barriers former state wards have faced in attempting to rediscover their families and personal identities. The process of locating one's personal records has proved to be an additional source of emotional distress for many former wards of the Australian state, with many being unable to remember the name of the institutions in which they were raised or whether the charities that ran these homes were still in existence.⁹⁸ Those raised in multiple institutions were unsure if all of their records were kept each time they moved, and the process of navigating Freedom of Information laws, which have been applied inconsistently across different care-giving organisations, has proven to

⁹⁷ Murray, *Supporting Adult-Care Leavers*, 135-136

⁹⁸ J. Evans, F. Golding, C. O'Neill, and R. Tropea, 'All I Want To Know Is Who I Am: Archival Justice for Australian Care Leavers.; in D. A. Wallace, W. M. Duff, R. Saucier, and A. Flinn (ed.), *Archives, Record-keeping & Social Justice*, (London: Routledge, 2020), 2-3.

be a further obstacle.⁹⁹ Even when documents have been successfully located, Evans et al state that significant numbers of former state wards have had their records either lost or destroyed, with others stating that personal information concerning themselves or their relatives was falsely documented.¹⁰⁰ While the authors explained that *Find and Connect* has been unable to address many of the issues linked to tracing personal records, they believe that the project has encouraged previously excluded demographics to trace their families while also actively involving practitioners in the pursuit of archival justice.¹⁰¹

Lastly, Cate O'Neill has explored the wider purpose of the *Find and Connect* project for all non-indigenous former state wards beyond beginning to locate one's records and family members, with more explicit references to advances in archival technologies and the role of the 2009 Federal apology in shaping this resource. Her article from the year 2016 entitled "Forgotten Australians in the Library: Resources Relating to Care Leavers in Australian Libraries" highlights the fact that *Find and Connect* launched alongside the NLA's own search engine entitled Trove, which contains digital copies of documents, notably newspaper articles, relating to the Australian childcare system at large.¹⁰² While addressing the fact that this database was designed primarily as a site where non-indigenous former state wards could begin the process of relocating one's personal records, friends, and family members, O'Neill explores the importance of other resources found within *Find and Connect*, namely the digitised collection of photographs relating to experiences of care.¹⁰³ O'Neill explains that many of the Forgotten Australians and former child migrants

⁹⁹ Evans et al, 'All I Want To Know Is Who I Am', 2-3.

¹⁰⁰ Evans et al, 'All I Want To Know Is Who I Am', 2-3.

¹⁰¹ Evans et al, 'All I Want To Know Is Who I Am', 11-13.

¹⁰² C. O'Neill, 'Forgotten Australians in the library: resources relating to Care Leavers in Australian libraries', *The Australian Library Journal*, 65, 3 (2016), 184.

¹⁰³ O'Neill, 'Forgotten Australians in the library', 184-185.

who attended the apology issued by then-Australian Prime Minister Kevin Rudd on 16 November 2009 held photographs of loved ones and former institutions while the speech was being given, further noting that the commencement of curating a series of photographs relating to institutional childcare has functioned as a replacement for a family photo album, an object with which many of these former state wards had not previously been familiar.¹⁰⁴ O'Neill also argues that the creation of *Find and Connect* has prompted another significant shift in the practice of archiving the history of the institutionalisation of Australian children, namely that organisations including the NLA have collected physical and digital objects concerning experiences of institutional childcare that would previously have been redacted or hidden from public display.¹⁰⁵ Such items include personal belongings, autobiographies, and oral histories.¹⁰⁶

Methodology

Due to the nature of this thesis, all of the sources addressed in the following chapters were created by or under the auspices of national governments. Naturally, this presents a bias, due to the terms of reconciliation being set by the very governments who engineered the mass deportation of British children to Australia in the first instance. This bias is recognised throughout the following thesis and the sources utilised within the project are assessed by their successes and limitations in accepting responsibility for the suffering of some 7,000 British children. This serves to fulfil the overall aim of exploring the extent to which public resources of redress have been effective in righting the many wrongs associated with child migrant programmes. Since the creation of this thesis occurred during the COVID-19

¹⁰⁴ O'Neill, 'Forgotten Australians in the library', 184-185.

¹⁰⁵ O'Neill, 'Forgotten Australians in the library', 185.

¹⁰⁶ O'Neill, 'Forgotten Australians in the library', 185-186.

pandemic, it has been impossible to interview or appraise those who experienced neglect and maltreatment, and has meant that most of the primary research has involved surveying digital, rather than physical, archives.

The primary materials pertaining to the process of reconciling historic child migrant schemes can be broken down into two distinct categories: sources that shaped the process of apology and sources that apologised directly for wrongdoings. The two principal sources that evidence the process of apology and reconciliation are the two national reports into historic child migrant programmes, namely the UKHSC's Third Report, and the Australian Senate inquiry entitled *Lost Innocents*.¹⁰⁷ Both are utilised in this study as a means of understanding how both the UK and Australian Federal Governments accounted for their role in the deportation of approximately 7,000 children to Australia between the years 1913 and 1970. The most crucial sections of both national inquiries in achieving this aim are the recommendation chapters. Comparing both reports offers important perspective concerning the differing roles of apologies, memorialisation, and family tracing within the respective national reconciliation agendas of both nations. Broadly speaking, the UK inquiry outlined that reuniting former child migrants with their families was the most important aim at the time. Meanwhile the Australian Senate inquiry valued the role of family reunions and memorialisation, with both reports offering lukewarm recommendations concerning national apologies.¹⁰⁸

Although official apologies were not immediately forthcoming, after the publication of national inquiries in 1998 and 2001 respectively, both subsequent state apologies have sought to honour these previous reparative commitments. On

¹⁰⁷ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*.

¹⁰⁸ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, xv-xix.

16 November 2009, the Australian Federal Government issued an apology denouncing the historic abuse of children in the nation's care system to all non-indigenous former wards of the Australian state.¹⁰⁹ Three months later, on 24 February 2010, the UK Government offered their own apology which solely addressed the plight of former child migrants.¹¹⁰ To broaden the analytical lens, the study utilises digitised newspaper articles and interviews detailing the reception of these apologies, as well as transcripts of the apologies themselves, as a means of exploring what they meant specifically for former child migrants and their advocates.¹¹¹ The use of language and reparative promises are addressed in detail, in addition to an exploration of whether former child migrants and their advocates deemed these apologies to be a turning point for reconciliation, or whether issues pertaining to their timing and their intended target audience limited their abilities to repair historic wrongdoings.

The individual chapters concerning both of these apologies ground these speeches in a wider context of national reconciliation in both Australia and the UK, and this endeavour has been facilitated by utilising a database entitled *Political Apologies Across Cultures*.¹¹² By allowing the user to filter all political apologies and statements of remorse offered by national governments since the year 1947 by date, apologising agent, and the human rights violation in question, this thesis has been able to place Australia's apology within a context of attempts to address wrongdoings suffered by formerly institutionalised children, a process which began in the year 2008 with the apology to the Stolen Generations.¹¹³ Meanwhile, the

¹⁰⁹ Government of Australia, *Apology to the Forgotten Australians and former child migrants*.

¹¹⁰ Government of the United Kingdom. *Apology to Former Child Migrants*.

¹¹¹ Government of the United Kingdom. *Apology to Former Child Migrants*.

¹¹² Political Apologies Across Cultures, *Dashboard*.

¹¹³ Political Apologies Across Cultures, *Dashboard*.

database highlights that the UK apology to former child migrants occurred in the midst of 18 other apologies concerning imperialism and its shameful legacies, and remains the only apology issued by the UK Government in relation to childhood.¹¹⁴ As this thesis progresses, explorations occur concerning the influence of national inquiries and apologies in the realms of memorials and family reunions. Sources relating to the former topic are explored in the latter stages of this methodology summary. Meanwhile, the final stages of this thesis address national efforts to reunite former child migrants with their biological families, with an exploration of Lost Innocents in particular proving vital for understanding the creation of the UK Government's Child Migrants Support Fund and the Australian Federal Government's Australian Travel Fund.¹¹⁵ Digital resources published in relation to post-apology family tracing measures, namely the Australian Federal Government's *Find and Connect* programme and the UK Government's Family Restoration Fund, are further assessed as a means of ascertaining whether these pledges fulfilled the objectives of national apologies and expanded upon any limitations that arose from earlier policies designed to facilitate family tracing.¹¹⁶

The use of heritage serves to bridge the gap between defining the process of apology and actively apologising for wrongdoings suffered by former child migrants. Using the online databases of *Historic England*, *the Imperial War Museum*, *the Child Migrants Trust*, and *Monument Australia*, as well as national child migrant inquiries, this thesis has been able to discern the ways in which both Australia and the UK have chosen to memorialise child migrant philanthropists, children under the care of the state, as well as the specific experiences of British-born former wards of the

¹¹⁴ Political Apologies Across Cultures, *Dashboard*.

¹¹⁵ International Social Service, *Australian Travel Fund*, 2.

¹¹⁶ Child Migrants Trust, *Family Restoration Fund Information Pack (Revised August 2014)*. (Nottingham: Child Migrants Trust, 2014), 5-11.

Australian state. Turning to the first of these concerns, memorials to Thomas Barnardo of Barnardo's and William Booth of the Salvation Army, found via the *Historic England* website, highlight the veneration of the lives of these individuals while subjugating the experiences of children who lived in the care of the institutions ran by their respective charities.¹¹⁷ Although Australian memorials dedicated to child migrant philanthropists Brother Paul Keaney and Kingsley Fairbridge, sourced through *Lost Innocents* and *Monument Australia*, reflect a similar celebration of the lives of these individuals, these memorials serve as evidence of child migrants influencing their own heritage agenda in the years prior to the issuing of national apologies.¹¹⁸ On the one hand, the twentieth-century memorials dedicated to Kingsley Fairbridge of the Fairbridge Foundation were created by former residents of charity-run homes and sought to provide these philanthropists with a positive legacy, even after the public unveiling of the child migrant scandal.¹¹⁹ On the other hand, the memorial to Brother Paul Keaney of the Congregation of the Christian Brothers of Western Australia was demolished by former residents of charity-run homes prior to the publication of the Australian Senate inquiry, highlighting a desire among other former child migrants to challenge this celebration of child-saving philanthropy.¹²⁰

Memorials dedicated to children in care in both Australia and the UK that emerged between the years 2001 and 2009, namely after national inquiries but before national apologies, highlight a further divergence in heritage policies between these two nations. After researching the *Imperial War Museum* database for

¹¹⁷ Historic England, *Search Results – Historic England*. Available online: [https://historicengland.org.uk/sitesearch?searchType=site&search=per cent22william+booth per cent22&page=2](https://historicengland.org.uk/sitesearch?searchType=site&search=per%20cent22william+booth%20per%20cent22&page=2) [Accessed 25/07/2022].

¹¹⁸ Monument Australia, *Monument Australia – Search*. Available online: <https://monumentaaustralia.org.au/search> [Accessed 03/08/2022].

¹¹⁹ Monument Australia, *Search*.

¹²⁰ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 117.

memorials dedicated to children in the UK that emerged during this period, this thesis discerns that the emphasis on British child-centric heritage concentrated on humanitarian efforts to help child refugees.¹²¹ The most prominent markers in this area have memorialised the arrival of Spanish Civil War refugees, also known as the Basque children, who were displaced by the bombing of the city of Guernica during the Spanish Civil War, as well as Jewish child refugees who arrived in Britain as part of the Kindertransport. However, by exploring *Monument Australia*, it is evident that, during this same period, Australia used child-centric heritage as a means of reconciling with failures of institutional childcare, as well as the subjugation of the country's indigenous population, with the vast majority of memorials dedicated to children concentrating on the historic suffering of the Stolen Generations.¹²² Using this same database and the CMT's website, this thesis also addressed the six Australian state memorials and one UK memorial that arose during these years that directly related to the lived experiences of former child migrants.¹²³ While these memorials arose after the process of creating national reports into child migration, were sometimes accompanied by state-level apologies, and stood in lieu of a national apology, this thesis explains that these pre-apology memorials were primarily designed to celebrate the accomplishments of former child migrants and their advocates, thereby neglecting to address, in meaningful detail, the injustices suffered by British-born former wards of the Australian state.

Primary analysis of child migrant heritage in the years following national apologies reflects the evolution in both the historical narratives being portrayed, in addition to the means by which these histories were being represented. In the

¹²¹ Imperial War Museums, *Search – Imperial War Museums*. Available online: <https://www.iwm.org.uk/search/global?query=child+migrant&pageSize=> [Accessed 20/05/2022].

¹²² Monument Australia, *Search*.

¹²³ Monument Australia, *Search*.

Australian context, a further exploration of the *Monument Australia* database serves as evidence that the creation of new mnemonic markers dedicated to former child migrants continued after the issuing of the national apology.¹²⁴ Although the three post-apology markers analysed in this thesis shift their focus away from celebrating the successes of former child migrants to more overtly accepting that these former state wards faced injustices that arose directly from their time in institutional care, these memorials were dedicated to all former state wards, rather than just former child migrants, thus reflecting the joint nature of the national apology. Other shared reparations include interviews conducted by the NLA as part of the *Forgotten Australians and Former Child Migrants Oral History* project, the transcripts of which provide a vital insight into the purpose of the project as a reparative tool, and are also used throughout the thesis as a means of understanding how former child migrants perceived the wider process of reconciliation.¹²⁵ Lastly, exhibits, promotional materials, and educational resources derived from museum exhibitions which featured histories of former child migrants, namely *Inside: Life in Children's Homes and Institutions*, and *Departures: 400 Years of Emigration from Britain*, are assessed by the extent to which they merge child migrant histories into wider narratives.

Summary of Chapters

This thesis contains three distinct parts covering different areas of national reconciliation for the deportation of British children to Australia. These sections cover the areas of apologies, memorials, and family reunions. The first two chapters

¹²⁴ Monument Australia, *Search*.

¹²⁵ National Library of Australia, *Forgotten Australians and Former Child Migrants Oral History Project*. Available online: <https://www.nla.gov.au/oral-history/forgotten-australians-and-former-child-migrants-oral-history-project> [Accessed 01/04/2022].

address the apologies issued by the Australian Federal Government and the UK Government to former child migrants in the years 2009 and 2010 respectively, with the former apology also addressing the suffering of the Forgotten Australians. Both chapters begin by addressing the context surrounding their respective ceremonies, including the rationale behind their respective announcements, who was invited, and the purpose of these apologies as understood by the Prime Ministers of both nations. They both turn to the overarching linguistic themes and policy promises that arose from both speeches and conclude by addressing the reception of these apologies among former child migrants. Chapter One addresses specifically the role of the Australian Federal Government's apology in galvanising national efforts to repair historic injustices suffered by children, the links between this apology and that offered to the Stolen Generations, in addition to the extent to which the joint nature of this apology diminished the specific concerns of former child migrants. Meanwhile, Chapter Two places the UK Government's apology within broader efforts to address historic ills resulting from British colonialism, in addition to the significance of former child migrants receiving their own distinct apology, and whether the fact that the nation that decided to deport these children apologised after the nation to which they were sent in any way diminished the significance of this reparation.

Chapters Three and Four address memorials dedicated to former child migrants, with the former addressing those that arose prior to the issuing of national apologies, and the latter focusing on post-apology memorials. The third chapter starts by addressing twentieth century memorials dedicated to philanthropists who aided in the deportation of British children to Australia, before exploring the role of memorialisation within national child migrant inquiries, in addition to the creation of new child migrant memorials after the publication of these reports. This chapter

critiques the tone of all of the memorials in question, the extent to which they celebrate child-saving philanthropy as a concept, as well as whether the later findings of national inquiries had any meaningful impact on the narratives portrayed within these memorials by providing a greater voice to former child migrants. The fourth chapter specifically questions the commitments to memorialising the child migrant story that appeared within national apologies as a means of exploring changes in the ways in which the histories of British-born former wards of the Australian state merged into other narratives, as well as the methods by which these narratives were being conveyed, most notably memorials, library projects and museum exhibitions.

Lastly, Chapters Five and Six address governmental efforts to facilitate reunions between former child migrants and their biological families, with the former addressing measures that arose prior to national apologies, and the latter exploring policies that came about as a result of these speeches. Chapter Five addresses the principal challenges of reuniting former child migrants with their families and the ways in which the CMT have sought to overcome these difficulties, before addressing initial governmental reparations that arose from the UK and Australian Federal inquiries into historic child migrant programmes. This chapter questions whether the reparative measures offered by both governments were proportional to the wrongdoings they had facilitated, the numbers of former child migrants who were able to reunite with their families, and the limitations of these measures that denied certain individuals from being able to partake in state-funded family reunification programmes. The final chapter builds upon this latter point by questioning whether post-apology family tracing measures adequately addressed these earlier limitations,

while concluding with the key emotional and timing issues in reuniting former child migrants with their families that cannot be resolved by reparative measures.

Part One - Apologies

Chapter 1: The Australian Federal Government Apology

‘We look back with shame that so many of you were left cold, hungry and alone and with nowhere to hide and with nobody, absolutely nobody, to whom to turn.’

Prime Minister Kevin Rudd, Australian Federal Government’s Apology to the Forgotten Australians and Former Child Migrants, 16 November 2009.¹²⁶

Introduction

The apology issued jointly to the Forgotten Australians and former child migrants by the Australian Federal Government in 2009 was a watershed moment with regards to repairing historical wrongs committed to working-class children who had been deported from the UK to Australia between the years 1913 to 1970.¹²⁷ The apology sought to reconcile injustices inflicted upon all non-indigenous former wards of the Australian state, something the victims of forced migration found especially problematic. The apology demonstrates that addressing historic injustices perpetrated against children has played a defining role in Australian national reconciliation during the last three decades. According to the *Political Apologies Across Cultures* database, four out of the five apologies issued by the Australian Federal Government have been addressed to survivors of child institutionalisation or maltreatment, namely the Stolen Generations (2008), the Forgotten Australians and former child migrants (2009), victims of forced adoption (2013), and survivors of sexual abuse in children’s institutions (2018).¹²⁸ Taken collectively, these apologies

¹²⁶ Government of Australia, *Apology to the Forgotten Australians and former child migrants*.

¹²⁷ Government of Australia, *Apology to the Forgotten Australians and former child migrants*.

¹²⁸ Political Apologies Across Cultures, *Dashboard*.

stand as evidence of Judith Bessant and Richard Hill's argument that social and welfare institutions fail to adequately support children more than any other social demographic, with many instances of institutional child abuse having been perpetrated due to the lower societal value placed upon children and their treatment as 'non-citizens.'¹²⁹

This chapter begins by exploring the ceremony in which the apology took place, including who was invited, where it took place, as well as the purpose the apology was meant to serve. Then, there is an investigation into the language used throughout the apology, in addition to the promises that were made to the survivors in question to improve their adult lives. The respective responses of then-Leader of the Opposition Malcolm Turnbull and child migrants themselves towards the apology are later evaluated. This is done as a means of gauging whether the Labor Government and the opposition Liberal Party at the time deemed the apology to be necessary, as well as discerning whether British child migrants saw this moment as an effective vehicle for future reconciliation. This chapter concludes by balancing the successes and limitations of this speech, specifically highlighting any historic and contemporary concerns that child migrants have raised about the apology.

Throughout, the analysis found within this chapter advances established apology scholarship from Mark Gibney and Erik Roxstrom, in addition to Michael Murphy, while also expanding upon more recent surveys of the 2009 Australian Federal apology from Denise Cuthbert and Marian Quartly. This approach has been chosen as a means of establishing where this particular apology fits within wider

¹²⁹ J. Bessant and R. Hill, 'Abuse of Young People in Australia and the Conditions for Restoring Public Trust', in J. Bessant, R. Hill, and R. Watts (eds.), *Violations of Trust: How Social and Welfare Institutions Fail Children and Young People* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2005), 99-103.

literature concerning what constitutes a successful political apology, as well as to ascertain the extent to which this ceremony adequately addressed the specific harms endured by British-born former wards of the Australian state, a subject that has been all but neglected within the current scholarship.

The apology ceremony and its origins

On the morning of 16 November 2009, Australian Prime Minister Kevin Rudd of the Labor Party issued an apology at Parliament House in Canberra to the Forgotten Australians and former child migrants. Rather than addressing parliamentarians in the nation's parliament, Rudd made his address in the presence of invited survivors of child maltreatment. The location, in the nation's capital, underlined the fact that this apology was addressing historic failures of the Federal Government, galvanising, in the words of Michael Murphy, the government's 'intentions to seek reconciliation'.¹³⁰ However, this strategy was somewhat tempered by the limited number of people who were invited. Approximately 900 people were in attendance for the ceremony, including survivors of institutional child abuse, along with politicians and charity workers who supported their campaigns for historic redress.¹³¹ This represented only a small fraction of the victims in question, with approximately 500,000 Australian-born children having experienced institutional care during the twentieth century, as well as the approximately 7,000 British children who were forcibly relocated to Australia between 1913 to 1970.¹³² However, the ceremony was

¹³⁰ Murphy, 'Apology, Recognition, and Reconciliation', 51.

¹³¹ Sabra Lane, 'National apology for Forgotten Australians.' *ABC News*, 19 November 2009. Available online: <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2009-11-16/national-apology-for-forgotten-australians/1143490>.

¹³² Commonwealth of Australia, *Lost Innocents*, 263.

broadcast both nationally and internationally, being streamed online via ABC News and aired on Australian public television through the channel ABC1.¹³³

Figure 2 – Kevin Rudd issuing the apology to the Forgotten Australians and Former Child Migrants, Canberra, 16 November 2009.



Source: Australian National Maritime Museum, *Reflecting on the child migrant apology (2019)*. Available online: <http://www.sea.museum/2019/11/16/reflecting-on-the-child-migrant-apology> [Accessed 22/03/2022].

This decision to allow the general public to view the ceremony, as represented in Figure 2, reflected a clear understanding that the issue in question was a transnational one. Although the apology was being issued on behalf of the Australian Federal Government, the global visibility of this official apology served to

¹³³ Lane, 'National apology'.

highlight the duty of other nations, namely the UK, Ireland and Malta, to accept responsibility for their role in the forced removal and maltreatment of child migrants over such a sustained period of time. Moreover, a substantial number of child migrants, their families, and representatives were situated across the world. The live broadcast of the apology enabled those who were unable to attend the ceremony to receive recognition of their suffering, yet without the logistical challenges and potential added trauma associated with gathering all of the attendees in the Australian capital.

The delivery of the apology represented the culmination of an era in which the Australian Federal Government sought to reconcile the historic mistreatment of children living in care. Cuthbert and Quartly explain that the Australian Federal Government's involvement in reconciling the historic practice of indigenous child removal suffered by the nation's Stolen Generations facilitated the offering of later redress measures to formerly institutionalised children from non-indigenous backgrounds.¹³⁴ They further argue that this decision for the Australian Federal Government to specifically seek forgiveness for indigenous child removal, as opposed to other historic injustices suffered by First Nation Australians, has seen the focus of national reconciliation shift from acknowledging the harms of settler colonialism upon First Nation Australians and further towards apologising for wrongdoings suffered by children living in institutional care settings.¹³⁵ Cuthbert and Quartly explain that the Australian Federal Government's decision for their second national apology to focus on the Forgotten Australians and former child migrants serves as evidence of this phenomenon.¹³⁶ This hypothesis is supported by the fact

¹³⁴ Cuthbert & Quartly, 'Forced Child Removal', 179.

¹³⁵ Cuthbert & Quartly, 'Forced Child Removal', 179.

¹³⁶ Cuthbert & Quartly, 'Forced Child Removal', 179.

that, as stated earlier, four out of five of the apologies offered by the Australian Federal Government have sought to reconcile the harms of children who grew up within the nation's care system, as well as the fact that the Australian Senate inquiry into indigenous child removal proved to be the first of a series of investigations concerning historic failures of institutional childcare, all of which were published near the turn of the new millennium.

The first milestone moment in this period was the establishment of the *Bringing Them Home* report in 1995. This national inquiry into the injustices faced by Australia's Stolen Generations was published in 1997, and its recommendations included funding for advocacy groups and support in tracing families, direct reparations for victims of indigenous child removal, in addition to an apology by the Federal Government.¹³⁷ Federal apologies, among other measures, were also recommended in later reports into the suffering of child migrants and the Forgotten Australians in 2001 and 2004 respectively. The former report regarding child migrant schemes, entitled *Lost Innocents*, built upon the UKHSC's report into the subject three years prior by aiming to create a clear understanding of the abuses suffered by child migrants and the ways in which the Federal Government should redress these wrongdoings.¹³⁸ The Australian Senate Welfare Committee received 99 anonymous submissions of testimony, as well as over 150 offers to give evidence in a public setting.¹³⁹ The majority of participants in the resulting hearings before the committee were former child migrants who had resided in institutions across Australia, with other contributions coming from the CMT, Australian MPs, academics, and charities that had been involved in these programmes.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁷ Wilson & Dodson, *Bringing them Home*, 245.

¹³⁸ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 1.

¹³⁹ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 5.

¹⁴⁰ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 245.

Lost Innocents was the first Australian report to focus on the national scale of child migrant exploitation. Frequent references were made throughout the report about the need for charities, state governments and the national governments of Australia and the UK to share responsibility for the wrongdoings in question.¹⁴¹ However, the committee noted that the Australian Federal Government aided in designing these schemes and were the legal guardian of these children from their arrival until they entered adulthood, despite their care being provided by state and philanthropic agencies.¹⁴² It evidenced how the Australian Federal Government was ultimately responsible for the failure to protect these children from institutional abuse, forced labour, and a loss of personal identity, in addition to the long-term psychological harms that resulted from these failures.¹⁴³ For some child migrants, this investigation was the first opportunity for their voices to be heard in an official capacity, and these testimonies had a vital role in the outcomes of the resulting report. For example, the conclusion of the report's fourth chapter went to great lengths to explain the sexual and physical abuse of child migrants which had been outlined within this testimony had always been forbidden under Australian Federal law, meaning that this maltreatment could never be justified.¹⁴⁴ The committee therefore outlined the need for the Australian Federal Government to offer historic redress:

'It has been argued that the care and treatment of migrant children needs to be understood within the context of prevailing norms about childhood and children. The Committee discounts this argument and considers that the many

¹⁴¹ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 121.

¹⁴² Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, i.

¹⁴³ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 105.

¹⁴⁴ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 105.

accounts it received of excessive and unwarranted assault and sexual abuse go way beyond anything that could conceivably be argued as normal for the time. Such actions were illegal then and they are illegal now.¹⁴⁵

As Michael Murphy has argued, a common objection to apologies for past injustices is that the actions in question were well-intentioned by the standards of the time.¹⁴⁶ According to Murphy, it was for this very reason that the Howard administration refused, in 1998, to offer a federal apology to First Nation Australians for historic ills to which they had been subjected since the beginning of European settlement in the Antipodes.¹⁴⁷ In response to this, Murphy stated that recent injustices in this area were in fact deemed immoral at the time due to their being in violation of the 1948 United Nations Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide.¹⁴⁸ He further dismissed this wider critique by stating that to simply call past injustices products of their time set a dangerous precedent for excusing the very worst actions perpetrated throughout history.¹⁴⁹ The above passage from *Lost Innocents* underlines that the intensions behind these schemes, particularly the maltreatment of British children in Australian care, were poorly-intentioned, violating any historic legal precedents concerning the treatment of children and making the case for an unreserved apology to former child migrants.

Lost Innocents included thirty-three recommendations concerning how to repair historic wrongdoings, the majority of which centred on the notion that the Australian Federal Government ought to be the primary agent of reconciliation. As

¹⁴⁵ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 105.

¹⁴⁶ Murphy, 'Apology, Recognition, and Reconciliation', 58.

¹⁴⁷ Murphy, 'Apology, Recognition, and Reconciliation', 58.

¹⁴⁸ Murphy, 'Apology, Recognition, and Reconciliation', 58.

¹⁴⁹ Murphy, 'Apology, Recognition, and Reconciliation', 59.

well as obligations to provide funding for advocacy groups, family reunions, and counselling services, the report concluded that it was of vital importance that the Federal Government admit their wrongdoings and apologise for the abuses inflicted upon child migrants:

‘Recommendation 30: That the Commonwealth Government issue a formal statement acknowledging that its predecessors’ promotion of the Child Migration schemes, that resulted in the removal of so many British and Maltese children to Australia, was wrong.’

Gibney and Roxstrom have argued that a decision to apologise can create a significant power imbalance in which the aggressor, rather than the victims, dictates the reconciliation agenda, and the way in which this apology came about can be seen as evidence of this phenomenon.¹⁵⁰ Although former child migrants and their advocates played a significant role within the creation of *Lost Innocents* and deemed an apology to be necessary, it was still ultimately the decision of the Australian Senate to state that the Federal Government should say sorry for these wrongdoings. This further extended to the proposed manner in which such a statement ought to be delivered, as well as the specific injustices that the apology sought to highlight and act upon.

The implementation of this recommendation finally came to fruition eight years later in November 2009. This was due to previous Prime Minister John Howard’s continued refusal to apologise to any children who had been victims of institutional maltreatment during the twentieth century. Two years prior to the publication of

¹⁵⁰ Gibney & Roxstrom, ‘The Status of State Apologies’, 935.

Bringing Them Home, Kevin Rudd's predecessor issued a statement of regret addressed to the Australian parliament concerning the historic mistreatment of First Nation Australians and sought to have their contributions to the country formally recognised.¹⁵¹ Despite also publicly acknowledging the suffering of non-indigenous former wards of state, Michael Jones and Cate O'Neill note that Howard stopped short of formally apologising to all three of these groups, stating that it was not the responsibility of the present-day government to accept wrongdoings perpetrated by historic agents.¹⁵² However, prior to the 2007 Federal election, Kevin Rudd and the opposition Labor Party made a manifesto pledge to formally apologise to the Stolen Generations. While this did not officially extend to other wards of state, a new emphasis on repairing past wrongs was evident in their National Platform and Constitution; 'Labor values the symbolic importance of a national apology and commits to reconciliation as a vehicle for healing and justice in Australian society.'¹⁵³

The resulting apology in 2008 and the fulfilment of one of the most prominent recommendations of *Bringing Them Home* greatly facilitated the apology that former child migrants would later receive alongside the Forgotten Australians. Seeking to repair the historic maltreatment of children in state care had been a central political aim in Australia since the mid-1990s, and Cuthbert and Quartly have noted that the apology's focus on childhood innocence and institutional maltreatment suffering, rather than this episode simply being an example of discrimination against First Nation Australians, galvanised the claims that non-indigenous former state wards had regarding a need for their own apology.¹⁵⁴ Indeed, the importance of the

¹⁵¹ Political Apologies Across Cultures, *Dashboard*.

¹⁵² Jones & O'Neill, 'Identity, records and archival evidence', 114.

¹⁵³ Parliament of Australia, *Australian Labor Party national platform and constitution 2007*. Available online: [https://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/search/display/display.w3p;query=Id per cent3A per cent22library per cent2Fparty pol per cent2F1024541 per cent22;src1=sm1](https://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/search/display/display.w3p;query=Id%20per%20cent3A%20per%20cent22library%20per%20cent2Fparty%20per%20cent2F1024541%20per%20cent22;src1=sm1) [Accessed 17/03/2022].

¹⁵⁴ Cuthbert & Quartly, 'Forced Child Removal', 191.

Australian Federal Government's apology for indigenous child removal was not lost on the CMT. When submitting evidence to the follow-up inquiry into the maltreatment of non-indigenous former wards of state in 2009, the organisation explained how many British child migrants approved of the apology to the Stolen Generations, and wished for any apology they received to have the same level of sincerity.¹⁵⁵ The organisation further saw this as a significant turning point for how national governments reconcile with past wrongdoings. They stated:

'Many Former Child Migrants were very impressed with the Prime Minister's historic apology in 2008 to the Stolen Generations. This was viewed as a positive example of a full and generous apology with its much more appropriate tone and content.'¹⁵⁶

It is important to highlight that unlike the Stolen Generations, former child migrants and Forgotten Australians did not receive their own separate apologies. Cuthbert and Quartly have made a compelling case concerning the role of the Australian Federal Government's apology for indigenous child removal in enabling non-indigenous former state wards to receive an equivalent acknowledgement, in addition to how the latter apology marked a profound shift in the focus of national reconciliation.¹⁵⁷ However, the decision of Cuthbert and Quartly to refer to the Forgotten Australians and former child migrants as a homogenous group of non-indigenous care leavers throughout their article is a significant oversight on the part

¹⁵⁵ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents and Forgotten Australians Revisited: Report on the progress with the implementation of the recommendations of the Lost Innocents and Forgotten Australians Reports* (Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia, 2001), 31.

¹⁵⁶ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents and Forgotten Australians Revisited*, 31.

¹⁵⁷ Cuthbert & Quartly, 'Forced Child Removal', 178-202.

of these scholars.¹⁵⁸ While these care-leavers were in receipt of a joint apology and this chapter utilises the term ‘non-indigenous former wards of the Australian state’ in recognition of this fact, the Forgotten Australians and former child migrants must be considered as distinct groups who suffered differently as a result of their respective experiences of the care system, as is explained in the following paragraph. Prior to the issuing of the follow-up report into the suffering of non-indigenous former state wards entitled *Lost Innocents and Forgotten Australians Revisited* in the year 2009, the redress campaigns relating to these two groups had been entirely distinct from one another. In the case of former child migrants, they had been the subject of two national inquiries, namely the UKHSC’s Third Report (1998) and the Australian Senate inquiry *Lost Innocents* (2001), and organisations such as the CMT had long campaigned specifically on behalf of British-born former wards of the Australian state. Although it is unclear why exactly the Australian Federal Government decided to offer a joint apology, the Forgotten Australians and former child migrants should be thought of as distinct demographics of formerly institutionalised Australian children. This gap in scholarship of Cuthbert and Quartly is something that the rest of this chapter seeks to address.

Although the resulting joint apology identified the different historic wrongs experienced by both groups, the core message of the apology was that the Australian Federal Government failed to protect all of the children in question from institutional abuse. Kevin Rudd briefly acknowledged that child migrants suffered the additional trauma of being used as forced labour, as well as being removed from their families and country of birth under false pretences, with many remembering the

¹⁵⁸ Cuthbert & Quartly, ‘Forced Child Removal’, 178-202.

agony of familial separation in both the UK and Australia.¹⁵⁹ However, as the following statement at the beginning of the speech underlines, the apology's central concern was with governmental neglect and maltreatment of non-indigenous children in care:

'Sorry - that as children you were taken from your families and placed in institutions where so often you were abused.

Sorry - for the physical suffering, the emotional starvation and the cold absence of love, of tenderness, of care.

Sorry - for the tragedy, the absolute tragedy, of childhoods lost, - childhoods spent instead in austere and authoritarian places, where names were replaced by numbers, spontaneous play by regimented routine, the joy of learning by the repetitive drudgery of menial work.

Sorry - for all these injustices to you, as children, who were placed in our care.

As a nation, we must now reflect on those who did not receive proper care.'¹⁶⁰

Overarching themes

The language used in Kevin Rudd's speech in 2009 can be broken down into three distinct categories, namely pain, isolation, and failure. These linguistic themes helped to place the injustices inflicted upon former child migrants and the Forgotten Australians within wider contexts of institutional neglect, as well as exploring how these harms have impacted their adult lives. The successes of this apology in placing these wrongdoings within a broader historical background satisfies one of the

¹⁵⁹ Government of Australia, *Apology to the Forgotten Australians and former child migrants*.

¹⁶⁰ Government of Australia, *Apology to the Forgotten Australians and former child migrants*.

overarching criteria of what makes a successful apology outlined by Gibney and Roxstrom, something that the authors have argued that many previous political apologies have failed to do.¹⁶¹ It is, however, important to note that this came at the expense of a sustained critique of the failures to care for former child migrants, with references to their suffering appearing in brief digressions throughout the speech. In relation to the first category, the word 'pain' was used eleven times throughout the approximately 25-minute-long speech, the phrases 'suffered' or 'suffering' appeared on eight occasions, and the speech made nine references to the physical violence endured by these children. While the principal focus of this rhetorical strategy was to underline the physical suffering endured by former state wards during their time in care, Rudd also utilised the notion of pain as a means of exploring the psychiatric harms caused by institutional child maltreatment, as well as the emotional hardships endured by the families whose children were taken away. Furthermore, Rudd hoped that the apology would serve to heal the injustices inflicted upon all of the children in question, wrongdoings that the Australian Federal Government failed to rectify across many decades.

The introduction of the apology built upon early findings in *Lost Innocents* by explaining that children were forcibly removed from their families and subjected to physical, sexual, and emotional abuse, stating that this maltreatment was compounded by institutions devoid of love and support.¹⁶² This speech went into greater detail about how this maltreatment was violent and humiliating for the children involved, impacting upon their emotional development and leaving them ill-prepared for adult life.¹⁶³ Rudd also briefly acknowledged the emotional pain

¹⁶¹ Gibney & Roxstrom, 'The Status of State Apologies', 933.

¹⁶² Government of Australia, *Apology to the Forgotten Australians and former child migrants*.

¹⁶³ Government of Australia, *Apology to the Forgotten Australians and former child migrants*.

endured by child migrants specifically, with their deportation from the UK leading to a loss of personal identity, being vulnerable to exploitation, and meaning that many would never see their biological families again.

'We acknowledge the particular pain of children shipped to Australia as child migrants - robbed of your families, robbed of your homeland, regarded not as innocent children but regarded instead as a source of child labour. To those of you who were told you were orphans, brought here without your parents' knowledge or consent, we acknowledge the lies you were told, the lies told to your mothers and fathers, and the pain these lies have caused for a lifetime.'¹⁶⁴

Rudd also noted that this pain, endured by all former state wards, was deeply personal and difficult to fully understand. Personal stories of childhood suffering were used throughout the apology as a means of exploring this theme, symbolising what it was like for these children to be raised in institutions devoid of love and support, in addition to highlighting the reasons why these painful experiences continue to resonate with former child migrants long into adulthood. The pain experienced by child migrants was ongoing, meaning that an apology could, in principle, go some way to addressing many of the present-day implications of historic child maltreatment. Rudd wished for the apology to go some way to repairing the damage that was inflicted, despite not being able to fully understand their individual suffering:

¹⁶⁴ Government of Australia, *Apology to the Forgotten Australians and former child migrants*.

‘We recognise the pain you have suffered. Pain is so very, very personal. Pain is so profoundly disabling. So, let us together, as a nation, allow this apology to begin to heal this pain. Healing the pain felt by so many of the half a million of our fellow Australians who were children in care - children in our care.’¹⁶⁵

A second key theme that was raised by Rudd’s speech was that of isolation, developed using language relating to family. Large parts of the apology were deliberately constructed around the importance of family in nurturing children throughout their lives, something that all of these children noticeably lacked when compared to the dehumanising treatment to which many were subjected. All of the recipients of the apology had been separated from their birth families during their childhood, and the apology further alluded to the fact that this experience was acutely felt by British child migrants. They had been separated from their parents in their countries of birth, in many cases permanently, and child migrants who travelled with siblings were often placed in different institutions, thereby suffering dual familial estrangement.

The feeling of never truly knowing one’s family was a painful experience for these children. This sensation resulted in many being denied an adequate support network throughout their lives, and also led to feelings of isolation that remained with child migrants long into adulthood. The word ‘alone’ was utilised a total of eight times throughout the speech, with frequent references made to how these children were left unprotected by their institutions, in addition to the harms of growing up without parents or siblings.¹⁶⁶ It was stated that the maltreatment of these children led to

¹⁶⁵ Government of Australia, *Apology to the Forgotten Australians and former child migrants*.

¹⁶⁶ Government of Australia, *Apology to the Forgotten Australians and former child migrants*.

many being abandoned and malnourished, with no-one around in these institutions willing to help them.¹⁶⁷ By the time that these children left institutions, the inability to properly nurture, educate and protect these children left many illiterate, unable to care for themselves and without the support of family or their peers.¹⁶⁸ This overall feeling of loneliness experienced by child migrants is built upon through the personal testimonies that appear throughout the apology. Although these recollections are not used as a means of understanding the specific failures of the Australian Federal Government, they have served to recognised that these children suffered as a result of child migration policies, with Rudd adding that they are survivors rather than victims.

Child migrants including Gus knew what it was like to never see their parents again after entering the care system. Prior to issuing this apology, the Australian Prime Minister had spoken on the phone with Gus, a child born out of wedlock who had been sent to Queensland from Ireland during the 1950s at the approximate age of five.¹⁶⁹ The removal of these children from their parents, coupled with the experience that many had of never meeting their birth families, is depicted as a shameful and deplorable act that had long-lasting consequences for all involved in this process. Gus' mother had emigrated to the United States and though he succeeded in tracing her in the late 1990s, it was only to find out that she had passed away.¹⁷⁰ Rudd further explained that Gus' removal from his birth mother and a lack of protection in his Australian institution contributed to him suffering sexual and physical abuse, psychological trauma, and being deprived of the education that

¹⁶⁷ Government of Australia, *Apology to the Forgotten Australians and former child migrants*.

¹⁶⁸ Government of Australia, *Apology to the Forgotten Australians and former child migrants*.

¹⁶⁹ Government of Australia, *Apology to the Forgotten Australians and former child migrants*.

¹⁷⁰ Government of Australia, *Apology to the Forgotten Australians and former child migrants*.

he was promised.¹⁷¹ All of this, it was said, directly led to Gus having multiple spells within the Australian prison system.¹⁷²

The utilisation of Gus' life story within the apology raises several critical points concerning the importance of family and the dangers of childhood isolation. For Gus and many other child migrants, separation from their parents and siblings by thousands of miles meant that they were completely unprotected from institutional abuse. Parents and siblings were often unable to make contact with their forcibly emigrated children, and a significant number of families would never be reunited. The fact that child migrants were denied any kind of family life led directly to feelings of isolation and loneliness, as well as contributing to a loss of personal identity, maltreatment, psychiatric disorders, and addictions throughout their lives. The apology explained that family of any kind is deemed to be of paramount importance, and Kevin Rudd reflected upon the injustice of child migrant families never being reunited:

'We think also today of all the families of these Forgotten Australians and former child migrants who are still grieving, families who were never reunited, families who were never reconciled, families who were lost to one another forever.'¹⁷³

Themes of isolation appeared frequently throughout the apology. Attempts to remedy these experiences involved the creation of a new family tracing service and extended funding for charities involved in this process. The exact details of what this

¹⁷¹ Government of Australia, *Apology to the Forgotten Australians and former child migrants*.

¹⁷² Government of Australia, *Apology to the Forgotten Australians and former child migrants*.

¹⁷³ Government of Australia, *Apology to the Forgotten Australians and former child migrants*.

involved is explored further in the following subsection. For now, it is important to draw attention to the concluding line of the apology, which used the concept of family in a different way. This notion was deployed as an inclusive rhetorical device to highlight how the speech wished to reunite these children with their other family, the nation of Australia: “And today let us now go forward together, go forward with confidence, go forward with confidence into the future - as equal, as valued and as precious members of this one great family that we call Australia.”¹⁷⁴

This concluding remark can be perceived as an example of what Michael Murphy has called ‘moral leadership’, namely it explained that it was the duty of the Federal Government to help heal these wounds of the past while calling upon the wider population to aid the survivors in becoming valued members of society.¹⁷⁵ This statement wished to underline that these children are no longer alone and that their country is offering them the support that they deserve. They are no longer forgotten and neglected, but instead made to feel that they are valued Australian citizens. Society can never fully replace family, nor cannot undo the mistakes of the past, but it can recognise the suffering of child migrants and offer them some degree of support that they were deprived of throughout their lives.

A final linguistic theme of note in this apology is that of failure. The use of this type of language enabled Kevin Rudd, speaking on behalf of the Australian Federal Government, to take ownership of the wrongdoings in question, as well as explaining that the abuse of children in care was a phenomenon worthy of national regret. Having established the pain and isolation that plagued the lives of child migrants and Forgotten Australians, it is important to establish how Kevin Rudd framed these

¹⁷⁴ Government of Australia, *Apology to the Forgotten Australians and former child migrants*.

¹⁷⁵ Murphy, ‘Apology, Recognition, and Reconciliation’, 60.

experiences as being a symptom of governmental and institutional neglect. For example, the beginning of the speech explained the institutional and governmental failures to care for children and shield them from maltreatment, with the children in question being referred to as “the powerless, the voiceless, and the most vulnerable”.¹⁷⁶ After explaining that the suffering of child migrants and the Forgotten Australians was at least in part caused by failures of the Federal Government, Rudd declared that it is the responsibility of present and future governments to never allow these same failures to be repeated:

‘And let us also resolve this day that this national apology becomes a turning point in our nation's story.

A turning point for shattered lives.

A turning point for governments at all levels and of every political hue and colour to do all in our power to never let this happen again.

For the protection of children is the sacred duty of us all.

This is the motion that later this day this Government will commend to the Parliament of Australia.’¹⁷⁷

This passage not only reflected the sanctity of the duty to safeguard children, but also utilised inclusive language. The use of the latter rhetorical device indicated that the historic maltreatment of children was a national failure, and the resulting apology was being issued by the Australian Federal Government on behalf of the country. Furthermore, it galvanised the fact that while many of these children were

¹⁷⁶ Government of Australia, *Apology to the Forgotten Australians and former child migrants*.

¹⁷⁷ Government of Australia, *Apology to the Forgotten Australians and former child migrants*.

being looked after by charities and state institutions, British child migrants were legally under the protection of the Australian Federal Government. Any lapses in their care were ultimately their responsibility. The inclusive nature of the language used to describe these failures was of particular importance to the child migrants who were in attendance. Despite being born in the UK, Ireland and Malta, child migrants are described as being Australian nationals and the apology took full responsibility for the maltreatment of these children. They were not described as being British, but instead as wards of the state in the same vein as the Forgotten Australians: “Let us, therefore today in this Great Hall of this great Australian Parliament, seize this day and see this national apology to our Forgotten Australians and our Child Migrants as a turning point for the future.”¹⁷⁸

Moreover, the apology explored how many of the Forgotten Australians and former child migrants have lived fulfilling lives despite the failures of care to which they were subjected. Kevin Rudd referred to the children he interviewed as being fighters and survivors, with many raising families of their own and gaining professional skills.¹⁷⁹ Their very survival in the face of severe abuse and their attendance of the apology ceremony was also represented as an achievement in itself. Rudd also paid tribute to child migrants and Forgotten Australians who were members of advocacy groups that had campaigned for a federal apology, including the CMT and the CLAN.¹⁸⁰ These accomplishments of child migrants and Forgotten Australians, including their role in orchestrating the apology, are contrasted with the dereliction of duty perpetuated by the Federal Government and children’s institutions. The blame for these abuses was no longer the burden of these former

¹⁷⁸ Government of Australia, *Apology to the Forgotten Australians and former child migrants*.

¹⁷⁹ Government of Australia, *Apology to the Forgotten Australians and former child migrants*.

¹⁸⁰ Government of Australia, *Apology to the Forgotten Australians and former child migrants*.

wards of the state, but instead is now depicted as a symbol of national shame and failure:

'My message to you today is that that day has finally come.

Let me also say this.

You were in no way to blame for what happened to you because it was the nation who failed you.

The institutions the nation created for your care, failed you.

To all of you here today in this Great Hall. To all of you watching around the nation.

Today is your day. Today is your special day. Today is your achievement.'¹⁸¹

If understood simply as recognition of the suffering of all non-indigenous former wards of the Australian state during the twentieth century, the apology approached the suffering of former child migrants as an additional failure of the nation's care system, thus addressing a wider historical context in which these wrongdoings occurred and satisfying a key criterion of what Gibney and Roxstrom believe to be a successful apology.¹⁸² However, if understood as an attempt to reconcile the specific maltreatments to which former child migrants were subjected, and thus as a culmination of the investigations that look place within *Lost Innocents*, the work of Gibney and Roxstrom also serves to highlight where this apology failed.¹⁸³ The decision to offer an apology to all non-indigenous former wards of the Australian state meant that the class, racial, and imperial motivations behind child

¹⁸¹ Government of Australia, *Apology to the Forgotten Australians and former child migrants*.

¹⁸² Gibney & Roxstrom, 'The Status of State Apologies', 933.

¹⁸³ Gibney & Roxstrom, 'The Status of State Apologies', 933.

migrant schemes were not addressed, nor was the role of the Australian Federal Government within the creation and execution of these programmes. The apology did not, for example, explain that the British children that were sent to Australia during the twentieth century came from predominantly working-class backgrounds, were deemed as being undesirable by the British state, and with many having had prior experience of the institutional care system in the UK prior to their deportation.¹⁸⁴ Additionally, the apology did not explain that this mass deportation of British children was greatly facilitated by the Immigration Restriction Act of 1901, a policy designed to create a populous that was ethnically homogenous and derived from White Britons.¹⁸⁵ Lastly, no references were made to Australia being a white settler colony of the British Empire, with the former nation helping to fulfil the UK's own ambition of galvanising control and influence over its overseas imperial outposts through the deportation of children who were largely from white British ethnic backgrounds, with the arrival of these children to Australia accelerating after the creation of the 1922 Empire Settlement Act.¹⁸⁶ Thus, a provision of the wider context outlining of how some 7,000 British children ended up being maltreated in Australian institutions during the twentieth century was not provided by Kevin Rudd's speech.

Resulting promises

Kevin Rudd's apology offered a wide range of redress measures to the Forgotten Australians and former child migrants. Apology scholars including Michael Murphy

¹⁸⁴ K. Paul, 'Changing Childhoods: Child Emigration since 1945', in J. Lawrence & P. Starkey (eds.), *Child Welfare and Social Action from the Nineteenth Century to the Present* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2001), 121-122.

¹⁸⁵ J. Jupp, 'From 'White Australia' to 'Part of Asia': Recent Shifts in Australian Immigration Policy towards the Region', *The International Migration Review*, 29, 1 (1995), 207-210.

¹⁸⁶ 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: University of London Press, 2021), 178-179.

have written about the importance of redress measures in galvanising the aim of rectifying and preventing the recurrence of micro-level wrongdoings that are raised in public admissions of wrongdoing.¹⁸⁷ The promises listed in the current apology built upon the recommendations of *Lost Innocents* and aimed to respond to personal stories of historic wrongdoings raised earlier in the speech. These measures sought to improve the present-day lives of institutional abuse victims, while understanding that there are still many relevant lessons to be learned from these failures. The events in question were described earlier in the apology as “an ugly chapter in our nation’s history.”¹⁸⁸ This latter passage described the need to offer these children a voice and support in the healing process as an ongoing obligation of the Federal Government. Although no direct monetary reparations were offered, nor any explicit promises made in relation to supporting former child migrants in gaining citizenship, several important promises were made to the survivors in question, thereby largely fulfilling one of Murphy’s criteria for a successful apology.

The commitments tabled by Rudd included funding for heritage projects, counselling for adult care-leavers, the establishment of *Find and Connect*, funding for advocacy groups including the CMT, and improved auditing of present-day child services. These commitments were tied to the admission that the Australian Federal Government had consistently failed to listen to testimonies pertaining to child migrant maltreatment, and failed to provide them with the support to lead flourishing lives. These measures sought to make the histories of child migrants become accepted and visible to the wider public, while helping the migrants themselves to overcome the traumas of abuse and loss of their identities as a result of their deportation. They

¹⁸⁷ Murphy, ‘Apology, Recognition, and Reconciliation’, 51.

¹⁸⁸ Government of Australia, *Apology to the Forgotten Australians and former child migrants*.

also aimed to reconcile feelings of pain, isolation, and failure that had been experienced by child migrants throughout their lives, as recognised in the apology.

The first promise of supporting heritage projects was justified on two grounds by the Australian Prime Minister. Firstly, the implementation of these projects would give a voice to former child migrants who had been routinely overlooked by successive Australian governments, with multiple calls for help in the wake of their abuse being routinely ignored.¹⁸⁹ Secondly, the recognition of the government's failure to protect these children would lead to future generations not only remembering these experiences, but also to avoid repeating the same mistakes in the future. This, Rudd stated, enabled child migrants and the entire nation of Australia to come to terms with the events in question, offering some degree of healing and catharsis to all involved:

'The Australian Government is supporting projects with both the National Library and the National Museum which will provide future generations with a solemn reminder of the past. To ensure not only that your experiences are heard, but also that they will never ever be forgotten. And in doing so we must always remember the advice of the sages - that a nation that forgets its past is condemned to relive it.'¹⁹⁰

The creation of new heritage projects can be seen as a key component of addressing the themes of pain, isolation and failure that underpinned child migrant schemes. The above quote illustrated the need to represent the pain and hardships

¹⁸⁹ Government of Australia, *Apology to the Forgotten Australians and former child migrants*.

¹⁹⁰ Government of Australia, *Apology to the Forgotten Australians and former child migrants*.

endured by all survivors of institutional abuse in Australia throughout the twentieth century, including the specific injustices inflicted upon child migrants. Moreover, this policy represented an opportunity for child migrants, who commonly experienced loneliness and were made to keep their maltreatment secret, to have their life stories shared with other survivors in a public forum. Their stories would be both believed and immortalised in a wide array of public history projects. It was further stated that the depiction of this story within the heritage sector created an obligation for the nation to learn from historic wrongdoings. The history of British child migration to Australia is underpinned by a plethora of institutional and governmental wrongdoings, and this new promise to publicly represent the child migrant story highlighted the Australian Federal Government's public declaration never to repeat their failure to protect all children, especially those living in care.

The Australian process of memorialising child migrant schemes after the national apology is to be addressed in greater detail in Chapters Three and Four. However, it is presently important to note that this promise would result in the creation of two museum exhibitions, the latter of which would be jointly hosted by Australia and the UK, in addition to an oral history project for Forgotten Australians and child migrants organised by the NLA.¹⁹¹ They would serve to give a voice to former child migrants and provide a public forum for their childhood trauma, making those present aware of the need to prevent future suffering. As is elaborated upon further in the third chapter of this thesis, earlier inquiries into the maltreatment of Australian children had recommended the implementation of reparative heritage projects. This later decision to expand the memorialisation of the child migrant scandal into public exhibitions was deemed to have a direct impact upon future

¹⁹¹ National Library of Australia, *Forgotten Australians and Former Child Migrants Oral History Project*.

policymaking in relation to child safeguarding. The announcement of this policy set the tone for promises that would emerge later in the apology.

The second promise deals directly with addressing the psychological harms created by child migrant schemes. Philip Bean and Joy Melville had previously written about the trauma experienced by child migrants once they had entered adulthood, in addition to how authorities failed to listen to stories of abuse.¹⁹² The CMT had also campaigned since their inception that support services should be provided for children who had been deported to Australia throughout the last century, stating that this would validate their experiences and aid in the process of healing.¹⁹³ Concerns had long been raised that the failure to properly listen to children when they had raised legitimate concerns about their treatment had a detrimental impact upon the psychological wellbeing of former child migrants. The second commitment, therefore, sees rectifying this issue as a matter of urgency, Rudd explained:

'The Government will identify care leavers as a special-needs group for aged-case purposes, to ensure that providers are assisted to provide care that is appropriate and responsive, and provide a range of further counselling and support services.'¹⁹⁴

This new commitment to creating specialist counselling and support services aimed to go some way to healing the psychological trauma created by institutional abuse and a loss of personal identity that was symptomatic of the child migrant experience. A failure to listen to these children when they attempted to report cases

¹⁹² Bean & Melville, *Lost Children of the Empire*, 110.

¹⁹³ Child Migrants Trust, *Campaigns*. Available online: <https://www.childmigrantstrust.com/our-work/campaigns> [Accessed 15/03/2022].

¹⁹⁴ Government of Australia, *Apology to the Forgotten Australians and former child migrants*.

of abuse throughout their lives exacerbated the emotional damage created because of migration programmes. These memories and the resulting emotional pain remained unaddressed throughout adulthood, and this was in part due to the Australian Federal Government further neglecting their duty of care towards the most vulnerable members of society. Rudd explored in depth the personal nature of their suffering and the fact that many of those in question have had to deal with severe psychological trauma without any professional support. The apology not only validated the pain that these children experienced, but also made a point of saying that they were not in any way to blame for what they had endured. These stories of childhood suffering were now being believed, and the fact that these children were now being prioritised for counselling served as recognition that their trauma was ongoing.

The third commitment was a promise to help reunite families. This measure served to address the dual separation that British child migrants in Australia experienced from both their families and their homelands, with many having been falsely told that their parents had passed away. It was not until late adulthood that migrants were given the opportunity to be reunited with their relatives who remained in the UK with the help of the CMT. Through issuing this commitment, the Australian Federal Government expressed a desire to bring an end to the loneliness that former child migrants continued to experience by helping to reunite families that had been separated for decades. The resulting measure involved a complex, interconnected system of family tracing, in addition to resources that would help child migrants and Forgotten Australians reclaim their personal identities. According to Rudd:

'Many Forgotten Australians and child migrants continue to need help in tracing their families. That is why we'll be providing a National Find and Connect Service that will provide Australia-wide coordinated family tracing and support services for care leavers to locate personal and family history files and the reunite with members of their families, where that is possible.'¹⁹⁵

The establishment of *Find and Connect* was a large undertaking that catered to the specific needs of these care leavers. As Michael Jones and Cate O'Neill have explained, as of late 2014, the system contained nearly 5,000 entries relating to homes and care providers, roughly 500 legislative documents, and nearly 2,500 photographs documenting the experience of being in care.¹⁹⁶ The archivists involved in the creation of this database were mindful of ensuring that the site was as user-friendly as possible. The website would later be adapted to help those with limited computer literacy, and workshops designed to help care leavers use the resource were held nationwide.¹⁹⁷ This resource has enabled many child migrants to uncover their family histories, reunite with their lost relatives, and better understand their experiences within the Australian care system. In addition to facilitating the reclaiming of personal identities, this resource remains openly accessible on the internet, meaning that the general public are also able to better understand what it was like to grow up in Australian institutions, giving the experiences of child migrants greater prominence and credibility.

The fourth promise of the apology pledged new funding for advocacy groups that supported child migrants and Forgotten Australians, many of whom were also

¹⁹⁵ Government of Australia, *Apology to the Forgotten Australians and former child migrants*.

¹⁹⁶ Jones & O'Neill, 'Identity, records and archival evidence', 117.

¹⁹⁷ Jones & O'Neill, 'Identity, records and archival evidence', 118-120.

involved in the process of bringing families back together. Kevin Rudd gave thanks to advocacy groups including the CMT and the CLAN for supporting care leavers and campaigning for redress measures, including a federal apology.¹⁹⁸ This recognition, coupled with the understanding that the pain of institutional abuse was ongoing, meant that the work of advocacy groups would need to continue long after the apology was issued. Their work has largely revolved around responding to historic governmental failures of care, as well as reuniting families, thereby addressing the isolation that had long been acutely experienced by former child migrants. Rudd stated:

‘... to make sure you are well represented, we have provided and continue to provide funding to advocacy groups such as the Child Migrant Trust, the Alliance for Forgotten Australians and Care Leavers of Australia Network, as these organisations continue to work hard to put your concerns front and centre.’¹⁹⁹

Even after the Australian Federal Government issued their apology in 2009, advocacy groups including the CMT continued to campaign for further redress. Paying for advocacy was a commitment to the continuation of the reconciliation process, rather than being the end thereof. The work of the CMT has focused on pursuing financial redress from charity and governmental organisations, allowing child migrants to gain full birth certificates and citizenship rights, in addition to supporting further inquiries into maltreatment.²⁰⁰ The pledge to offer continued

¹⁹⁸ Government of Australia, *Apology to the Forgotten Australians and former child migrants*.

¹⁹⁹ Government of Australia, *Apology to the Forgotten Australians and former child migrants*.

²⁰⁰ Child Migrants Trust, *Campaigns*.

governmental funding of the CMT would be reciprocated in the UK apology to child migrants the following year.²⁰¹ Kevin Rudd branded the apology a turning point on several occasions throughout the speech, and he was determined that this admission of wrongdoing would not prove to be the end of the campaign for reconciliation.

Lastly, the Australian Federal Government promised to improve present-day child safeguarding policies. The apology stated that it is the responsibility of current governments to shield all children from harm and to ensure that they are given a high quality of life.²⁰² The speech also reaffirmed the fact that Australia continued to have a high number of children living in the care system, with the rate of Australian children experiencing care having risen by 115 per cent between 1998 and 2008, an increase from approximately 14,500 to 31,000.²⁰³ It further claimed that these same failures would never be repeated:

‘Finally, governments must continue to commit to the systematic auditing, inspection and quality assurance of the child protection services they administer today. Some 28,000 - 30,000 children are currently in the care of State and Territory Governments around Australia. Governments must put in place every protection possible to reduce the risk of mistreatment in the future.’²⁰⁴

²⁰¹ Government of the United Kingdom. *Apology to Former Child Migrants*.

²⁰² Government of Australia, *Apology to the Forgotten Australians and former child migrants*.

²⁰³ Australian Institute of Health and Welfare, *Number of children in care continues to increase, but incidents of abuse and neglect have fallen (2009)*. Available online: <https://www.aihw.gov.au/news-media/media-releases/2009/jan/number-of-children-in-care-continues-to-increase> [Accessed 31/05/2022].

²⁰⁴ Government of Australia, *Apology to the Forgotten Australians and former child migrants*.

The Leader of the Opposition's response

Immediately after the speech was issued, the leader of the opposition Malcolm Turnbull issued an acknowledgement of his own, offering the Liberal Party's full backing of the motion to apologise to survivors of institutional abuse. Turnbull's statement went to great lengths to separate the experiences of former child migrants from those of the Forgotten Australians.²⁰⁵ As well as more clearly distinguishing Former Child Migrants as a group in their own right, Turnbull further reassured those in attendance that they were not to blame for their maltreatment:

'You were abandoned and betrayed by governments, churches and charities. Thousands of children, some of you taken from the other end of the world, were placed in institutions with many names; orphanages, farms, training schools, jails—called 'homes' although most were as far from 'home' as one could ever imagine.'²⁰⁶

Turnbull's statement reaffirmed the duty to protect Australia's children previously outlined by Kevin Rudd by explaining that the institutions that were used to raise child migrants were entirely unsuitable. Many of the children in question had been raised in urban Britain and were deported thousands of miles away to rural Australian agricultural settlements. They had been separated from their families, homelands and cultures to be taken to locations entirely unfamiliar to them. These and other such traumatising experiences came about from the desire of successive

²⁰⁵ Parliament of Australia, *National Apology to the Forgotten Australians and former Child Migrants (2009)*. Available online:

https://parlview.aph.gov.au/mediaPlayer.php?videoID=314492&operation_mode=parlview#/3
[Accessed 01/04/2022].

²⁰⁶ Parliament of Australia, *National Apology to the Forgotten Australians and former Child Migrants*.

Australian Federal Governmental administrations to continue the White Australia policy by peopling the nation with British children at the expense of the wellbeing of former child migrants.

This decision for the Leader of the Opposition's statement to offer greater focus on the experiences of child migrants within this overall narrative of institutional abuse has two potential explanations. Firstly, the Liberal Party, founded in 1944, was traditionally more aligned with the interests of the UK than the Labor Party had been, with the former organisation affirming their loyalty to the British crown in their constitution at its first annual conference, as John R. Williams has noted.²⁰⁷ Secondly, many of the child migrants present at the ceremony had been sent to Australia after the Second World War during the years 1947 to 1970. It is important to note due to the fact that between the years 1949 to 1972, the Australian Federal Government had been led by a Liberal-National coalition and all of the nation's Prime Ministers had represented the Liberal Party.²⁰⁸ Despite previous Liberal leader John Howard's repeated refusal to apologise to British child migrants, this new opportunity for the Liberal Party to respond to Kevin Rudd's apology was a chance to reaffirm their historic and diplomatic ties with the UK. They were able to offer their own acknowledgement of the abuses inflicted upon British children while resident in Australia, as well as to acknowledge the fact that many of the wrongdoings in question occurred under a Liberal-led coalition.

The statement further acknowledged the need to offer the respect and dignity to child migrants that had been denied to them in favour of humiliation and

²⁰⁷ J. R. Williams, 'The Emergence of the Liberal Party of Australia', *The Australian Quarterly*, 39, 1 (1967), 19.

²⁰⁸ Parliament of Australia, *Federal election results 1901-2010*. Available online: https://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/pubs/rp/rp1112/12rp06 [Accessed 13/05/2022].

degradation. Later parts of his speech reaffirmed that the failures in question were of the Federal Government's making and once again dedicated the apology to all of those who suffered as a result of these misguided policies. As Turnbull explained:

'To the former child migrants, who came to Australia from a home far away, led to believe this land would be a new beginning, only to find it was not a beginning, but an end, an end of innocence—we apologise and we are sorry. To the mothers who lost the maternal right to love and care for their child—we apologise, and we are sorry. To those who died, hearts broken from a life of pain and hurt, all too often in despair taking their own life—we apologise, and we are sorry. To the families whose lives have been impacted by the failure to properly protect and care for your parents, grandparents, husbands and wives, when they were just little children—we apologise and we are sorry.'²⁰⁹

Both Rudd and Turnbull explained in their respective statements that the pain caused as a result of child migrant programmes extended to the relatives of these children. The abuse and absence of love that impacted the lives of many child migrants was also a reflection of how the parents of these children suffered. The implementation of these schemes meant that many parents were denied the right to raise their own families, offering them the care and protection that they were often denied during their childhoods. Many of these parents would not live long enough to be able to take part in family reunions, causing further anguish to all parties.

²⁰⁹ Parliament of Australia, *National Apology to the Forgotten Australians and former Child Migrants*.

There are, however, two key differences between the official apology and the response from the leader of the opposition. Firstly, Turnbull extended his condolences to child migrants who had passed away before the apology was issued, with a particular focus on those who had taken their own lives. One of the overarching messages of Kevin Rudd's apology was about moving forward as a country and implementing new policies that would improve the lives of child migrants still living in Australia. Although this message was shared by Turnbull, he also dedicated a part of his speech to child migrants who were no longer alive. This decision highlighted the longevity of child migrant programmes, with many who were emigrated to Australia prior to the Second World War having passed away by 2009.

Secondly, the dedication to child migrants who had taken their own lives symbolised the enduring trauma of institutional abuse and the failure of the Federal Government to offer them the support they needed once they had reached adulthood. This notion of the endurance of trauma is further evidenced by mentioning the lives of second and third generation child migrants. While Kevin Rudd stated that child migrants raising families of their own reflected their successes in adult life, Turnbull acknowledged that the lives of these newer generations have been affected by the abuse of their elders and that the pain of child migration will always live on. Turnbull's acknowledgment went further in exploring the exact wrongs inflicted upon child migrants, as well as recognising the full scale of governmental failures. As the next section highlights, Turnbull's reply was of greater significance to many child migrants than the apology itself due to the former's greater recognition of the distinct traumas inflicted upon British-born former wards of state.

Responses from former child migrants

Although the Leader of the Opposition Malcolm Turnbull welcomed the apology, it experienced a lukewarm reception among child migrants themselves. For the child migrants who attended the ceremony, there was an overall feeling that their specific experiences had been overlooked, with some turning to Malcolm Turnbull's reply as an example of how Rudd should have addressed their concerns. Although the work of Michael Murphy has thus far drawn attention to the technical achievements of the apology, a heightened understanding of what the victims in question thought about the apology, specifically the opinions of former child migrants, serve to highlight the limitations of Kevin Rudd's speech.

The range of child migrant opinions towards the 2009 apology has also been explained in part by Suellen Murray, with the investigations into apologies found in her 2015 book "Supporting Adult Care-Leavers: International Good Practice" explaining that the perceived value of an apology can differ greatly between different survivors of institutional abuse.²¹⁰ Australia's apology to the Forgotten Australians and former child migrants was one example of this phenomenon. A significant number of those present at the ceremony deemed the apology to be an important step in helping them come to terms with their childhood suffering, while others expressed apathy towards Kevin Rudd's speech, instead favouring reparations, in addition to increased access to specialist support and family records.²¹¹ Interviews that were conducted in the years that followed by the NLA evidenced the range of opinions that former child migrants held towards the apology, in particular the extent

²¹⁰ Murray, *Supporting Adult Care-Leavers*, 65.

²¹¹ Murray, *Supporting Adult Care-Leavers*, 65.

to which they believed that this event aided in recognising and easing the trauma they had experienced throughout their lives.

Between 2009 and 2012, the NLA embarked on a new oral history project, interviewing over one hundred child migrants and Forgotten Australians about their experiences in care, in addition to their impact on their adult lives.²¹² All of the interviewees who spoke to the NLA who are referenced in this analysis attended the ceremony, and their being at this occasion had a polarising impact upon their reception of the apology. For some, it was an opportunity to have their experiences validated and to reunite with long lost friends. For others, the apology marginalised child migrants, a belief galvanised by the Leader of the Opposition's more detailed recognition of their suffering in his own reflection on Rudd's speech. The first interview took place on 17 November 2009, the day after the apology was issued, and the first interviewee was Michael Snell, a child migrant who arrived in Australia in 1950 at approximately fifteen years of age.²¹³ Snell attended the apology and pointed out that despite the well-documented suffering of child migrants and their extensive campaigns for a Federal Government apology, only 40 child migrants received an invitation to the ceremony out of 900 attendees.²¹⁴ For this reason, Snell believed that the government still wished to silence child migrants and stated his desire for a separate apology be issued recognising the distinct struggles of the British Home Children.²¹⁵

Moreover, Snell expressed disappointment in the Federal Government's commitments towards child migrants. Although he stated that financial reparations

²¹² National Library of Australia, *Forgotten Australians and Former Child Migrants Oral History Project*.

²¹³ R. Willis, *Interview with Michael Snell in the Forgotten Australians and Former Child Migrants oral history project* [Recorded conversation]. 2009.

²¹⁴ Willis, *Interview with Michael Snell*.

²¹⁵ Willis, *Interview with Michael Snell*.

would have been welcomed, his main objectives were greater recognition of the contributions of child migrants to the nation of Australia, and a pledge of providing specific care to former child migrants in old age, both of which were ultimately unmet.²¹⁶ Snell, along with many other child migrants now becoming senior citizens, remained emotionally scarred by their experience of the care system.²¹⁷ They vehemently opposed living out their final days in a retirement facility for fear of being re-institutionalised.²¹⁸

When asked by interviewer Rob Willis about the speech given by Kevin Rudd, Snell expressed his approval thereof but explained that he greatly preferred the response offered by Malcolm Turnbull. Turnbull's speech, according to Snell, focused far more on the lives of child migrants, taking particular attention to address the ways in which they suffered both in their childhoods and in their adult lives:

'To me it seemed a lot more genuine. Rudd, he [...] said a lot and he was sincere but to me went on too long, you know, and everything and everything. [...] But, I [...] honestly think that Turnbull's was a lot more to the heart, you know? And he [...] nearly had a tear.'²¹⁹

Michael Snell was not alone in believing that Malcolm Turnbull had more successfully recognised the specific injustices faced by child migrants than Kevin Rudd had done during his own apology. Dilys Budd, a child migrant born in Wales in

²¹⁶ Willis, *Interview with Michael Snell*.

²¹⁷ Willis, *Interview with Michael Snell*.

²¹⁸ Willis, *Interview with Michael Snell*.

²¹⁹ Willis, *Interview with Michael Snell*.

1936 and who was emigrated to Western Australia at the age of eleven, believed that Turnbull's acknowledgement of the apology overshadowed the apology itself.²²⁰ She was interviewed by Ann-Mari Jordens on 9 March 2010, some four months after the Australian Federal Government's apology was issued.²²¹ Like Snell, Budd expressed moderate support for the apology but offered greater backing to the statement issued by the leader of the opposition, as Turnbull's childhood experiences resonated far more with the suffering of child migrants. Budd further added that the ceremony was an opportunity to reunite with friends she had made during her time in care:

'[Malcolm] Turnbull cried [...] at the apology and then I found out that [...] his mother left when he was about seven or something. So [...] I think he could relate. [...] But I thought his speech actually was better than Rudd's. It was more emotional, it was from the heart.'²²²

However, other child migrants who took part in the project gave a more positive review of the apology. When interviewed in 2012, Oliver Cosgrove stated that he enjoyed witnessing Kevin Rudd's speech and said that the apology was necessary, well thought-out, and worthwhile.²²³ According to Cosgrove, many previous apologies addressed to child migrants from charities and Australian state

²²⁰ A-M. Jordens, *Interview with Dilys Budd in the Forgotten Australians and Former Child Migrants oral history project* [Recorded conversation]. 2010.

²²¹ Jordens, *Interview with Dilys Budd*.

²²² Jordens, *Interview with Dilys Budd*.

²²³ C. Choo, *Interview with Oliver Cosgrove in the Forgotten Australians and Former Child Migrants oral history project* [Recorded conversation]. 2012.

governments represented what he referred to as “cheap reconciliation.”²²⁴ He cited the apology given by the Congregation of Christian Brothers of Western Australia in 1993 as an example of how other apologies sought to downplay many of the accusations of institutional abuse and only offered limited recognition of the pain inflicted upon child migrants.²²⁵ According to Cosgrove, Kevin Rudd’s apology stood out due to the Prime Minister’s authenticity and honesty, in addition to not excusing or qualifying any of the historic wrongdoings that were perpetrated.²²⁶ Furthermore, two years previously, Patricia Carlson expressed how much being present at Kevin Rudd’s apology meant to her, praising the choice of words used and explaining that the ceremony was still an emotionally cathartic moment for her nearly a year on:

‘And it was one of the best things I have ever [...] seen done. It was organised so beautifully. It had people there [...] for you to cry on their shoulders. There were and I met up with people I hadn't seen for years, and [...] it was fun. [...] And, [...] that's the day I started to come down the other side of the mountain. Unfortunately, I still cry, [...] but [...] I do feel better.’²²⁷

More recent reflections on the apology highlight the disappointment felt by child migrants towards the apology. In 2019, Kim Tao of the Australian National Maritime Museum interviewed two child migrants to offer their thoughts about the reconciliation process as part of the commemoration of the tenth anniversary of the

²²⁴ Choo, *Interview with Oliver Cosgrove*.

²²⁵ Choo, *Interview with Oliver Cosgrove*.

²²⁶ Choo, *Interview with Oliver Cosgrove*.

²²⁷ S. Marsden, *Interview with Patricia Carlson in the Forgotten Australians and Former Child Migrants oral history project* [Recorded conversation]. 2010.

national apology.²²⁸ Despite the progress that had been made in the reconciliation process, including an apology being issued by the UK Government, multiple heritage projects being created in both nations and the continued reuniting of families by the CMT, the following interviewees expressed concerns regarding the legacy of the Australian Federal Government's apology ten years prior. The first interviewee was Hugh McGowan. Having been sent to Australia from Glasgow in 1961 at the age of thirteen, Hugh arrived at Dhurringile Farm in Victoria, an institution that had been banned from participating in child migrant programmes.²²⁹ His interview reflected the belief that the Federal Government had continued to ignore the suffering of child migrants:

'It left me with the view that we child migrants were attached to the apology as an afterthought. I think the Federal Government was apologising to the Australian children who were incarcerated in children's homes throughout Australia. We child migrants felt we deserved a separate, more focused apology.'²³⁰

Meanwhile, fellow Glasgow-born child migrant Yvonne Radzevicius stated that the apology she received was too impersonal in nature. However, Yvonne, who was reunited with her mother two months prior to her death in 1980, felt the apology gave her a feeling of vindication due to the Federal Government owning up to their

²²⁸ Kim Tao, *Reflecting on the child migrant apology (2020)*. Available online: <http://www.sea.museum/2019/11/16/reflecting-on-the-child-migrant-apology> [Accessed 01/04/2022].

²²⁹ Tao, *Reflecting on the child migrant apology*.

²³⁰ Tao, *Reflecting on the child migrant apology*.

dereliction of duty towards these children, an admission she had waited decades to hear:

‘While the apologies took a long time coming, I feel it would have seemed more sincere if the politicians from Britain and Australia had travelled to the former child migrants with deliverance of the apology. [...] But the admission of the wrong of the ‘scheme’ was a consolation to me after the lengthy time waiting for people to believe in our story.’²³¹

The work of Gibney and Roxstrom can help to explain that critical reactions to Kevin Rudd’s speech possessed a shared understanding of how apologies in general should recognise both injustices themselves in addition to the wider context in which they took place. Numerous interviews with child migrants found in the NLA’s oral history project expressed a more positive reception towards Malcolm Turnbull’s reflection on Kevin Rudd’s speech than the apology itself. Statements expressing this opinion have commonly explained that Malcolm Turnbull devoted more time to the experiences of British child migrants in Australia, offering particular detail about how maltreatment, forced labour and a loss of personal identity impacted upon their adult lives, in addition to the lives of their families. These interviewees further stated that while Kevin Rudd spoke comprehensively about the experiences of the Forgotten Australians and the macro-level injustice of the historic abuse of children living in state-run institutions, references to the specific injustices faced by child migrants were comparatively more fleeting. This feeling of marginalisation can also

²³¹ Tao, *Reflecting on the child migrant apology*.

be found in later interviews, with Hugh McGowan's testimony in particular addressing the need for the Australian Federal Government to offer a distinct apology to child migrants. The decision to offer a joint apology to both the Forgotten Australians and child migrants left many in the former demographic feeling neglected and overlooked, understanding how the plight of these children fitted into the wider issue of institutional exploitation without addressing in detail the full extent of the historic ills to which they were subjected.

Conclusion

In summary, the 2009 Australian Federal apology to the Forgotten Australians and former child migrants succeeded in recognising and seeking to remedy injustices perpetrated against non-indigenous former wards of the Australian state, but was far less impactful when considered as a reparative tool for the latter of these two groups. The work of Cuthbert and Quartly has aided in highlighting the importance of the Stolen Generation apology in bringing about the same level of acknowledgement for the maltreatment of non-indigenous wards of state during the twentieth century. Moreover, the use of language throughout the speech served to underline both the macro- and micro-level injustices faced by the victims in question, as well as attempting to understand what it was like to experience these hardships. The feelings of pain and isolation that emanated from familial separation was addressed from the point of view of both those who experienced institutional care as well as the families that were left behind, and the neglect of non-indigenous wards of state was deemed to be a national failure. In addition, the promises that resulted from the apology aimed to reconcile with these feelings of pain, isolation and failure by attempting to repair psychological harms and reunite families while also ensuring

that such a historic episode should never reoccur. However, despite the apology being partially addressed to former child migrants and Kevin Rudd addressing their particular injustices in small part of the speech, very little was done to delineate their experiences from those of the Forgotten Australians. This apology was a technical success in terms of addressing the maltreatment of non-indigenous wards of state, but severe limitations are evident when attempting to understand this apology as a vehicle for reconciling with the abuses inflicted specifically upon British child migrants.

However, Michael Murphy's work on apologies can explain that Kevin Rudd's speech was a sincere attempt in principle to remedy the mistakes of the past.²³² Rudd understood not only the full extent of harms inflicted upon child migrants, but also where this issue fitted into broader questions concerning the institutionalisation of children in Australia during the twentieth century. Although the specific policies that led to these historic failures were not mentioned, Rudd explained both the short and long-term suffering of child migrants. These ranged from abuse, neglect and forced labour to psychological trauma, a loss of personal identity and difficulties connecting with their lost families in later life. The apology was also coupled with a set of comprehensive redress measures designed to improve the present-day lives of child migrants living in Australia, satisfying Murphy's criteria that apologies should ensure that the historic failures in question should never be repeated.²³³

All of the measures in question, as well as the apology itself, notwithstanding sought to remedy the harms that had been experienced by all, rather than just the British-born victims within this cohort. When understood as an attempt to remedy the

²³² Murphy, 'Apology, Recognition, and Reconciliation', 51-60.

²³³ Murphy, 'Apology, Recognition, and Reconciliation', 51-60.

former issue, the lived experiences of former child migrants in both childhood and adulthood are used to explain the scale and extent of wrongdoings endured by non-indigenous former wards of the Australian state as a result of their being placed in institutional care, placing this particular issue within a wider historical context and thus meeting an overarching criterion of what Gibney and Roxstrom believe constitutes a successful political apology.²³⁴ However, when considered as an attempt to apologise for the specific wrongdoings inflicted upon former child migrants, the apology failed to explain that this the British children who suffered in Australian institutions were predominately working-class who had prior experience of the care system, and were used as part of a series of forced and racially-motivated migrations within an imperial context, thus neglecting to outline how these children ended up being vulnerable to maltreatment in the first instance.

It must also be noted that several child migrants expressed concerns about the apology. Although it was largely welcomed with many praising Kevin Rudd's choice of words, others expressed greater admiration for the reply offered by Leader of the Opposition Malcolm Turnbull. This was due to his perceived emotional reaction to the wrongdoings perpetrated and for going into greater detail about the specific experiences of child migrants. Moreover, the fact that this apology was issued to both child migrants and Forgotten Australians left many in the former demographic feeling marginalised. Child migrants represented fewer than one-twentieth of the ceremony's attendees, leading to some expressing the belief that the Australian Federal Government was continuing to play down their historic ills and

²³⁴ Gibney & Roxstrom, 'The Status of State Apologies', 933.

demands being made for a separate apology issued solely to British-born care leavers.

It is further evident that there was a difference in opinion between Kevin Rudd and former child migrants as to the purpose the apology was meant to serve. For Rudd, child migrants were part of a larger story of non-indigenous institutional child maltreatment. The apology stood as a condemnation of this much larger issue and made merely fleeting references to the dual familial estrangement suffered by child migrants, in addition to their suffering of forced labour and a loss of personal identity. Many British-born children who experienced institutional care in Australia during the twentieth century found the decision to offer a joint apology alongside the Forgotten Australians as being problematic. Significant numbers of the interviewees referenced in this analysis either wanted the apology to take a different form or expressed a desire for a second, separate apology be issued to child migrants. Former child migrants had consistently expressed their desire to receive an apology from the Australian Federal Government. However, the interviews that took place after the ceremony undercut the apology's technical accomplishments by explaining that many of the British-born victims in question felt that their experiences had been marginalised in an attempt to address a wider governmental failing.

Chapter 2: The UK Government Apology

'So I say to our sons and daughters here: welcome home. You are with friends. We will support you all your lives.'

Gordon Brown, UK Government's Apology to Former Child Migrants, 2010.²³⁵

Introduction

Following on from the analysis concerning Australia's joint apology to the Forgotten Australians and former child migrants in 2009, this chapter addresses the UK's own apology addressed to British children deported to overseas outposts throughout the twentieth century, issued in 2010. Although the apology focused a great deal of its attention on child migrants who had been forcibly sent to Australia between 1913 and 1970, Gordon Brown also addressed members of the audience who had been deported to other overseas outposts including Canada, New Zealand and Zimbabwe.²³⁶ It is important to note that unlike the Australian Federal Government's 2009 apology, the UK Government's 2010 apology, which is discussed in the following section, was addressed specifically to former child migrants. The speech did not therefore concern itself with placing child migrant schemes within a wider context of institutional maltreatment, avoiding the problematic nature of Australia's shared apology given the previous year. Although both apologies addressed the suffering of child migrants to albeit differing degrees, both apologies served fundamentally different purposes and it is therefore difficult to directly compare the

²³⁵ Government of the United Kingdom. *Apology to Former Child Migrants*.

²³⁶ Government of the United Kingdom. *Apology to Former Child Migrants*.

two. However, references to both apologies are made throughout the following analysis and this chapter focuses on what the British apology meant for child migrants in particular.

The UK Government's apology to former child migrants remains the only apology the nation has given in relation to suffering inflicted upon children.²³⁷ Unlike Australia, the concept of childhood has not played a significant role in British national reconciliation, with this particular apology being the only such acknowledgement to date issued by the UK Government concerning wrongs inflicted upon children.²³⁸ Although the theme of empire played a peripheral role in the 2010 child migrant apology, it came about in the context of British apologies relating to imperial wrongdoings. Out of the twenty-two apologies that have been offered by the UK Government between 1997 and 2021, nine have concerned historic injustices relating to British imperial rule. Notable examples relate to the Amritsar Massacre in India (apologies were issued in the years 1997, 2013 and 2019), the Boer War in South Africa (1999), an expression of regret for Britain's role within the Transatlantic Slave Trade (2006 and 2007), and the Mau Mau Uprising in Kenya (2013).²³⁹ Although the existence of child migrant schemes would not have been possible without the nation's imperial rule over Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and the former Rhodesia, Britain's apology to former child migrants first and foremost sought to reconcile with governmental failures to adequately look after these children. It is, however, another example of Britain offering an apology to citizens of another country, an act that Australia has yet to do in its own history of reconciliation.

²³⁷ Political Apologies Across Cultures, *Dashboard*.

²³⁸ Political Apologies Across Cultures, *Dashboard*.

²³⁹ Political Apologies Across Cultures, *Dashboard*.

This section begins by exploring the context of the apology ceremony and the ways in which the UK Government's apology to former child migrants differed from the earlier apology offered by the Australian Federal Government to all non-indigenous former state wards. This includes the rationale behind it, who was in attendance for the event, its location, and the extent to which the event represented a fulfilment of the recommendations set out in UKHSC's Third Report, which concerned the legacies of child migrant programmes, in addition to the wishes of MPs, many of whom were involved in its creation. Then, there is a linguistic analysis of the apology text which leads into an exploration of what the UK Government promised to do in order to improve the present-day lives of child migrants and their families, followed by an exploration of the specific promises outlined by said government as a result of this apology. The latter part of this chapter explores how this apology was received among child migrants and their advocates, in addition to the acknowledgement's later reappraisals by later British Prime Ministers and the CMT.

In a similar vein to the previous chapter, the analysis found in the second chapter of this thesis advances recent studies by Katja Uusihakala, Sanderijn Cels, and Kristen Rundle, to explore whether this apology ought to be considered a successful apology from a technical perspective, as well as the extent to which it met the needs of former child migrants. Additionally, this chapter fills a noticeable gap within the pre-existing literature by offering a sustained comparison between this apology and that offered by the Australian Federal Government to the Forgotten Australians and former child migrants, with the aim of exploring the extent to which the UK Government's apology remedied the limitations found within the ceremony led by Kevin Rudd.

The apology ceremony and its origins

On 24 February 2010, Labour Prime Minister Gordon Brown issued an apology in the British Houses of Parliament to survivors of child deportation to Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the former Rhodesia during the twentieth century.²⁴⁰ The UK Government decided to invite former child migrants to the Houses of Parliament in London, thus mirroring the Australian Federal Government's decision to host their apology in the Parliament Buildings in Canberra. Uusihakala has argued that the apology falsely labelled child migrants as 'happy home-comers' and assumed that the ceremony would enable them to reforge relationships with their families, in addition to their homelands.²⁴¹ However, to borrow once again from the work of Michael Murphy, the decision to host the apology at the hub of the UK's political system was a symbol of the gravity of the wrongdoings in question, thereby fortifying the government's 'intentions to seek reconciliation'.²⁴² This was part of a bigger decision to welcome these migrants back to their country of birth and reiterate that although the attendees were not British citizens, voters or taxpayers, they were British-born and many had spent time in the country's care system, meaning that they had therefore once been under the legal guardianship of the national government. As is also explained in the last part of this chapter, former child migrants widely praised the hospitality they received on the day of the apology while also taking symbolic value in being present for the announcement of the apology to

²⁴⁰ S. Cels, *Why Say Sorry: On the ambiguities of official apologies*. Unpublished PhD Thesis (University of Loughborough, 2015), 176.

²⁴¹ Uusihakala, 'Revising and re-voicing a silenced past', 62.

²⁴² Murphy, 'Apology, Recognition, and Reconciliation', 51.

the UK Parliament, thus highlighting a substantial divergence in the ceremonies offered by the UK and Australian Federal Governments.

In total, forty former child migrants were in attendance for the apology ceremony in London.²⁴³ It is important to note that while forty former child migrants were also in attendance for the Australian apology, this constituted a total of 900 attendees overall, highlighting a significant divergence in the emphasis placed upon the experiences of former child migrants within their respective ceremonies. The UK apology occurred after Prime Minister's Questions, during which Gordon Brown announced his intention to apologise to members of the House of Commons. This differed from the running order of the Australian Federal apology offered to non-indigenous former state wards as Kevin Rudd offered his reflections on the decision to apologise to the Australian Senate after the apology took place, rather than before. Kristen Rundle, granddaughter of child migrant Joseph John Rundle who attended the 2010 UK apology, has written both of Gordon Brown's sincerity in issuing the apology and of the event's success in uniting politicians of all affiliations together around the cause of repairing the wrongs of forced child migration.²⁴⁴ The discussions held in the House of Commons on the morning of 24 February 2010 highlighted the cross-party support given to the apology and reiterated that Members of Parliament from across the political spectrum had played a vital role in earlier governmental investigations into this subject. David Cameron, the leader of the opposition Conservative Party, gave his party's backing to this decision while also offering his condolences to child migrants and their families:

²⁴³ O. Bowcott, 'Brown apologises for Britain's 'shameful' child migrant policy', *The Guardian*. 24 February 2010. Available online: <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2010/feb/24/british-children-sent-overseas-policy>.

²⁴⁴ Rundle, 'Improbable Agents of Empire', 30.

'We on the Conservative Benches join the Prime Minister in sending our good wishes to those affected, including those in London today and those attending events in other countries. We join him also in praising campaigners such as Margaret Humphreys and the Child Migrants Trust, as well as the work of the Health Committee.'²⁴⁵

He further explained the profound emotional impact that forced child migration had for both child migrants and their families, something with which Cameron himself was attempting to come to terms:

'Anyone who studies what happened—it happened systematically and for so long—will be profoundly shocked at the splitting of families, the lies and abuse that took place, the official sanction that made it possible, and as the Prime Minister said, the heartache that it caused.'²⁴⁶

Liberal Democrat leader Nick Clegg echoed Cameron's sentiments. Clegg's reaction centred around the pain experienced by child migrants and how this historic episode should be viewed as a learning opportunity:

'Of course, I add my own voice and that of my party to the Prime Minister's apology for Britain's role in the child migrants programme. An apology—we all

²⁴⁵ UK Parliament: Hansard, *Child Migration - Volume 506: debated on Wednesday 24 February 2010*. Available online: [https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/2010-02-24/debates/1002246000003/ChildMigration?highlight=child per cent20migrants per cent20britain#contribution-10022460000175](https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/2010-02-24/debates/1002246000003/ChildMigration?highlight=child%20migrants%20per%20britain#contribution-10022460000175) [Accessed 23/02/2022].

²⁴⁶ Hansard, *Child Migration*.

know this—will never heal the extraordinary pain and hardship that was inflicted on thousands of vulnerable children and their families, but I hope today’s apology will go some way to start to atone for Britain’s record in this shameful episode in our history.’²⁴⁷

There were also positive reactions from MPs who were involved in the UKHSC’s Third Report which addressed child migration. Labour’s Kevin Barron thanked Gordon Brown for his announcement of the apology and his ongoing commitment to supporting child migrants. He also praised the role of the UKHSC for unearthing many of the abuses inflicted upon child migrants, a statement reciprocated by the Prime Minister.²⁴⁸ Robert Walter, the Conservative MP for North Dorset who spent a fortnight in the Antipodes listening to child migrant testimonies as part of the report, was rather more critical. He stated that many religious charities in Australia had issued apologies throughout the last decade and that the Australian government had apologised the year before, in addition to the fact that a motion to apologise had initially been put forward by the Health Select Committee in 1998. He did, however, see this new apology by the UK Government as an important part of the reconciliation process and a testament to the suffering of the children in question; “The apology is therefore long overdue, but none the less, it is very welcome.”²⁴⁹ Other former members of the committee, including Frank Dobson MP, Robert Syms MP, and Dr Howard Stoate MP, praised the work of the CMT in continuing to reunite families.²⁵⁰ It can therefore be observed that the apology successfully obtained multi-party support, with former members of the UKHSC in particular perceiving this event

²⁴⁷ Hansard, *Child Migration*.

²⁴⁸ Hansard, *Child Migration*.

²⁴⁹ Hansard, *Child Migration*.

²⁵⁰ Hansard, *Child Migration*.

to be a vindication of their work in helping to uncover the child migrant scandal during the 1990s.

Katja Uusihakala's research into this apology all but overlooked the links between the UK Government's 2010 speech and earlier investigations into the role of government within the process of forced child migration. It is therefore important to address the political origins of the apology campaign and understand how the CMT understood the need for a formal acknowledgment. The UKHSC's Third Report is the most vital political document in this field of investigation. It not only featured one of the first official appeals for a UK Government apology to victims of child deportation, but also highlighted the strong reluctance by said government to formally acknowledge their own wrongdoings. Referring to the previous chapter of this thesis, the 2001 Australian Senate report *Lost Innocents* had explicitly recommended that the Australian Federal Government should issue an apology to former child migrants while also explaining that the maltreatment of these children was both wrong at the time as well as in the present-day.²⁵¹ The UKHSC's report offered a drastically different opinion in this regard. The Department of Health's memorandum contained within the report explained the UK Government's position on how child migrant schemes should be understood in retrospect. The document claimed that these schemes were a product of their time and were created with the best of intentions for the children in question, while also underlining the passive role of government in facilitating these schemes:

'Child migration as a policy was, in a social climate very different from that of today, a well-intended response to the needs of deprived children. [...] The

²⁵¹ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, xviii.

migration schemes were run by respected national voluntary bodies. The schemes were sanctioned by laws passed in both the UK Parliament, and in the colonies, Dominions and countries receiving children.²⁵²

Although the apology would later explain that the creation and perpetuation of child migrant programmes represented a significant failure of government, this report published twelve years prior distances the UK Government from any accusations of wrongdoing. Despite the admission of the role of government in creating the legal frameworks that allowed child migration to happen, there was no admission that the deportees in question had been under the legal guardianship of the British state, nor that the government should be held responsible for any of the wrongdoings perpetrated. When addressing the maltreatment of the children in question, the memorandum only focused on abuses that occurred overseas, with no mention of any maltreatment that occurred in the UK prior to their deportation, further apportioning blame to other agents involved: “The abuses that occurred are, of course, a matter for the authorities of the country concerned to investigate and take appropriate action.”²⁵³ It is therefore evident that the UKHSC did not deem it necessary to apologise for any maltreatments experienced by British children who became wards of the Australian state during the twentieth century.

The memorandum provided by the CMT prior to the publication of the UKHSC report told a different story. Although it affirmed the importance of reclaiming the identities and citizenships of former child migrants, reuniting them with their lost families and allowing them access to health services, it explained how these

²⁵² Commons Select Committee, *Health – Third Report*, Memorandum by the Department of Health.

²⁵³ Commons Select Committee, *Health – Third Report*, Memorandum by the Department of Health.

migrants and their families were let down by the orchestrators of these schemes.²⁵⁴ The memorandum listed many of the abuses inflicted upon former child migrants and their families both during the operation of these schemes and the years that followed. Such maltreatments in the former category included physical, sexual and emotional abuse of child migrants, siblings being separated from one another upon arrival, child labour which resulted in poor levels of education, children being wrongly told that they had experienced the loss of both parents, and parents being unaware of their child's deportation.²⁵⁵ Governmental and philanthropic failures had further made the process of reuniting families and allowing child migrants to claim British citizenship all the more difficult, as children were given new names and dates of birth, with many denied access to a full birth certificate.²⁵⁶ While the memorandum accepted that many children sent to Australia remained loyal to their former homes and have spoken positively about their experiences, others were left ill-prepared for later life with a significant number developing addictions and psychiatric disorders in adulthood.²⁵⁷

This analysis illuminates the fact that British child migrants were failed both during their youth and long into their adult lives. Any apologies that needed to take place had to address the ongoing suffering of child migrants. Many struggled in their professional and personal lives, in addition to encountering problems with their personal and national identities, further impeding the opportunity to reunite separated families. The responsibility, according to the memorandum, was shared

²⁵⁴ Commons Select Committee, *Health – Third Report*, Memorandum by the Child Migrants Trust, Section 1.

²⁵⁵ Commons Select Committee, *Health – Third Report*, Memorandum by the Child Migrants Trust, Section 1.

²⁵⁶ Commons Select Committee, *Health – Third Report*, Memorandum by the Child Migrants Trust, Section 1.

²⁵⁷ Commons Select Committee, *Health – Third Report*, Memorandum by the Child Migrants Trust, Section 1.

between the governments and philanthropic organisations involved in child migrant programmes. The end of the CMT's memorandum listed a number of proposals for the government to consider, including funding vital health services for former child migrants, subsidised air travel to facilitate family reunions and multilateral efforts from all the governments involved in migration schemes to provide access to family records.²⁵⁸ Crucially, the document also described how clients of the trust sought formal recognition of their suffering not only in the heritage sector, but also in the form of an official apology.²⁵⁹ This was one of the first major calls for the UK Government to apologise for their involvement in child migrant schemes and highlighted the role of former child migrants themselves in seeking acknowledgement of their trauma, in addition to receiving financial and genealogical assistance. Although the publication of the UKHSC's Third Report did not directly lead to an apology being issued to former child migrants, the involvement of the CMT in the creation of this document evidences the fact that the UK Government was not forcing a specific reconciliation agenda upon victims of historic child deportation, but were instead actively involving those who had been wronged in determining whether an apology ought to be issued. A clear attempt to redress the power balance between perpetrators and victims, as well as an insurance than an apology is not forced upon those who have been wronged, are both necessary pre-conditions that apology scholars, including Mark Gibney and Eric Roxstrom, have deemed necessary for a political apology to be successful.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁸ Commons Select Committee, *Health – Third Report*, Memorandum by the Child Migrants Trust, Section 1.

²⁵⁹ Commons Select Committee, *Health – Third Report*, Memorandum by the Child Migrants Trust, Section 1.

²⁶⁰ Gibney & Roxstrom, 'The Status of State Apologies', 935.

The recommendations of the CMT's report attempted to directly repair many of the harms in question, although calls for reparations and apologies in this regard remained largely muted. The report issued seventeen specific recommendations to help former child migrants, which can be broken down into five categories: identity, psychological harms, financial aid, inquiries, and apologies. The extent to which the UKHSC report had supported redress measures differs greatly between each of these categories. For example, the report emphasised the importance of reuniting families separated by child migrant schemes. This was a pressing issue at the time of the publication of the report in the year 1998, and the UK Government announced a £1,000,000 Child Migrants' Support Fund in February of the following year in response to this.²⁶¹ Recommendations related to this need included the creation of a central database to help former child migrants to trace their lineage, a requirement for sending and receiving agencies to aid with the family tracing process and for all former child migrants to be granted help in applying for citizenship either for their country of birth or their country of residence.²⁶²

Robust recommendations were also implemented in relation to repairing the psychological harms of child migrant schemes, with the report acknowledging the trauma of family separation for both those who were sent away as well as those who remained in the UK. The report stated that when family reunions take place, all involved should have access to counselling provided by the governments and agencies of both sending and receiving nations.²⁶³ This emphasis on repairing psychological damage was galvanised by the stipulation that counselling and therapy should be provided to all former child migrants in respect to their childhood

²⁶¹ Child Migrants Trust, *Timeline*. Available online: <https://www.childmigrantstrust.com/cmt-timeline> [Accessed 21/05/2020].

²⁶² Commons Select Committee, *Health – Third Report*, para 108.

²⁶³ Commons Select Committee, *Health – Third Report*, para 103-para 106.

suffering.²⁶⁴ The recommendations of the report highlighted a divergence between the provision of redress and the acceptance of responsibility for historic injustices. There was a commitment to reuniting families and providing therapy to all those affected in part by the government's migration policies with these recommendations being understood as a matter of urgency.

Recommendations in relation to financial aid, inquiries, and apologies were less stringent. The report suggested that the UK Government should establish a Travel Fund to help with family reunions and provide former child migrants with financial support should they wish to pursue any legal claims.²⁶⁵ However, the document opposed the idea that former child migrants should receive reparations, claiming that concerns pertaining to identity had greater present importance for those who were deported from Britain to overseas outposts.²⁶⁶ Although there were vital measures in place to facilitate overseas travel and family reunions, direct financial payments were ruled out entirely at this point and the recommendations did not explore whether it should instead be the role of migration agencies to provide this type of financial assistance. There was also an appeal to the Australian Federal Government to launch thorough investigations concerning malpractice and abuse that occurred at child migrant homes.²⁶⁷ While these were important steps in the overall attempt to reconcile with historic wrongdoings, the UK Government did not oblige itself to initiate any investigations into abuses that occurred in British orphanages, nor did it seek to commence a full bilateral inquiry into the harms of child migrant schemes.

²⁶⁴ Commons Select Committee, *Health – Third Report*, para 110.

²⁶⁵ Commons Select Committee, *Health – Third Report*, para 112.

²⁶⁶ Commons Select Committee, *Health – Third Report*, para 111.

²⁶⁷ Commons Select Committee, *Health – Third Report*, para 116.

Crucially, the report demonstrated ambivalence towards the need for governments and sending agencies to issue formal apologies. There was an acknowledgement of the range of opinions expressed by former child migrants concerning the need for an apology, and the report stated that while an apology would be in order, the focus remained on reuniting families and providing counselling.²⁶⁸ The recommendation did not put a specific timetable on when an apology should be issued, nor did it state who in particular should apologise. The influence of the contemporary apology climate was evident in this report and the need for one is addressed, but at the time the UKHSC did not view it as a priority, unlike the CMT.

The decision for the UK Government to apologise for their role in child migrant schemes can be largely attributed to Australia's own decision to formally acknowledge the suffering of child migrants. Uusihakala's article did not meaningfully address the transnational nature of the apology's subject matter, nor did it explore the interactions between British and Australian national reconciliation. Doing so highlights the limited material impact of the UKHSC report in aiding the apology campaign, in addition to analysing the direct links between the acknowledgements issued by both nations for the same historic wrongdoing. The 1998 UKHSC report prompted only one parliamentary debate the following year into whether the UK government and other sending agencies should apologise for their involvement in these programmes.²⁶⁹ While Australia was beginning to reconcile with its historic maltreatment of British child migrants, as well as that of the Forgotten Australians

²⁶⁸ Commons Select Committee, *Health – Third Report*, para 118.

²⁶⁹ UK Parliament: Hansard, *British Child Migrants - Volume 331: debated on Wednesday 19 May 1999*. Available online: [https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/1999-05-19/debates/ee80debf-56a3-4de6-aef3-ed7d99b4ef21/BritishChildMigrants?highlight=child per cent20migration per cent20australia#contribution-07a3e023-ea1f-4989-b220-64a6556ffe4d](https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/1999-05-19/debates/ee80debf-56a3-4de6-aef3-ed7d99b4ef21/BritishChildMigrants?highlight=child%20migration%20per%20australia#contribution-07a3e023-ea1f-4989-b220-64a6556ffe4d) [Accessed 17/02/2022].

and the Stolen Generations, the UK only issued one official report into the former subject and the presence of the former group in political debate was all but non-existent. There was significantly less domestic public pressure on the UK government to offer redress to child migrants and the Australian Federal Government's decision to offer an apology was the main contributing factor into Britain's decision to apologise to this group.

The UK Government announced their intention to apologise to former child migrants on 15 November 2009, one day prior to Australia's apology being issued.²⁷⁰ In a statement, UK Prime Minister Gordon Brown explained that the apology was an opportunity for the victims of these schemes to be heard and for the nation to reflect on a disgraceful chapter in its history: "It is important that we take the time to listen to the voices of the survivors and victims of these misguided policies."²⁷¹ Margaret Humphreys, the head of the CMT, praised the British Prime Minister's decision, stating that the government's decision to acknowledge the suffering of child migrants would help many to overcome their childhood trauma: "This is a significant moment in the history of child migration. The recognition is vital if people are to recover."²⁷² Several child migrants also announced their approval of the UK apology. Sandra Anker, who was deported to Australia at the age of six, explained that while she was angry at the UK Government for the way she was treated during her time in care, their apology would go some way to repairing many of these wrongs.

²⁷⁰ 'Britain's child migrants to get apology', *The Sydney Morning Herald*. 15 November 2009. Available online: <https://www.smh.com.au/world/britains-child-migrants-to-get-apology-20091116-ihx2.html>.

²⁷¹ 'Britain's child migrants to get apology', *The Sydney Morning Herald*.

²⁷² P. Walker, 'Brown to apologise to care home children sent to Australia and Canada', *The Guardian*. 16 November 2009. Available online: <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2009/nov/15/apology-child-migrants-gordon-brown>.

'Why I was sent out is beyond me. I don't understand it. I was deprived of my rights as a British citizen and I feel the British Government has a lot to answer for. [...] I feel really angry about it and feel the British Government should compensate us so that we can get back to England and get to be with our families. We've suffered all our lives. For the Government of England to say sorry to us, it makes it right – even if it's late, it's better than not at all.'²⁷³

However, the decision for the UK Government to offer their apology after the Australian Federal Government upset a significant number of former child migrants and campaigners. One day prior to the issuing of the Australian Federal apology to non-indigenous former state wards, Harold Haig, a former child migrant and the secretary for the IAFCM&F, stated that due to the UK Government's decision to deport these children in the first instance, it should have been their responsibility to apologise first: 'Look, it's an absolute disgrace. [...] Gordon Brown should hang his head in shame. He is allowing the country that we were deported [to] to apologise before the country where we were born.'²⁷⁴ Margaret Humphreys, director and founder of the CMT, she echoed the same disappointment in the UK Government's decision to apologise after the Australian Federal Government: 'What about Gordon Brown?' she asks. "This is disgusting. They have abandoned us. There is a huge feeling here that we are being abandoned by Gordon Brown.'²⁷⁵

It is important to note that Gordon Brown himself has repeatedly denied that the UK's decision to apologise to former child migrants was simply a response to

²⁷³ 'Apology at last for Britain's child migrants', *The Herald*. 15 November 2009. Available online: https://www.heraldsotland.com/default_content/12608631.apology-last-britains-child-migrants/.

²⁷⁴ N. Bryant, 'Ordeal of Australia's child migrants', *BBC News*, 15 November 2009. Available online: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/asia-pacific/8360150.stm>.

²⁷⁵ Bryant, 'Ordeal'.

Australia's own apology motion. As recently as 2017, when giving evidence before IICSA, Gordon Brown stated that he, in his previous role as Chancellor of the Exchequer, was not involved in the UK Government's decision not to offer an apology in the wake of the publication of the UKHSC's Third Report.²⁷⁶ Brown added that the decision to offer an apology could be traced back to a March 2008 meeting with Kevin Barron MP, who had served on the UKHSC during the creation of their Third Report, followed by correspondence with Australian Prime Minister Kevin Rudd the next month.²⁷⁷ According to Brown, he was appalled to hear what child migrants had suffered through, and these discussions inspired him to look into whether an apology would be a feasible means of addressing these wrongdoings. When asked specifically about the links between the Australian and British apologies, Brown accepted that the timing of the former apology influenced the announcement of the latter, he reiterated that the decision to apologise to child migrants in principle had been made some time before this:

'Our decision to apologise was taken before 16 November, 2009 and was not in response to the Australian announcement. We had been considering the decision for some time within Government, although it's correct that the timing of the decision was influenced, in part, by events in Australia of that year.'²⁷⁸

While it is certainly the case that the idea of a British apology to former child migrants had been in the pipeline for many years prior to its being issued, it is difficult to refute the influence of the Australian Federal Government in helping it

²⁷⁶ Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Abuse, *Witness Statement by the Right Honourable Dr Gordon Brown*. (London: Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Abuse, 2017), 2.

²⁷⁷ IICSA, *Witness Statement by Gordon Brown*, 4.

²⁷⁸ IICSA, *Witness Statement by Gordon Brown*, 6.

come to fruition. It is evident that there had been considerable interaction between Kevin Rudd and Gordon Brown in the build-up to both apologies, with both leaders being aware of the transnational nature of the issues in question. Although Gordon Brown had begun looking into the feasibility of an apology within the first year of his premiership, its timing left some child migrants suspicious that it was made simply to reciprocate the decision made by his Australian counterpart. Although this was not necessarily the case, given the work that had gone into researching the suffering of child migrants by the UK Government, the UK Prime Minister still allowed the receiving nation of child migrants to apologise before the country in which these children had been born. Although the apology was largely welcomed in principle, its timing irked many child migrant advocates.

Figure 3 – Gordon Brown issuing the apology to Former Child Migrants, London, 24 February 2010.



Source: Downing Street via YouTube, *Child Migrant Apology* (2010). Available online: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4MEXAdmEmIM> [Accessed 24/06/2022].

Brown further stated at the IICSA hearings that it was primarily an attempt to address the fact that successive UK Governments had both forced children to leave the country and actively supported child migrant programmes.²⁷⁹ Brown added that he sought to offer a public platform to the testimonies of the victims in question while referencing the abuses they had to endure, although these were secondary aims of the apology.²⁸⁰ Brown further admitted that he was not fully aware of the extent of the sexual abuse inflicted upon child migrants until many years later, after he met with the CMT while no longer in office.²⁸¹ Nevertheless, Brown wished to embed the work of the CMT and other advocacy groups into the apology, having allowed the former organisation to play an active role in drafting the text.²⁸² It can be observed that the overarching aim of the apology was to address successive failures of government in protecting their children, instead handing over their duty of care and allowing them to be mistreated while overseas. The UK Prime Minister's desire to understand child migrant schemes primarily as a failure of government is evidenced from an earlier section of the apology speech, as represented in Figure 3:

'A few years ago and again today, I listened in pain to the appalling experiences that I was being told about. [...] I was troubled then, as I am saddened now, at the number of childhoods that were destroyed. But no one can fail to be touched by the terrible human suffering that sprang from the

²⁷⁹ IICSA, *Witness Statement by Gordon Brown*, 6.

²⁸⁰ IICSA, *Witness Statement by Gordon Brown*, 7.

²⁸¹ IICSA, *Witness Statement by Gordon Brown*, 7.

²⁸² Bowcott, *Brown apologises*.

misguided child-migrant schemes and the mistakes that were made by successive United Kingdom governments.²⁸³

It can therefore be seen that the UK apology had a more specific focus than that of the Australian apology. While Rudd's speech in 2009 viewed former child migrants as part of a broader history of governmental neglect in the form of institutional abuse, Brown's speech accepted similar wrongdoings while solely addressing this specific group. The UK apology was, primarily, an apology for how the British Government allowed thousands of their own children to be deported and later maltreated overseas. The question of maltreatment itself was therefore not the principal focus of this speech. The British ceremony had been over a decade in the making and had not initially been viewed as being an integral part of national reconciliation, but it served to fulfil the recommendations of both the UKHSC's Third Report, as well as the CMT. While Uusihakala is correct in her stance that the apology did not scrutinise the imperial underpinnings of child migrant programmes, it can be observed that the apology was not designed to achieve this aim. Instead of apologising for the structures that enabled forced migration to occur, the speech aimed to address decades-long governmental ineptitudes in caring for the children in question, and the overall ceremony served as both a homecoming and a forum for these deportees to have their voices heard within a governmental context.

Overarching themes

The UK Government's apology to child migrants can be broken down into three distinct themes, these being taking responsibility, overcoming adversity, and the

²⁸³ Government of the United Kingdom. *Apology to Former Child Migrants*.

importance of the CMT. This decision to focus on these three themes greatly distinguished the UK Government's apology to former child migrants from the Australian Federal Government's apology to all non-indigenous former wards of state. The Australian apology in question used the linguistic themes of pain, isolation, and failure to express the hurt suffered by many Forgotten Australians and former child migrants during their time in institutional care, in addition to the ways in which their maltreatment impacted the later lives of these former state wards and their families. According to the apology, this suffering and maltreatment arose from governmental neglect and a failure to take seriously reports of abuse inflicted upon non-indigenous state wards, and it was the duty of the present-day government to disavow the wrongdoings of the past while seeking to improve the lives of those who suffered, as well as children currently living in institutional care. Although the UK apology, which occurred just over three months later, also expressed responsibility for the maltreatment of British children in overseas institutions, it also stood as a more overt celebration of the accomplishments of the victims in question, as well as the successes of the CMT in reuniting families separated by child deportation to Australia.

Within this apology, the first linguistic theme of taking responsibility was constructed around the notion of childhood suffering and made frequent use of the language of family to demonstrate the devastating impact of child migrant schemes. After the introduction of the apology, Brown explained how moved he was by the personal stories of child migrant suffering that he had heard and went as far as to say that their childhoods had been destroyed by migration schemes. The failures of successive UK governments to protect these children is stated to be the overriding reason why their maltreatment continued for so many decades, establishing what

Uusihakala has termed a 'continuity of blame'.²⁸⁴ This apology was not simply for the inability to provide child migrants with adequate support during their years in out-of-home care. Instead, it extended to their suffering in adult life and the secondary harms inflicted upon the families of these children;

'Many of your stories tragically speak of cruelty and of neglect, of the physical, sexual and emotional abuse in uncaring and brutal institutions, of the unrelenting hardship suffered by you and your families, of the utter devastation wrought on so many lives and of the ghosts that haunt us to this day.'²⁸⁵

The speech also described the vulnerability of childhood, explaining that many knew what it was like to have their families torn apart before their very eyes and to be falsely told that their parents were no longer alive. These children were also deprived of the basic resources and support required to have a flourishing childhood, the most important of which being their biological families. Many never knew what it was like to be loved or to celebrate important milestones like Christmas and birthdays, with the latter issue speaking to the total loss of personal identity that blighted many child migrants, because their names and dates of birth were altered by those in charge of the homes in which they resided.²⁸⁶ The first-hand testimonies of child migrants had a significant influence upon the formulation of the apology. The statement was not an exploration of the specific policy decisions that led to the creation and perpetuation of child migrant programmes. Instead, the suffering of

²⁸⁴ Government of the United Kingdom. *Apology to Former Child Migrants*.

²⁸⁵ Government of the United Kingdom. *Apology to Former Child Migrants*.

²⁸⁶ Government of the United Kingdom. *Apology to Former Child Migrants*.

these children was understood as a result of governmental neglect. Brown stated that the UK Government was ultimately responsible for the prolonged maltreatment of these children due to ongoing failures to intervene and fully understand the lived experiences of these children. Their trauma was now being given a public platform and following on from the initial press release of the apology the previous year, Brown underlined how the apology was a chance to listen to those who have been wronged and for their trauma to be given official recognition on a public stage:

'Now, I do not intend to speak at great length. Instead, this is your chance to be heard. Today is your day – one day among the many years lost, I know – but it is an important and momentous day, both for you and for our country because today your pain is recognised, your suffering is understood, your betrayal is acknowledged by the apology that I make on behalf of our whole country.'²⁸⁷

Brown further illustrated the currency of the issue in question and the need to apologise by stating that the maltreatment of these children happened within living memory. Critics of official apologies often state that the amount of time between the event in question and the resulting acknowledgment can either dilute or entirely undermine the apology itself. It was not the apologising government of the present day that committed the action, and many scholars including Gorman Beauchamp would argue therefore that it is not their responsibility to apologise.²⁸⁸ The apology bypassed these concerns not only by stating that the trauma of child migration was

²⁸⁷ Government of the United Kingdom. *Apology to Former Child Migrants*.

²⁸⁸ G. Beauchamp, 'Apologies All Around: Today's tendency to make amends for the crimes of history raises the question: where do we stop?', *The American Scholar*, 76, 4 (2007) 83-89.

still ongoing and that the child migrants in question were still alive, but also that their initial suffering occurred within living memory.

'It is harder still to grasp that these terrible events happened not in the opening chapters of our history, but in the living memories of most of us here today. Child migration didn't happen in the dark ages, so long ago that we weren't expected to know any better. No, this was happening in the United Kingdom until the late 1960s.'²⁸⁹

Crucially, Brown's apology made frequent reference to the fact that these children, despite being raised overseas and many lacking UK citizenship, were British in a de facto sense. This underlined the fact that the UK Government failed these children, and that the apology was a homecoming. Brown did not, however, go as far as to state that these children should be granted UK citizenship, despite the recommendations of the UKHSC in 1998.²⁹⁰ In spite of this limitation of the apology, the speech sought to take ownership of the wrongdoings, as well as the victims of these failures. Brown spoke proudly about the contributions of these child migrants, including the fact that many had fought and died for Britain during the world wars.²⁹¹ He further referred to child migration as being 'an ugly stain on our country', a policy which resulted in these children being deported from their 'mother country' and their home nation turning its back on them when they had a clear duty of care.²⁹² The conclusion of the apology reiterated the fact that the UK was the country of origin for all the child migrants in question, and here Brown likened the ceremony of the

²⁸⁹ Government of the United Kingdom. *Apology to Former Child Migrants*.

²⁹⁰ Commons Select Committee, *Health – Third Report*, para 108.

²⁹¹ Government of the United Kingdom. *Apology to Former Child Migrants*.

²⁹² Government of the United Kingdom. *Apology to Former Child Migrants*.

apology to a family reunion, a process that the UK Government had been assisting with throughout the past two decades:

‘And it’s my genuine hope that today’s apology, which is an apology from your nation, will go some way towards easing even a small amount of the pain that you’ve endured for many decades. So I say to our sons and daughters here: welcome home. You are with friends. We will support you all your lives. Thank you.’²⁹³

Despite the UK Government acknowledging their historic wrongdoings, the emphasis on child migrants overcoming adversity means that the overall tone of the apology was a positive one. The pain endured by child migrants had been addressed using testimonies, in addition to understanding what the experiences of abuse and family separation were like from the perspective of these children. However, the failures of the UK Government were undercut by the emphasis on how child migrants had overcome many of the difficulties they faced in adulthood. Brown made several references to how many child migrants rejected the idea that they were victims, and that children who suffered abuse and neglect had been able to lead rich and fulfilling lives:

‘Your presence here today is a demonstration of your endurance against pain, your courage in the face of rejection, your bravery even in the face of betrayal. You are heroes, and your presence here today sends a message to the world that no injustice should last forever and that no one should ever again journey

²⁹³ Government of the United Kingdom. *Apology to Former Child Migrants*.

in sorrow without hope. [...] I stand here humbled by your determination to have the failures of the past acknowledged and I am inspired by your refusal to be victims.²⁹⁴

It is, however, important to note that this sentiment was not shared by many of the child migrants who were in attendance on the day of the apology. Sanderijn Cels has noted the stark contrast between the message of hope and prosperity outlined by the UK apology and the visible reaction of many child migrants who witnessed it.²⁹⁵ A significant number of those in question wept as the speech was read out. Some had brought pictures and other personal possessions which they held tightly throughout the ceremony, and many of these child migrants rejected the idea that they were not in fact victims. Some of those who attended struggled to recount their stories to members of the press, with Ron Grant's brief testimony speaking to the inability of the relevant authorities to help victims of abuse and neglect: 'No more - I can't talk about it anymore. I will only say that it wasn't good ... The worst part was that I felt completely alone, abandoned.'²⁹⁶ Alf Jones, a child migrant born in London, addressed the issue of identity loss and how he felt those in charge of child migrant schemes deprived him of the ability to trace his family.²⁹⁷ On the other hand, Eric Leonard, who was sent to Australia at the age of fifteen, outlined that his experience in the Antipodes was beneficial to his work in agriculture and later in the police service.²⁹⁸ It is undoubtedly true that many child migrants led happy lives after they

²⁹⁴ Government of the United Kingdom. *Apology to Former Child Migrants*.

²⁹⁵ Cels, *Why Say Sorry*, 180-184.

²⁹⁶ R. Shears, 'Tears as victims of child migrants programme sent to former British colonies finally receive historic apology', *Daily Mail*, 25 February 2010. Available online: <https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-1253680/Tears-child-victims-migrants-programme-sent-British-colonies-finally-receive-historic-apology.html>

²⁹⁷ Shears, 'Tears as victims receive historic apology'.

²⁹⁸ Shears, 'Tears as victims receive historic apology'.

left the care system. However, the idea that all of these children had overcome their trauma was evidently not shared by the child migrants who attended the UK apology. The child migrant experience was not a singular one, and while it is important to note the contribution of these children to their countries of birth in addition to their adopted nations, the campaigning of child migrants for an apology in the first instance meant that a significant number still believed that they were in fact victims. Their visible anguish is testament to this.

One last important theme of note is that the UK apology commended the historic and ongoing work of the CMT. While the Australian Federal apology to all former state wards made two brief references to the trust when addressing the work of advocacy groups in supporting Australian adult care-leavers, the UK apology explored the work of the organisation in a much more substantial and meaningful way. The apology focused greatly on the harms of family separation, identity loss, and the trauma that many child migrants experienced. As will be explored later in this chapter, the UK Government committed to extending its funding of the CMT, and the importance of bringing families back together was referenced as an important reconciliatory aim throughout the apology, just as it had been in the 1998 UKHSC report. While Brown once again uses the testimonies of former child migrants in this section of the speech, the purpose of using these recollections was rather different. Barbara Adkins and Donna Hancox have explained that the apologies issued, at least in part, to former child migrants by the UK and Australian Federal Governments used victim testimonies to justify on what grounds these speeches were being made.²⁹⁹ While this is undoubtedly true, the latter part of the UK apology also utilised

²⁹⁹ D. Hancox, 'The role of the internet in testimony: the case of the "Forgotten Australians"', *Media, Culture & Society*, 36, 8 (2014), 1154.

recollections from former child migrants as a means of celebrating the historic and ongoing work of the CMT in reuniting separated families. Towards the end of the apology, Brown discussed the case of Patrick, a former child migrant who was reunited with his family in 2009 after the CMT had spent twenty years aiding in this process. Sixty years after his deportation, he was able to return to the UK and Patrick stated that this gave him a sense of belonging, hoping that he would continue to bond with his recently discovered family. However, Patrick was unable to meet his birth mother, with this case in particular highlighting one of the many repugnant legacies of child migrant programmes.³⁰⁰ The work of bringing families back together had been highly demanding for the CMT, an organisation that continued to provide excellent care for child migrants while understanding the emotional toll of familial and identity loss. The case of Patrick will be addressed in further detail in the following section, as his story of familial loss is used as a device to support the continued funding of the CMT and the creation of a new Family Restoration Fund.

The UK apology to former child migrants was drastically more celebratory in tone than the apology issued by the Australian Federal Government to all non-indigenous former state wards three months prior. On the one hand, the apology issued by Gordon Brown centred around acknowledging governmental failures and accepting that the associated victims were de facto British citizens. On the other hand, this recognition extended to highlighting the successes achieved by child migrants in later life, in addition to the importance of the CMT in facilitating reconciliation. These disparate themes were all tied together by the language of family. Child migrants were described as being sons and daughters of the nation, with this apology enabling them to reconnect with their homeland. The tone used in

³⁰⁰ Government of the United Kingdom. *Apology to Former Child Migrants*.

the apology was inclusive and accepted that the wrongs in question were inflicted upon British children, albeit while living overseas. In the face of rejection by their family, namely the UK and its government, many of these former child migrants refused to be labelled as victims and have led fulfilling lives, holding down successful careers and raising families of their own. The apology also expressed pride in the work of the CMT in bringing families back together and offering a wide range of support to those who were deported from the UK as children. The pain of missing out on the chance to meet one's birth family was expressed in addition to the many success stories associated with the work of the trust, namely tracing and reuniting families separated by child migrant programmes. As the next section explains, this is work that the UK government wished to continue supporting.

However, both Uusihakala and Rundle have noted that the apology failed to address the specific policies and frameworks that allowed to these deportations to occur in the first instance, nor the social demographics from which former child migrants were largely derived. As was argued in the first chapter of this thesis, this was also a limitation of the Australian Federal Government's apology, a ceremony that did not explain that the arrival of British child migrants to Australia was a result of class discrimination and a deliberate effort by both nations to use migration as a means of furthering their respective political agendas. Uusihakala and Rundle both argue that the apology neglected to mention the racial and imperial rationales behind child migrant schemes, and using the former's research into the ways in which former child migrants have been silenced, we can see that the use of personal testimonies in this speech were designed to portray a successful narrative defined by the work of the CMT and how British child migrants have succeeded in overcoming adversity. While it is imperative that these achievements are recognised, this came

largely at the expense of recognising why these children suffered in the first instance and the decisions that allowed these failures of childcare to occur, thus serving to 're-silence' the experiences of many of the victims in question, as Uusihakala has stated.³⁰¹

Rundle has also argued that the apology failed to explain that child migrant programmes were a product of British imperial rule and were used as an attempt to legitimise Britain's dominion over Australia while also providing the latter nation with a source of coerced labour.³⁰² However, Rundle offers a further critique of the apology, explaining that this acknowledgement failed to adequately address why these particular children ended up being deported to Australia, an argument which underpins the fact that the apology did not address that child migrant programmes constituted a form of historic discrimination against working-class Britons.³⁰³ According to Rundle, this apology did not explain that the removal of British children to Australia was rooted in equivalent schemes involving other overseas imperial outposts, with these schemes constituting a form of child-centred philanthropy, but also being engineered in such a way that children from disadvantaged backgrounds were removed from their country of birth in accordance with the wishes of the UK Government.³⁰⁴ These critiques of the apology as being unable to recognise the wider structures and context in which the wrongdoings in question took place echo the scholarship of Gibney and Roxstrom that was introduced in the previous chapter.³⁰⁵

³⁰¹ Uusihakala, 'Revising and Re-Voicing a Silenced Past', 53-54.

³⁰² Rundle, 'Improbable Agents of Empire', 32-36.

³⁰³ Rundle, 'Improbable Agents of Empire', 31.

³⁰⁴ Rundle, 'Improbable Agents of Empire', 31-36.

³⁰⁵ Gibney & Roxstrom, 'The Status of State Apologies', 933.

Resulting promises

The commitments that arose from the UK apology to child migrants were not as extensive as those from the Australian apology the year prior. The UK apology didn't make any explicit references to heritage or public education as a form of reparation, nor did it speak specifically about the need for child migrants to continue receiving counselling, despite addressing their trauma at great length. Instead, the promises that came about as a result of the UK apology to child migrants concerned the interrelated commitments to extending existing funding of the CMT and creating a new Family Restoration Fund, a bursary which covered travel costs for family reunions and greatly expanded upon the earlier Child Migrants Support Fund, as is explained further in the Chapter Five. Neither Rundle's nor Uusihakala's research into this apology engaged with any resulting promises, nor any historical precedents set by previous governmental inquiries and apologies. Doing so highlights a limitation of this apology. Although aiming to reunite child migrants with their biological families and countries of birth had been a long-held aim of the UK Government and went a long way in repairing one of the principal injustices of forced child migration, the failures of the UK Government within this historic episode extended beyond simply breaking up families.

Throughout the apology, Gordon Brown made no secret of his admiration of the CMT. Moreover, the linguistic theme of family played an important role in the earlier parts of the apology, its usage explaining that forced familial separation was one of the most widespread and unfortunate consequences of these migrations, having caused untold suffering for child migrants and their families. Brown drew upon the

lived experiences of former child migrants to not only explain the urgency of the matter at hand, but to also illustrate the significance of the CMT's campaigns:

'Patrick, who is here today, experienced first-hand just how crucial the work of the Child Migrants Trust can be. Patrick was reunited with his family last year. The search for them took time, it was extensive, it took almost 20 years, and sadly – as I know from so many others I have met today – Patrick missed out on meeting his mother.'³⁰⁶

This sample of the apology speaks to the duality of the family restoration process. For many former child migrants, especially those whose names and dates of birth were not altered upon arrival in Australia, the process of reuniting families proved successful not only from the perspective of reforming lost emotional bonds, but also for coming to terms with one's personal identity. Travelling from Australia to the UK had the potential to help child migrants to meet their biological families and achieve a wider understanding about their roots.

For others, however, the passage of time between arrival in Australia and the establishment of the CMT sadly meant that the prospect of meeting one's birth parents was impossible. The below passage taken from the next part of the apology explained that the Trust has notwithstanding endeavoured to offer all former child migrants some form of familial resolution. Brown stated that despite the heartbreak

³⁰⁶ Government of the United Kingdom. *Apology to Former Child Migrants*.

of not being able to meet his mother, the work of the CMT meant that Patrick now had a family to call his own:

'He was warmly welcomed by his extended family. After 60 years, Patrick was able to return to his roots; he never gave up hope and neither did the Child Migrants Trust. Patrick now has a real sense of belonging and a future with a family he yearned for over many years. And I hope for some others of you, this is the experience that you can now have.'³⁰⁷

Gordon Brown explained in detail the importance of the CMT and their role in enabling former child migrants to overcome the adversities inflicted upon them as a result of forced familial separation. The promise to keep reuniting families was evident throughout the speech, and Brown made two explicit commitments in order to achieve this ambition, namely continued bankrolling of the CMT and drastically improved subsidisation of the family reuniting process:

'Now, I am pleased to tell you today that the government will continue to fund the Child Migrants Trust. You can press on, therefore, with your well-respected work in seeking resolution for former child migrants and their families. We are also setting up a new £6 million Family Restoration Fund to

³⁰⁷ Government of the United Kingdom. *Apology to Former Child Migrants*.

support travel and other costs for former child migrants who wish to be reunited with their families.³⁰⁸

In 1999, a £1 million Child Migrants Support Fund to facilitate travel for child migrants was announced by the UK Government, as a direct response to the UKHSC's report a year prior.³⁰⁹ This new fund offered far greater financial backing and was designed to cover all costs associated with the process of travelling to meet family. The legacy and impact of both of these policies will be addressed in Chapter Five. For now, it can be observed that bringing families back together who had been separated because of child migrant schemes was seen as a matter of urgency. These reparative measures offered far more support to child migrants and their families, as well as to agencies wishing to help in this process. These measures were both unequivocal commitments to redressing many of the wrongdoings perpetrated by the UK Government in the past and succeeded in understanding the time pressures involved in bringing families back together. They further added to the message of unity and welcoming these child migrants back to their countries of birth that was present throughout the apology.

The UK Government's apology to child migrants offered nothing in the way of robust reparative measures outside of continuing to financially support the CMT and the Family Restoration Fund. This issue becomes especially acute when compared to the recommendations proposed in the UKHSC's Third Report. Although the issuing of a national apology was in itself a fulfilment of the report's seventeenth and final recommendation, the recommendations listed in the apology issued twelve

³⁰⁸ Government of the United Kingdom. *Apology to Former Child Migrants*.

³⁰⁹ Child Migrants Trust, 'Timeline'.

years later represent only a partial resolution of reclaiming personal identity and providing financial aid. Although family restorations have played and continue to play a vital role in reclaiming lost identities, the most notable omission in this regard was any guarantee that either child migrants or their descendants would be eligible for British citizenship.³¹⁰ This being despite the fact that the overwhelming majority of the victims in question were British-born and many had parents or other relatives still resident in the UK. From a financial point of view, a new and drastically larger travel fund was announced for child migrants and their families. However, there was no explicit indication that the UK Government would subsidise counselling services or other specialist support, including those needed to address the specific emotional toll of family reunions.³¹¹ There was also no specific commitment to providing legal aid to former child migrants, nor any proposals for direct compensation payments.³¹²

Further limitations emerge when comparing the promises of this apology with those which arose from Australia's apology. The UK Government followed the example of the Australian Federal Government in promising heightened funding for the CMT. However, British support for family tracing was purely financial and the UK Government did not decide to establish an equivalent version of the Australian *Find and Connect* scheme, instead placing the efforts of genealogical research solely in the hands of the CMT.³¹³ While there was no new provision for tailored counselling services for the care-leavers in question, the UK apology also did not commit to subsidising or creating any public history projects akin to those curated by the NLA and the NMA.³¹⁴ Moreover, the passage of the apology that most closely resembled

³¹⁰ Commons Select Committee, *Health – Third Report*, para 108.

³¹¹ Commons Select Committee, *Health – Third Report*, para 103-para 110.

³¹² Commons Select Committee, *Health – Third Report*, para 111-para 112.

³¹³ Parliament of Australia, *National Apology to the Forgotten Australians and former Child Migrants*.

³¹⁴ Parliament of Australia, *National Apology to the Forgotten Australians and former Child Migrants*.

a promise to improve present-day child services came in the penultimate paragraph. Here, Gordon Brown spoke of how he hoped that this apology would be both a turning point for past victims of institutional maltreatment and an opportunity to learn from the resulting errors to better look after the children of today:

‘Winston Churchill once said, “All people make mistakes, but only the wise learn from their mistakes”. And from this disgraceful set of events that we’ve had to acknowledge, we learn that it is the responsibility of all of us to safeguard and promote the welfare of our children.’³¹⁵

The UK apology had made numerous references prior to this that the implementation of child migrant schemes was both a shameful episode in British history, as well as a learning opportunity for modern day policy making regarding child protection. However, unlike the Australian apology, this promise was not substantiated by any specific policies. For example, there was a lack of understanding as to whether the UK Government would improve funding or auditing for out-of-home care institutions, in addition to any necessary regulations on the children’s charities that were involved in child migrant programmes. While the Australian apology outlined specific improvements that would be made by the Federal Government in this regard, these same promises were absent from the UK equivalent.

³¹⁵ Government of the United Kingdom. *Apology to Former Child Migrants*.

Responses from former child migrants and advocates

The following section turns from a technical review of the apology and towards gaining an understanding of what the apology meant to those who witnessed it. Uusihakala's article did engage with the responses of child migrants towards the apology, with attendees of the event working as research partners for this project.³¹⁶ The responses of these particular child migrants were largely ambivalent, accepting that Brown was genuinely remorseful while questioning the function of an apology in and of itself. By drawing upon a wider range of child migrant responses concerning the ceremony of the apology as a whole, in addition to those of campaigners and later UK Prime Ministers, this analysis argues that the reaction to this apology from child migrants and their advocates was generally positive, with some victims stating that they had waited all of their lives for the UK Government to admit their historic wrongdoings.

After Gordon Brown issued the apology, Harold Haig offered his own reflections on behalf of the IAFCM&F. This right to an official reply by a former child migrant had not been present during Australia's apology ceremony. Although he had previously been highly critical of the timing of the apology, Haig welcomed the UK apology by stating that the suffering of child migrants had been formally recognised, thus facilitating reconciliation with the government.

'This is a momentous day for child migrants. A day when the pain and loss we have suffered for a lifetime has been recognised and acknowledged. A day when we have been welcomed back to our country of birth. [...] While it has been a long time coming, the apology has the potential to enhance the

³¹⁶ Uusihakala, 'Revising and re-voicing a silenced past', 54-56.

healing process for child migrants, to heal them of the wounds of the past that we have lived with for too long.³¹⁷

Some child migrants including Michael Harvey further remarked on how he deemed being able to attend a parliamentary session to be an honour and placed great value on meeting with Gordon Brown during his visit to the House of Commons.³¹⁸ The scholarship of Sanderijn Cels has sought to look at political apologies for historic wrongdoings, including the UK Government's 2010 apology to former child migrants, as performative ceremonies, seeking to move beyond what was said during the speech itself.³¹⁹ While Cels' 2015 article "Interpreting Political Apologies: The Neglected Role of Performance" addresses the wider ceremony surrounding the apology that took place at the Houses of Parliament in London on 24 February 2010, this work concentrates on the relaying of this speech in various sites across Australia the following day for those who were unable to attend the main ceremony in the UK.³²⁰ Cels explains that unlike at the main apology ceremony held in London, the former child migrants who attended the equivalent event in Perth, WA, were not given an opportunity to respond to the speech that was read out by Deputy British High Commissioner Jolyon Welsh, with this decision to offer the attendees in question only a passive role in this event leading many of the victims in question to protest at the event.³²¹

Although Cels makes a crucial distinction between the ways in which the UK Government's apology to former child migrants was performed in both Australia and

³¹⁷ Haig, *Response*.

³¹⁸ C. Evans, *Interview with Michael Harvey in the Forgotten Australians and Former Child Migrants oral history project* [Recorded conversation], 2012.

³¹⁹ Cels, 'Interpreting Political Apologies', 355.

³²⁰ Cels, 'Interpreting Political Apologies', 353-355.

³²¹ Cels, 'Interpreting Political Apologies', 353-355.

the UK, Cels' article didn't offer a comparison between the performances of this apology by the UK Government and that offered by the Australian Federal Government to all non-indigenous former state wards. The first section of this chapter offered a description of the three distinct parts that constituted the 2010 apology, all of which were attended by a party of forty former child migrants, namely the announcement of the apology to the House of Commons at Prime Minister's Questions, the apology itself, the official reply, and a post-apology reception, as well as how the structure of this ceremony differed from the Australian apology. The following investigation uses the reflections of Michael Harvey, a former child migrant and vocal critic of the Australian Federal Government's 2009 apology, as a means of exploring how these differences impacted the ways in which these respective apologies were received.

In the same interview conducted by Caroline Evans on behalf of the NLA, Harvey declared his disdain of Australia's apology to the Forgotten Australians and former child migrants. He believed that the concerns of the latter group were not sufficiently addressed: '[The apology was] the most 'demeaning, belittling, [and] undervaluing speech given by a Prime Minister in regards to our situation.'³²² When asked later on about the UK apology, Harvey held a greatly contrasting view that was underpinned by the differing natures of the two national apology ceremonies. On the speech itself, Harvey approved of Gordon Brown's choice of words and noted the emotional nature of the ceremony: "He gave a very dignified, eloquent, sincere, [and] moving apology."³²³ The speech not only brought Harvey to tears, but in his opinion also acknowledged the full extent of the damage caused by the British government

³²² Evans, *Interview with Michael Harvey*.

³²³ Evans, *Interview with Michael Harvey*.

towards child migrants while offering strong financial backing to allow him and his peers to trace their families.³²⁴

Harvey also spoke at length about the hospitality he and other child migrants received both prior to and after the apology. He explained that he felt honoured not only to witness the announcement of the apology to the House of Commons, but also discussed the pleasure he had of meeting Gordon Brown after he gave the speech. Harvey stated that he felt special to have met the British Prime Minister, adding that Brown too understood the emotional nature of the ceremony having almost been moved to tears upon hearing personal child migrant testimonies during the reception. This concluding event was also an opportunity to meet other child migrants, some of whom had also been raised in Tasmania, an especially rare occurrence due to the state only hosting approximately 295 British children out of an estimated total of 7,000 as part of migration schemes.³²⁵ Overall, Harvey believed that he was kindly welcomed back to the UK, clearly expressing his continued allegiance to his country of birth despite having been victim of deportation during his childhood: 'I felt proud to be British'.³²⁶

However, numerous child migrants upheld Harold Haig's previous criticism regarding the timing of the apology. George Walden was among those who expressed concerns about the apology being issued as late as it was, explaining that the apology was issued 50 to 60 years later than it should have been, while also adding 'as children, we were a commodity'.³²⁷ A significant proportion of child

³²⁴ Evans, *Interview with Michael Harvey*.

³²⁵ Monument Australia, *Child Migration Schemes*. Available online: <https://monumentaustralia.org.au/display/99463-child-migration-schemes> [Accessed 16/03/2020].

³²⁶ Monument Australia, *Child Migration Schemes*.

³²⁷ S. Hui, 'UK Prime Minister apologises to child migrants', *The San Diego Union Tribune*. 24 February 2010. Available online: <https://www.sandiegouniontribune.com/sdut-uk-prime-minister-apologizes-to-child-migrants-2010feb24-story.html>.

migrants missed the opportunity to meet their biological families, and there were also many who did not live long enough to witness the apology. Their suffering, abuse and neglect was never recognised, and they were never able to return to their country of birth. The apology did acknowledge the child migrants who were no longer alive, with particular reference to those who lost their lives in combat.

Carol Walisoliso's reaction to the UK apology represented a slightly different concern. Walisoliso, who had escaped from the child migrant home of Molong, NSW, after being subjected to physical abuse and spoke openly about the barriers she faced in adulthood when attempting to reunite with her biological family. She believed that this apology did not come about not as a result of understanding the suffering of these children, but was instead a spontaneous reaction to Australia's own apology a year prior.

'They knew about it a long time, so they should have done it a long time ago, instead of waiting for the Australian Government to say sorry, and then: "Oh, we better say sorry too because the Australians have done it. [...] It shouldn't have been the Australian Government first, it should have been the British government because they were the ones that sent us here.'³²⁸

In recent years, the CMT has continued to champion the UK Government's apology. For almost every year since its occurrence, the trust has honoured the anniversary of the UK apology with an article on its website accompanied by reflections from the incumbent Prime Minister and opposition MPs. It is important to

³²⁸ A. Collins & S. Smail, 'Forgotten Australians gather for 'late' UK apology', *ABC News*. 25 February 2010. Available online: <https://www.abc.net.au/news/2010-02-25/forgotten-australians-gather-for-late-uk-apology/343672>.

note that such celebrations of the anniversary of the Australian Federal Government's apology to the Forgotten Australians and former child migrants are not present on their website. The year 2015 marked the fifth anniversary of the UK apology. In response to this, Prime Minister David Cameron praised the importance of the Family Restoration Fund unveiled at the apology for its assistance of 800 child migrants to be reunited with their families. He also announced that the fund would be extended for a further two years.³²⁹ Gordon Brown's message highlighted the continued suffering of former child migrants and his regret that their voices were not listened to sooner, while adding that he was campaigning for further financial support on their behalf.³³⁰ The year 2017 marked the commencement of IICSA, which began with former child migrants giving evidence about their maltreatment in care. Theresa May, who was Home Secretary when the inquiry was announced, was now Prime Minister and her acknowledgement addressed the institutional abuse of child migrants:

'We must never forget the harm caused to child migrants and the distress caused to thousands of families who were unjustly broken up by the child migration schemes. [...] That is why, seven years on from the National Apology, I am pleased hundreds of families have been reunited through the Family Restoration Fund and that the Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual

³²⁹ Child Migrants Trust, *UK Apology to Former Child Migrants – 5th Anniversary*. Available online: <https://www.childmigrantstrust.com/news/2016/1/28/uk-apology-to-former-child-migrants-5th-anniversary>. [Accessed 17/02/2022].

³³⁰ Child Migrants Trust, *UK Apology to Former Child Migrants – 5th Anniversary*.

Abuse is currently investigating allegations of child sexual abuse in the British child migration programmes.”³³¹

In 2022, Margaret Humphreys issued a statement of her own which reiterated the need for the promises raised by the apology to be upheld. The passage outlined the severity of family separation faced by child migrants and their families, with the familial isolation experienced by many during the COVID-19 pandemic used to highlight the importance of the Family Restoration Fund;

‘The global pandemic brought home to us all the terrible anguish of separation from our loved ones - some kept apart for as long as two years. British child migrants endured that painful separation from home and family for more than fifty years, silently and without hope that the deception would be exposed or that their isolation would ever come to an end.’³³²

However, one of the most vocal contemporary critics of the apology issued by Gordon Brown has been Gordon Brown himself. In the years following the apology, Brown left office as UK Prime Minister and continued to support the child migrant cause after the end of his premiership, later giving evidence before IICSA concerning his knowledge regarding historic institutional maltreatment. In 2017, he wrote an article for the Daily Mirror explaining the limitations of the apology and outlined that this speech had failed to recognise that many former child migrants had been subjected to institutional abuse in the UK prior to their deportation. This article was

³³¹ Child Migrants Trust, *UK Apology to Former Child Migrants – 7th Anniversary*. Available online: <https://www.childmigrantstrust.com/news/2017/3/7/uk-apology-to-former-child-migrants-7th-anniversary>. [Accessed 17/02/2022].

³³² Child Migrants Trust, *UK Apology to Former Child Migrants – 7th Anniversary*.

informed by evidence given by child migrants at the Australian Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse. It was also published in the build-up to IICSA, which commenced with post-war child migrants offering their personal testimonies of maltreatment.³³³ The 2010 apology only made passing reference to the abuse suffered by child migrants in Australian orphanages and did not address any similar malpractices inflicted upon these children in British institutions prior to their migration. This article explained that successive UK Governments were aware of these wrongdoings and deliberately chose not to intervene, an act that Brown branded as criminal negligence.³³⁴ This serves to underline the marked transformation that Gordon Brown has undergone in relation to his position within the reconciliation narrative, moving from the provider of the apology by the beginning of the 2010s to a campaigner on behalf of the child migrants by the end of the same decade.

Conclusion

In summary, the UK apology to former child migrants was a vital part of the overall process of reconciliation by expressing genuine governmental remorse and providing these former wards of state with a bespoke acknowledgement of their personal suffering. However, its limitations in repairing all of the wrongdoings in question are highly evident. It came about twelve years after the UKHSC first recommended that an apology be issued to former child migrants, and many did not live long enough to have their suffering recognised. Those who did witnessed the country from which most were deported apologise after the country to which they were sent. Given the

³³³ G. Brown, 'EXCLUSIVE: In 2010 I made an official apology to former child migrants sent abroad - my apology was incomplete'. *Daily Mirror*. 29 January 2017. Available online: <https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/gordon-brown-2010-made-official-9718493>.

³³⁴ Brown, 'In 2010 I made an official apology'.

smaller time proximity between the Australian apology and the UK apology, namely three months, when compared to the latter and the UKHSC Report, a period of twelve years, Australia's decision to apologise to child migrants had a far more direct impact on the UK apology being issued. The apology was, however, broadly welcomed by child migrants, campaigners, and MPs. All of these groups had expressed their desire for the UK Government to offer an apology to child migrants, with the overall consensus was that former child migrants were being welcomed back into their country of birth, their suffering was officially recognised and that they would be able to reconnect with their biological families after nearly a lifetime apart.

Gordon Brown's speech expressed remorse for the suffering of former child migrants while validating their ongoing trauma. The material impact of child migrant schemes upon the deportees was evident. The speech discussed the childhoods that were lost, the families that were torn apart, and the unloving institutions in which these children were raised. Brown also accepted the continued failures of the UK Government to terminate child migrant schemes, despite being aware of many of these abuses. The apology neglected to mention in detail the abuse of these children in the UK prior to their arrival in Australia. The admission of responsibility was clear throughout, with the apology was issued by Gordon Brown on behalf of the UK Government and the UK as a whole. The language of inclusivity and belonging galvanised the responsibility expressed in the apology. Frequent references were made to child migrants being British-born and that the act of apologising was an opportunity for them to reunite with the homeland. As a result, the apology was framed as the UK Government failing in safeguarding and caring for its own children. The apology sought to remedy this by continuing funding for the CMT and the announcement of a new £6 million Family Restoration Fund. However, no mention

was given to citizenship applications, public history, or counselling, nor did it elaborate on what it means to improve child safeguarding and protection. Moreover, Gordon Brown's critique of his own apology in the year 2017 highlighted how the speech overlooked abuses inflicted upon former child migrants prior to their deportation, prompting the former Prime Minister to call on the present-day government to issue a separate apology in relation to this.

Overall, the apology has a positive legacy in the eyes of its stakeholders. The CMT, Gordon Brown and successive UK Prime Ministers have honoured the anniversary of its being issued, reiterating that the recognition of child migrant suffering was formally understood and that hundreds of family reunions were able to take place as a result. It must, however, be understood as a necessary part of the process of reconciliation rather than being the end of the process itself. The trauma created by child migrant programmes did not disappear after the apology, and the present UK Government is obliged to make right their historic wrongs. This obligation is further strengthened by uncertainty about the longevity of the Family Restoration Fund, in addition to a current lack of a full judicial inquiry and a separate apology for institutional abuse suffered by child migrants. However, the apology was a vital part of the UK Government's reckoning with their historic failures and acting upon the recommendations of their own Health Select Committee's report from 1998.

This chapter has advanced pre-existing scholarship concerning this apology from academics including Katja Uusihakala, Kirsten Rundle, and Sanderijn Cels in several ways. For example, there has been a more sustained engagement with the rationale behind the issuing of the apology, including both domestic and transnational influences, in addition to exploring how Gordon Brown justified his decision to apologise. Moreover, the apology has been understood as more than just

the speech that was given, exploring the significance of allowing child migrants to attend the House of Commons debate regarding the motion to apologise and what it was like for these victims to meet the British Prime Minister in-person at a resulting parliamentary reception. A more nuanced linguistic analysis, coupled with an exploration of the promises emanating from the apology, has offered a richer understanding of what the apology meant to child migrants and their advocates throughout the years after its being issued.

When assessing the Australian apology alongside the UK apology as being attempts to reconcile the specific injustices suffered by British-born former wards of the Australian state, several key differences arise. The first and most obvious of which is that only the UK apology was addressed specifically at former child migrants, and while the Australian Federal apology fleetingly addressed the injustices suffered by British-born former state wards, it constituted a broader attempt to reconcile the harms suffered by all non-indigenous children who experienced institutional care during the twentieth century. This also highlights a difference concerning the context in which these apologies took place, with the Australian apology, unlike that offered by the UK Government, arose during a period in which the Australian Federal Government wished to reconcile injustices suffered by all citizens who were raised in institutional care, and its occurrence being influenced by investigations into the plight of other former state wards, namely the Forgotten Australians and the Stolen Generations. To this day, the UK's apology to former child migrants remains the apology this nation has issued concerning injustices suffered in childhood. Meanwhile, all four of the apologies issued by the Australian Federal Government have concerned the suffering of children, if one is to

exclude the Motion of Reconciliation offered to First Nation Australians in the year 1999, which stopped short of a full apology.

Furthermore, while both apologies failed to meaningfully engage with the themes of class, empire, and race within the history of child migrant programmes, the Australian Federal Government's apology was far more explicit in admitting to its own historic failures of childcare. This apology admitted responsibility for the maltreatment of non-indigenous former state wards while living in institutional care, while the UK Government's apology expressed remorse for the fact that they allowed for these injustices to occur in its overseas outposts, with Gordon Brown himself admitting in the year 2017 that his speech failed to recognise that many former child migrants had experienced maltreatment in British institutions prior to their deportation. Additionally, the deliberate choice of linguistic themes found within both of these apologies heavily influenced their respective tones. The Australian apology, which centred around the notions of pain, isolation, and failure, was markedly less celebratory than the UK Government's apology, which accepted responsibility for many of the harms suffered by former child migrants throughout their lives, but also sought more explicitly to outline the successes of former child migrants in adulthood, as well as the accomplishments of the CMT in championing their cause. However, it is also important to note that former child migrants had far greater involvement in the ceremony in which the UK apology took place, with all of the attendees of this apology being former child migrants and advocates, and this ceremony also allowed for these particular victims to attend Prime Minister's Questions beforehand, to offer an official reply, as well as to attend a reception with the Prime Minister. Lastly, although it is difficult to fully gauge whether all former child migrants themselves preferred which of these apologies, a final difference between these two

acknowledgements is that the anniversary of Australia's apology not formerly recognised by the CMT. While the reasons for this decision by the charity are unclear, this may serve to reflect the greater value the trust has placed in the UK's apology as being a turning point for reconciling the harms endured by former child migrants.

Part Two - Memorials

Chapter 3: Pre-Apology Memorialisation

‘These child migrants provided valuable contributions to Australian society in diverse ways as parents, workers, and citizens. Australia is better for their coming.’

Front inscription on the Western Australian monument entitled *Memorial to the Migrant Children*, 2004.³³⁵

Introduction

The first two chapters of this thesis addressed the apologies that British-born former wards of the Australian state received from both the receiving and sending nations involved in child migrant schemes. The following chapter turns to a different form of public acknowledgement for the deportation of British children to Australia, namely the physical memorialisation that occurred throughout the twentieth century and into the early twenty-first century. While disparate attempts were made in other areas of public history including references to the child migrant story in museums and its televisual representation in series including *The Leaving of Liverpool*, mnemonic markers were the only form of public history that were recommended in the national inquiries of both nations. Permanent memorials are therefore the focus of this chapter; later forms of public history that came about in the aftermath of national apologies will be addressed in Chapter Four. Although the first permanent mnemonic markers acknowledging the trauma of this historic episode did not emerge until 2001 and were almost entirely confined to Australia, the twentieth century witnessed both

³³⁵ Monument Australia, *Memorial to the Migrant Children*. Available online: <https://monumentaaustralia.org.au/display/102227-memorial-to-the-migrant-children> [Accessed 28/05/2021].

nations celebrating the work of child migrant philanthropists in the form of physical memorialisation. Memorials created after national inquiries moved away from venerating the role of charities to accepting the role of governments within this narrative, in an albeit limited sense, while also focusing on the contributions of child migrants and their successes in overcoming adversities. This latter decision meant that many of memorials listed in this analysis overlooked the true extent of abuse and harm inflicted upon these former wards of state.

This chapter begins with an exploration of how child migrant philanthropists were memorialised in both nations prior to the commencement of their respective national inquiries. Exploring the early context of child migrant memorialisation sets the tone for an exploration in the middle part of this chapter concerning the value and intended meaning of new mnemonic markers as set out in the UKHSC's Third Report, in addition to *Lost Innocents*. Having established the role of memorialisation within plans for national reconciliation during the age of inquiries, this chapter then turns to the ways in which the child migrant story has been memorialised in both Australia and the UK. The analyses in these sections use memorials found in these nations as a means of investigating the overall messages within them concerning the suffering of child migrants and the failures of government that allowed this to happen, while exploring the role of childhood within their respective memorialisation agendas.

Throughout, this chapter refers to the recent work of Alison Atkinson-Phillips, Marie-Catherine Allard, and Sabine Marschall. Due to the fact that academic works dedicated specifically to the memorialisation of former child migrants remain all but non-existent, this chapter fills a gap in pre-existing scholarship by exploring where such mnemonic markers stand in relation to previous memorials which celebrated

child migrant philanthropists, the disparities between memorialisation in Australia and the UK, as well as the ways in which these markers, or a lack thereof, in these respective nations reflect their attitudes towards the broader memorialisation of child-centred philanthropy.

British memorialisation of child migrant philanthropists during the twentieth century

The analysis found in the following two sections centres around the memorialisation of four individuals associated with the creation and maintenance of child migrant programmes. The figures in question are Thomas Barnardo of Barnardo's, William Booth of the Salvation Army, Brother Paul Keaney of the Congregation of the Christian Brothers of Western Australia, and Kingsley Fairbridge of the Fairbridge Foundation. Memorials dedicated to the first two figures reside in the UK and were archived digitally on the *Historic England* database. Meanwhile, *Lost Innocents* and interviews from the NLA's oral history project have discussed the creation and later destruction of the memorial to Brother Keaney, and the three separate markers created in tribute to Kingsley Fairbridge have been digitally archived on the *Monument Australia* database. The British memorials investigated here did not explicitly mention child migration in their respective dedications, but do all refer to the concept of child saving and praise the work done by the historical figures in question concerning their work in caring for orphans. Meanwhile, the Australian memorials were comparatively more forthright in their understanding of the role of philanthropy within the child migrant narrative. All of these memorials are emblematic of a celebratory narrative surrounding child-centred philanthropy during the twentieth

century, similar to that outlined by Marie-Catherine Allard in relation to the British memorialisation of the Kindertransport.³³⁶

The first British memorial of note was created in 1908 and served to celebrate the life of Thomas Barnardo, the founder of Barnardo's Homes and a leading orchestrator of forced child migration. This remains the only memorial dedicated to the life of Thomas Barnardo that is listed on the *Historic England* database.³³⁷ Although this memorial pre-dates the arrival of the first cohort of British child migrants in Australia as part of child migrant programmes, Barnardo had long been involved in both child philanthropy in the UK and child deportation to Canada, the most popular destination for child migrants prior to the 1922 Empire Settlement Act. The year 1867 witnessed not only the establishment of the first Barnardo's Home in the UK, but also the commencement of the first child emigration scheme to Canada which, as Claudia Soares has explained, became one of the largest programmes of its kind, having shipped approximately 24,000 institutionalised children to this dominion by 1912.³³⁸ Estimates from Alan Gill and Barnardo's Australia underline the significant involvement of Barnardo's in the later deportation of British child migrants to Australia, with the charity receiving the highest number of children out of any organisation involved in these schemes, with the figure being believed to be up to 3,000, nearly 50 per cent overall.³³⁹ In spite of the significant numbers of children received in Australia as a result of Barnardo's programmes, the charity only operated three homes, all of which were found in New South Wales at Picton, Burwood, and Normanhurst.³⁴⁰ The Barnardo's child migrants that settled in other states were

³³⁶ Allard, 'Modelling Bridges', 99.

³³⁷ Historic England, *Search Results – Historic England*.

³³⁸ Soares, 'Care and trauma', 103.

³³⁹ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 263-265.

³⁴⁰ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 259-261.

looked after by other philanthropic organisations, most notably by Fairbridge in the case of arrivals into Western Australia.³⁴¹ Despite the substantial role of Barnardo's in deporting children from the UK to Australia during the twentieth century, the online database *Monument Australia* indicates that there are no memorials linked to the charity or its founder in the latter nation.³⁴²

Figure 4 - Memorial to Dr Barnardo, Ilford, Greater London, 1908.



Source: Historic England, *Dr Barnardo's Memorial at Barnardo's Headquarters in Ilford*. Available online: <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1081001?section=official-list-entry> [Accessed 22/06/2022].

The monument in question, shown in Figure 4, strongly exhibited two of the criteria for memorials as set out by Alison Atkinson-Phillips, namely the solemnity of the passing of Thomas Barnardo (Monuments as Mourning) and celebrating the

³⁴¹ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 76.

³⁴² Monument Australia, *Search*.

notion of child saving (Monuments as Artworks).³⁴³ On the notion of mourning, the Memorial to Dr Barnardo was unveiled three years after his death in Ilford, Greater London.³⁴⁴ This particular site was not only the former grounds of Dr Barnardo's Village Home between the years 1875 to 1908, but was also where Thomas Barnardo's ashes had been laid to rest after he passed away, with his funeral cortege having previously passed through East London before returning to Ilford prior to his cremation.³⁴⁵ On the base of the memorial, a short dedication can be found that features a brief passage from Dr Barnardo's will, underlining his devout Christian faith as being a strong motivation behind his philanthropy: 'I Hope To Die As I Have Lived / In The Humble But Assured Faith Of / Jesus Christ / As / My Saviour, My Master And My King'.³⁴⁶

Despite being created in response to the passing of Thomas Barnardo, the memorial in question is far more symbolic of the concept of 'Memorial as Artwork' than that of 'Memorial as Mourning.' The monument does feature a bronze-sculpted framed portrait of Thomas Barnardo accompanied with an inscription reading 'In Memory of Dr Barnardo, 1843-1905.'³⁴⁷ However, the rest of the marker was a far more overt celebration of the philanthropic work of Barnardo's and of the concept of child saving broadly speaking. Atop the central plinth of the memorial, a bronze-cast female figure representing the concept of Charity is found looking after two children, and a sculpture of a further three children are found at the base of the plinth, all of whom served to represent former residents of the school.³⁴⁸ This included a depiction of Emily, who would later work for Barnardo's having previously lived at the

³⁴³ Atkinson-Phillips, *Survivor Memorials*, 28-35.

³⁴⁴ Historic England, *Dr Barnardo's Memorial*.

³⁴⁵ Historic England, *Dr Barnardo's Memorial*.

³⁴⁶ Historic England, *Dr Barnardo's Memorial*.

³⁴⁷ Historic England, *Dr Barnardo's Memorial*.

³⁴⁸ Historic England, *Dr Barnardo's Memorial*.

Village Homes.³⁴⁹ Additionally, the inscription on the walls of the memorial featured more apparent references both to the work of Thomas Barnardo and the religious undertones that underpinned child-centric philanthropy in the Victorian and Edwardian eras:

'Suffer Little Children To Come Unto Me,
For Of Such Is The Kingdom Of Heaven.
In As Much As Ye Did It Unto One Of The Least,
Of These My Brethren Ye Did It Unto Me.'³⁵⁰

It can therefore be observed that this monument, despite being created within a funerary context, was predominately a public celebration of the life of Thomas Barnardo and the ongoing work of Barnardo's. Although this memorial was unveiled prior to the commencement of British-Australian child migrant schemes, Barnardo's was one of the most prolific child migration charities during both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The absence of any reference to the British Home Children being sent to Canada under the guardianship of Barnardo's is emblematic of the lack of permanent heritage referencing the experiences of former child migrants in Britain prior to their deportation. It is further symbolic of the veneration of those who engineered child migrant schemes and highlighted that any new heritage that may arise which sought to highlight the lives of former child migrants would be set against a backdrop of celebratory memorialisation.

³⁴⁹ Historic England, *Dr Barnardo's Memorial*.

³⁵⁰ Historic England, *Dr Barnardo's Memorial*.

The creation of the memorial to Barnardo set the tone for British memorialisation of the history of charity during the twentieth century. Later memorials, including those dedicated to the Salvation Army's founder William Booth, followed a similarly celebratory tone of both the man in question and the work of the charity he helped to establish. In addition to a memorial of Booth found within Westminster Abbey, unveiled in 1965, *Historic England* has listed a further six memorials dedicated to the founder of the Salvation Army.³⁵¹ The majority of these memorials have taken the form of listing sites pertinent to the life of Booth, including the house in which he was born and the William Booth Memorial Halls, both of which are situated in the city of Nottingham.³⁵² Booth's birthplace, as depicted in Figure 5, currently forms part of the William Booth Memorial Social Centre, which includes a statue and a museum dedicated to the philanthropist which gained Grade II status in 1972, with the site having been converted into a heritage site the previous year.³⁵³

Meanwhile, the memorial represented in Figure 6 was unveiled in 1929, the centenary year of Booth's birth.³⁵⁴ It was given Grade II status in 1973, the year after the William Booth Memorial Social Centre received the same honour, and consists of a bronze-cast bust of the philanthropist atop a white stone plinth.³⁵⁵ Although no information was given by Historic England concerning its designer, it is situated on the site where the Salvation Army was established, as was found in the dedication of

³⁵¹ Historic England, *Search Results*.

³⁵² Historic England, *William Booth Memorial Halls*. Available online: <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1454672?section=official-list-entry> [Accessed 25/07/2022].

³⁵³ Historic England, *William Booth Memorial Centre*. Available online: <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1254795?section=official-list-entry> [Accessed 25/07/2022].

³⁵⁴ London Remembers, *William Booth Bust*. Available online: <https://www.londonremembers.com/memorials/william-booth-bust> [Accessed 25/07/2022].

³⁵⁵ Historic England, *Commemorative Plaque on Stone Plinth*. Available online: <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1241081?section=official-list-entry> [Accessed 22/06/2022].

the memorial: "William Booth Founder and First General of The Salvation Army. Commenced the work of the Salvation Army on Mile End Waste. July 1865".³⁵⁶ There is, however, no further information conveyed by the memorial concerning the eventual influence of the Salvation Army or of Booth himself within the history of British philanthropy, nor is there an explanation of the exact work undertaken by the organisation, including child migrant programmes.

Figure 5 - William Booth Memorial Social Centre, Nottingham, Nottinghamshire, 1971.



Source: Historic England, *William Booth Memorial Centre*. Available online: <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1254795?section=official-list-entry> [Accessed 25/07/2022].

Both of these memorials were emblematic of the phenomena of 'Memorials as Mourning' and 'Memorials as Art', grieving the loss of the founder of the Salvation

³⁵⁶ Historic England, *Commemorative Plaque*.

Army while celebrating the work he undertook during his lifetime. The images listed in Figures 5 and 6 failed to address the issue of the charity forcibly sending British children to overseas outposts throughout the twentieth century. Like Barnardo, Booth passed away before the commencement of Australian child migrant programmes, but his organisation played a leading role in the migration of Britons to imperial outposts throughout much of the twentieth century. The IICSA report into child migrant programmes stated that the Salvation Army was involved in the assisted passages of more than 250,000 Britons to Australia, New Zealand, and Canada during the first half of the twentieth century, including adults, families and institutionalised children, with the organisation becoming increasingly less involved in migrations after the end of the Second World War.³⁵⁷ Additionally, the third appendix found at the end of *Lost Innocents* explained that out of the fifty-two institutions set up to house British children, six were established by the Salvation Army and were situated across three different states. Seaforth Home was situated in Gosnells, a suburb of Perth, Western Australia, while Riverview Training Farm could be found in the Queensland city of Ipswich.³⁵⁸ The remaining four homes were situated in New South Wales at Arncliffe, Bexley, Canowindra, and Goulburn.³⁵⁹

³⁵⁷ IICSA, *Child Migrant Schemes*, 116.

³⁵⁸ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 259-261.

³⁵⁹ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 259-261.

Figure 6 - Statue of William Booth, Tower Hamlets, Greater London, 1929.



Source: London Remembers, *William Booth Bust*. Available online: <https://www.londonremembers.com/memorials/william-booth-bust> [Accessed 25/07/2022].

While the Salvation Army were heavily involved in the wider processes of voluntary and non-voluntary British emigration to imperial outposts during much of the twentieth century, reference to this was absent from the British process of memorialising the organisation's founder. British memorials created during the twentieth century dedicated to philanthropists involved in child migrant schemes did not explicitly reference the influence of these individuals in the eventual deportation of British children to overseas outposts. They have sought to extoll the virtues of child saving while silencing the children who were subjected to deportation and maltreatment as a direct result of these programmes.

Australian memorialisation of child migrant philanthropists during the twentieth century

Although equivalent memorials created in Australia also served to celebrate the lives of the philanthropists in question, they were also unequivocal in championing their work within the history of child migrant programmes. One of the most notable examples of this was a memorial dedicated to Brother Paul Keaney, who served as the principal Bindoon Boys Town, WA, between 1942 and 1944, and again during the years 1948 to 1954.³⁶⁰ Estimates from *Lost Innocents* state that Bindoon was the second largest recipient of post-war child migrants in Western Australia, welcoming 244 British children out of the 1,651 of the total number of emigrated children, a total only surpassed by the 250 arrivals at Castledare.³⁶¹ *Lost Innocents* included an entire subsection of research into the life of Brother Keaney, outlining how the actions of the former head of Bindoon actively blighted the lives of its residents. For

³⁶⁰ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 116.

³⁶¹ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 276.

example, the report explained that Keaney took pride in the creation of a programme that enabled child migrants to gain skills in the construction industry.³⁶² This, however, involved children being forced to construct buildings on behalf of the Catholic Church without protective equipment or adequate oversight to prevent accident or injury, with this building programme being mandated for all Bindoon residents in lieu of a formal education.³⁶³ Additionally, a 1940 inquiry was launched by the Australian Federal Child Welfare Department concerning reports of Keaney brutally punishing boys for supposed misbehaviour at another child migrant home in Clontarf, and later claims emerged of Keaney inflicting similar abuses upon residents at Bindoon.³⁶⁴ In spite of this, *Lost Innocents* noted that Brother Keaney received an OBE in 1953 in recognition of his work supporting child migrants, with the report recommending that this honour be posthumously annulled.³⁶⁵

Although *Lost Innocents* did not provide any details surrounding the precise nature of the memorial dedicated to Keaney, an interview with one of the figures involved in the report explained the involvement of child migrants in its removal. Marilyn Rock, an Australian academic who had contributed to *Lost Innocents*, was interviewed in 2012 as part of the NLA's Forgotten Australians and Former Child Migrants Oral History Project:

'Well actually there was a big statue of Brother Keaney at Bindoon erected, and it was a statue of him with [...] a boy, and his hand on the boy's shoulder

³⁶² Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 116.

³⁶³ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 116.

³⁶⁴ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 117.

³⁶⁵ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 117.

or head, and just sort of saying he was the orphan's friend. Now some of the child migrants actually [...] demolished that statue.'³⁶⁶

Rock added that the demolition of this statue had occurred prior to the beginning of the Senate inquiry into child migrant programmes and that later members of the Catholic Church had attempted to re-build the statue in a different part of the former site of Bindoon Boys Town.³⁶⁷ While the creation of this memorial mourned the loss of Brother Keaney while also standing as a celebration of child philanthropy more generally, its destruction was indicative of the public intervention phenomenon outlined by Atkinson-Phillips.³⁶⁸ Furthermore, the removal of the statue of Brother Keaney pre-dates contemporary debates surrounding the removal of memorials dedicated to controversial historical figures, with this phenomenon having occurred more frequently in post-colonial contexts throughout the last decade, including post-apartheid South Africa.³⁶⁹ The removal of the memorial occurred as a result of the emergence of new abuse allegations in the 1980s and 1990s levelled against child migrant charities and the shifting of the public narrative surrounding the history of child deportation more broadly.

There remain, however, three twentieth century memorials in Australia that not only celebrate philanthropist Kingsley Fairbridge, but were also commissioned by former Fairbridge residents. *Lost Innocents* explained that the Fairbridge foundation operated five child migrant homes in Australia, most notably in Pinjarra, WA, and Molong, NSW, in addition to Bacchus Marsh, VIC, and two Tasmanian homes in

³⁶⁶ Penglase, *Interview with Marilyn Rock*.

³⁶⁷ Penglase, *Interview with Marilyn Rock*.

³⁶⁸ Atkinson-Phillips, *Survivor Memorials*, 35-38.

³⁶⁹ F.B. Nyamnjoh, *#RhodesMustFall: Nibbling at Resilient Colonialism in South Africa* (Bamenda: Langaa RPCIG, 2016), 189-190.

Launceston and Exeter.³⁷⁰ Additional figures outlined in the report indicate that Fairbridge was one of the largest agencies involved in child migrant programmes and may have been involved in the coerced migration of as many as one third of the total children in question.³⁷¹ However, the fourth appendix of the report contains somewhat conflicting estimates about the duration of Fairbridge child migrant schemes, in addition to the exact numbers of children deported to Australia. For example, Geoffrey Sherington and Chris Jeffery estimated that a total of 2,301 child migrants were sent from Britain to Australia via Fairbridge between 1912 and 1960, 830 of whom were deported after 1945.³⁷² Meanwhile, a latter part of the appendix claimed that the first party of 13 Fairbridge child migrants arrived in Western Australia in 1913, while estimates from Stephen Constantine suggested that 997 British child migrants arrived in Australia with the help of the foundation between 1947 and 1965, the largest number of any organisation involved in this process.³⁷³

Even after Fairbridge's passing in 1924, his influence was evident in later child saving projects organised by the foundation that bore his name. Sherington has outlined the legacy of Fairbridge upon the later work of the foundation in Australia, highlighting that the children who arrived at their institutions continued to receive an education in British citizenship, while also gaining agricultural or domestic skills in an environment designed to imitate that of a traditional family.³⁷⁴ The three Fairbridge memorials addressed in the following analysis are once again symbolic of the 'Memorials as Mourning' and the 'Memorials as Artwork' phenomena outlined by Alison Atkinson-Phillips. All of the markers in question have invoked the legacy of

³⁷⁰ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 259-260.

³⁷¹ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 264.

³⁷² Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 264.

³⁷³ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 264.

³⁷⁴ G. Sherington, "Suffer Little Children": British child migration as a study of journeyings between centre and periphery', *History of Education*, 32, 5 (2003) 468.

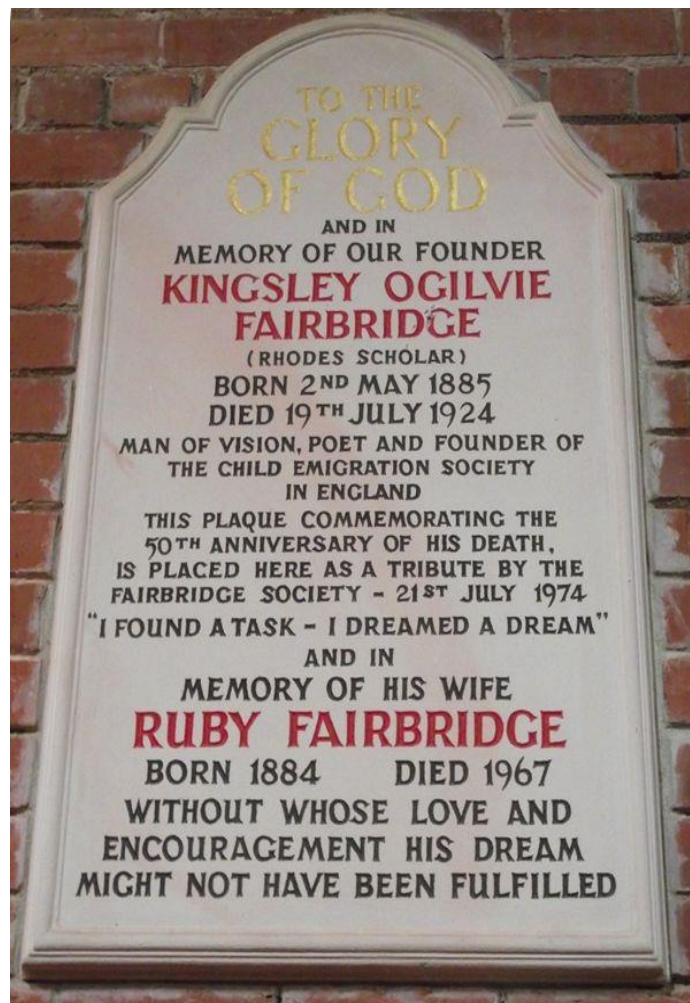
Fairbridge and the work of the Fairbridge Foundation in their efforts to engage in child saving philanthropy, in addition to being commissioned by a group of former Fairbridge child migrants.

The first memorial dedicated to Fairbridge, shown in Figure 7, was unveiled in 1974, the fiftieth anniversary of his passing. Displayed near Pinjarra, WA, it memorialised two British immigrants to Australia who played such a galvanising role in sustaining child migrant schemes. The Fairbridge Village provides a home for a group of former Fairbridge child migrants known as the Old Fairbridgians Association, and the memorial in question venerates both Kingsley and his wife Ruby. The memorial notes the trinity of religious, philanthropic, and imperial undertones which shaped the work of the school, the charity, and its founder, a mnemonic device found in all three of the markers dedicate to Fairbridge explored within this chapter.

Firstly, the gilded phrase “To The Glory of God” is inscribed at the top of the plaque highlights that faith was central to the work of Kingsley Fairbridge and his farm school project. This, in turn, reflects the endurance of religious belief within the Old Fairbridgians Association. A critical part of the inscription that is reiterated is the reference to dreams and Fairbridge’s vision for the creation of farm schools. According to a 1929 article written in tribute to Fairbridge, entitled “Kingsley Fairbridge: A Fulfilment of a Vision Splendid”, he is said to have had two visions that inspired him to establish the Child Emigration Society while he was a member of the Colonial Club at the University of Oxford. The first is said to have occurred in his youth while living in the former Rhodesia with his family and partaking in agricultural work. While travelling, he noticed what he perceived to be empty swathes of land with no British emigrants engaging in farm labour, and it is said he vowed to bring

farms and imperial labourers to these spaces in the future. After Fairbridge visited Britain at the turn of the twentieth century, he is said to have had a second vision in which destitute British children were to be sent overseas to be trained as farm labourers as a means of escaping urban poverty.³⁷⁵

Figure 7 - Kingsley & Ruby Fairbridge, Fairbridge, WA, 1974.



Source: Monument Australia, *Kingsley & Ruby Fairbridge*, Fairbridge, WA. Available online: <https://monumentaaustralia.org.au/display/111455-kingsley-and-ruby-fairbridge>

[Accessed 16/03/2020].

³⁷⁵ Beasley & Beasley, 'Kingsley Fairbridge', 74-87.

These visions and the supporting role of Kingsley's wife Ruby in fulfilling this mission have a prominent place in this marker. The creation of this and other training schools was facilitated by Fairbridge's tenure at the University of Oxford. The monument refers both to the Rhodes Scholarship that he had received and the fact that he created the Child Emigration Society while he was a student in the UK. Though subtle, these references to Cecil Rhodes further underpin the perceived justification of child migrant schemes. Rhodes heavily inspired the work of Fairbridge and wanted to use these farm schools as a means of achieving the former's ambitions of increased imperial settlement, while raising labouring children who were instilled with loyalty to Britain.³⁷⁶ It is important to note that there is no mention on the memorials of the experiences of former child migrants themselves, in spite its being created by former residents of the school. Although the memorial alludes to Fairbridge's vision to rehouse poor urban British children in overseas imperial outposts, there were no explicit references to the agricultural and domestic training that the children received, nor has the purpose of emigrating these children been made clear. At this stage, there was not yet any mention of the juvenility of the migrants housed by Fairbridge. This, however, was rectified after the unveiling of the memorial shown in Figure 8.

³⁷⁶ Beasley & Beasley, 'Kingsley Fairbridge', 75.

Figure 8 - Fairbridge Farm Memorial, Molong, NSW, 1977.



Source: Monument Australia, *Fairbridge Farm Memorial*, Molong, NSW. Available online: <https://monumentaustralia.org.au/display/22152-fairbridge-farm-memorial> [Accessed 09/06/2021].

Dedicated at another well-known Fairbridge institution in 1977, the second memorial to the Fairbridge Scheme, shown in Figure 8, was situated outdoors at the site of the Fairbridge Farm School at Molong, NSW. It was once again dedicated by former child migrants of the Old Fairbridgians Association. Several plaques were placed around the memorial cairn and while the religious undertones of Figure 7 are absent, it addresses the philanthropic origins of child migrant programmes and the loyalty to the schemes felt by the Old Fairbridgians. Of six markers on the site, three plaques adorn the structure of the memorial, and three further plaques are situated around the base of the cairn. One of the main plaques on the cairn pays tribute to F.K.S. Woods, who served as the Principal of Fairbridge Farm School at Molong

from 1938 to 1966. He is described as being a 'father figure' to the 1,200 children that were resident at the school under his tenure and the quote selected as part of the tribute underlines the agricultural training received by the residents:

'If You Want To Sow For A Year, Sow Wheat,
If You Want To Sow For Ten Years, Sow Trees,
If You Want To Sow For 100 Years, Sow Men.'³⁷⁷

A tribute to Kingsley Fairbridge can be found on the two remaining plaques which, though far less personal and emotive in tone, re-emphasise the philanthropic and imperial rationales for the creation of child migrant schemes found in Figure 7. These plaques explain that the British and Australian residents of the school were raised to be patriotic and to gain agrarian skills. The reference to Fairbridge's vision of creating farm schools for impoverished British children is alluded to once more, in particular the time he spent in Rhodesia during his youth. At the base of the monument are tributes to T.L. "Mickey" Mitchell, Charles Brown, and Alan C. Redfern, three former residents of Molong who died in combat during the Second World War. They serve to strengthen the patriotic tone of the memorial, albeit in a more subtle way due to their sparse design, lack of overt reference to the theatres of war in which they were involved, and their lower visibility when compared to the first three plaques. Despite the multitude of topics addressed within this memorial, there is a distinct lacuna regarding the origins of the school's residents. This is despite the

³⁷⁷ Monument Australia, *Fairbridge Farm Memorial*. Available online: <https://monumentaaustralia.org.au/display/22152-fairbridge-farm-memorial> [Accessed 09/06/2021].

memorial being located in the vicinity of the school and its being commissioned by former residents of Molong, NSW. Although the nationality and juvenility of the students are referenced, none of the plaques mention that they were migrant children, nor is any attention given to the experience that many had of the British orphanage system or the reason why they had been migrated in the first instance. Although a fleeting reference is made to the deaths of former Fairbridgians in combat, the impact of the world wars in worsening urban poverty in Britain and accelerating the arrival of British children to Australia is not discussed. However, there is an intriguing point of difference concerning the conditions of Figures 7 and 8. On the first three plaques on the body of the latter, several names and dates have been etched in. One can assume that these were from former child migrants visiting the monument, thus highlighting their connections to the site.

The last known monument concerning Fairbridge migrant schemes created prior to the publication of national child migrant inquiries is the Fairbridge Memorial Drive, located on the Mitchell Highway on the outskirts of Molong, NSW. This was the latest of the three memorials to be unveiled, having been erected in 1997, during which time the suffering of British child migrants had entered public consciousness. Despite being unveiled after the public discovery of many of the harms caused by child migrant schemes, the monument in Figure 9 continues to promulgate many of the themes present in Figures 7 and 8. The memorial contains three plaques, the first of which acknowledges the role of the Old Fairbridgians Association and the Fairbridge Foundation in its creation. Again, this celebratory monument was devised in part by former child migrants who wished to continue their association with Fairbridge into adulthood.

Figure 9 - Fairbridge Remembrance Drive, Molong, NSW, 1997.



Source: Monument Australia, *Fairbridge Remembrance Drive*. Available online: <https://monumentaustralia.org.au/search/display/22151-fairbridge-remembrance-drive> [Accessed 09/06/2021].

The second plaque contains another tribute to the work of Kingsley Fairbridge, though unlike those seen in Figures 7 and 8, there is a more detailed description of the plight of child migrants and the suffering that they had experienced prior to their deportation. The dedication speaks of overcrowding in British cities and makes a case as to why being raised in a farm school improved the life prospects of

these children, namely higher levels of education, improved living standards, and professional training. The last paragraph of the plaque also addresses ongoing issues concerning the Australian care system and the present-day work of the Fairbridge Foundation in helping disadvantaged children, despite the cessation of the farm school system. This description, though brief, introduces a sense of vulnerability to the story of child migration and the legacy of child philanthropy.

Thus, the memorial represented in Figure 9 is the first and only memorial connected with the Old Fairbridgians Association to explain the conditions in which child migrants found themselves while in Britain. The memorials found within Figures 7 and 8 made passing references to Fairbridge's vision and the inspiration behind the creation of farm schools, but did not explain in any meaningful way the state of urban poverty in the UK during the early twentieth century. The dedication seen here does mention this, albeit briefly. However, this story is once again told through the lens and experiences of Kingsley Fairbridge, rather than former child migrants themselves. Personal testimony, speaking either positively or negatively, is once again absent from the dedication despite its being commissioned by a group of former Fairbridge residents. Although the final plaque of this memorial contains a short tribute to Charlie Brown, a former member of the Old Fairbridgians Association, the monument serves to celebrate Fairbridge's own legacy. As a result of this specific focus, a rather more disturbing absence can be noted from the memorial's dedication, namely a lack of any mention of the suffering and abuse inflicted upon former child migrants.

By 1989, Philip Bean and Joy Melville had published "Lost Children of the Empire", which explained in depth the horrors experienced by British child migrants

and their struggle to have their testimonies recognised.³⁷⁸ Further, British social worker Margaret Humphreys had been conducting nearly a decade of work both domestically and overseas reuniting the families separated by child migrant schemes. She published “Empty Cradles” in 1994, outlining her experience in uncovering the child migrant scandal, sharing personal testimonies of former farm school residents, and revealing similar findings concerning institutional abuse.³⁷⁹ Public awareness of the subject also gathered pace, and several news outlets in the UK and Australia had published articles explaining the wrongdoings of organisations including Fairbridge.³⁸⁰

By exploring the shared themes of Figures 7, 8, and 9 through the lens of ‘Memorials as Mourning’ and ‘Memorials as Artwork’, one can gain an appreciation for the intended narratives and audiences of these mnemonic markers. Their location near the sites of former child migrant homes and their being commissioned by former child migrants who remained loyal to the Fairbridge charity into adulthood resulted in memorials that reinforced a sense of post-imperial nostalgia, while praising those responsible for the creation of these homes. Former child migrants wishing to visit their former homes were able to pay tribute to Kingsley Fairbridge and residents they may have known who died in combat. Furthermore, these memorials can be viewed as being a tool for self-reflection for these former residents, as well as being a symbol of the self-affirming narrative being created. Unlike similar memorials created in the UK during this same century, former child migrants themselves played a leading role in the creation of Australian markers, although stories of personal suffering at the hands of those who took care of them in the Antipodes remained

³⁷⁸ Bean and Melville, *Lost Children of the Empire*, 151-157.

³⁷⁹ Margaret Humphreys, *Empty Cradles* (London: Corgi Books, 1994), 11-19.

³⁸⁰ Ferriman, *Lost Children of the Empire*, 17.

absent from all of the markers found in both this and the previous section of this chapter.

Discussions of memorialisation within national inquiries

The two national inquiries that looked specifically at the legacy of child migrant programmes, namely the UKHSC's Third Report (1998) and the Australian Senate inquiry *Lost Innocents* (2001), offered substantially differing views on the role of memorialisation within reconciliation. This section establishes the salient differences between these two policies, in addition to exploring whether either of the reports contained proposals for new child migrant memorials in their respective nations. This analysis advances the work of Alison Atkinson-Phillips by investigating not only the recommendations of these reports, but to also understand how the concept of memorialisation is embedded within it. This includes not only an understanding of the exact form that these memorials should take, but also their tone and proposed narratives that these markers should represent. It also offers a heightened understanding of the role of child migrants and their advocates in the process of proposing the creation of new memorials, including physical markers, but also other forms of public history including museum exhibits and resources at other sites of learning. This further helps to explain how mnemonic markers came to be the dominant form of child migrant remembrance prior to the issuing of national apologies.

Although both the UK and Australia placed great emphasis on heritage during the twentieth century that served to celebrate prominent architects of child migrant schemes, both nations diverged drastically on the role of memorialisation as a means of coming to terms with the harms of child migrant schemes. The UKHSC's

Third Report, in addition to *Lost Innocents*, both outlined a wide range of robust recommendations relating to how best to repair the wrongs created by child deportation. However, despite Britain's report containing seventeen recommendations, none of them concerned the memorialisation of child migrant programmes in either a permanent or temporary manner. The only reference to this came in the CMT's memorandum, which spoke of the value that former child migrants have placed on publicly recognising their experiences within the context of British history: 'Our clients often speak of the need for an apology and some form of public recognition of their suffering. There are no plaques, monuments or museum exhibitions which refer to this aspect of Britain's history.'³⁸¹

Sabine Marschall's literature concerning South Africa's efforts to create post-apartheid memorials in the wake of the nation's Truth and Reconciliation Commission can help to explain the reasons why memorials have become an integral part of other reconciliatory processes, including those seeking to address the plight of former child migrants. Marschall argues that the use of truth-telling in a post-apartheid context was designed not simply as a means of discovering the ways in which victims of racial segregation and oppression suffered, but was also meant to create a revised, shared history of apartheid within South Africa.³⁸² Marschall further explains that the commission itself was established to ascertain the full extent of human rights abuses that took place as a result of racial segregation and oppression, and the resulting reparation bill entitled the "Promotion of National Unity and Reconciliation Act", which was finalised in October 1997 stipulated that reconciliation for these wrongdoings ought to occur in a fourfold manner,

³⁸¹ Commons Select Committee, *Health – Third Report*, Memorandum by the Child Migrants Trust, Section 1.

³⁸² Marschall, *Landscape of Memory*, 76.

encompassing financial reparations, memorialisation efforts, provision of documentation, and improved social services.³⁸³ Although Marschall's work does not reference the suffering of former child migrants in Australia, her literature serves to highlight a reconciliation effort that pre-dated attempts to repair the injustices endured by British-born former wards of the Australian state which placed memorialisation at the very centre of reparative efforts.

This absence of a perceived need to commemorate Britain's role in the deportation of children to Australia lay in stark contrast to the report set out by the Australian Senate. Although *Lost Innocents* did not make any explicit references to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in post-apartheid South Africa, it was published in close proximity to this process and greatly emphasised the need for memorials as a form of historic redress. For example, this report made twenty-six references to the word 'memorial' or 'memorials' (this does not include references to child migrant homes that contain the word memorial, namely Fairbridge Memorial College and Murray Dwyer Memorial Home). Moreover, there are ten appearances of the word 'plaque' or 'plaques', and the word 'museum' is also referenced on ten occasions. The report addressed the need for child migrant heritage from the perspective of recognition, highlighting the contributions of child migrants to the nation of Australia while understanding how they have suffered. Several parts of the report speak of the lack of recognition afforded to these former wards of state, particularly within the museum sector. The following passage paid particular attention to the Immigration Museum in Melbourne, explaining that despite the significance of this museum in representing diaspora within the Australian national narrative, British child migrants have been all but excluded from this process:

³⁸³ Marschall, *Landscape of Memory*, 77.

‘While the Museum displays the history of immigrants from all round the world it does not record the history of child migrants or their subsequent contribution to Australia as a nation. One submission noted that an area within the Immigration Museum ‘should be provided to tell the story of the child migration issue, and the terrible things that were done to people by this infamous scheme’.³⁸⁴

The absence of the child migrant story in the museum has had profound consequences for the ways in which Australia has understood its histories of migration and nationhood. Child migrants arrived in Australia from the UK partly as a result of the former nation wishing to increase the numbers of ethnically British citizens living in the country, and their history is one defined by coercion, exploitation, and abuse. The fact that this history went largely unrepresented in exhibitions throughout the twentieth and early-twenty-first centuries galvanised popular narratives about voluntary postwar British migration to Australia, as well as serving to offer an incomplete understanding regarding the true impact of the 1901 Immigration Restriction Act. Australia’s insistence upon only allowing British immigrants into the country throughout much of the twentieth century, in addition to the desire among many philanthropists including Kingsley Fairbridge to populate supposedly empty swathes of imperial land with white citizens, serve as evidence for the racist and anti-indigenous underpinnings of child migrant programmes. These issues, alongside the continued silencing of traumatic stories of childhood, would

³⁸⁴ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 239-240.

only begin to be rectified in earnest after the national apologies that took place in 2009 and 2010 respectively, as Chapter Four explains.

By the time *Lost Innocents* was published on 30 August 2001, only one government-funded memorial had been unveiled in Australia pertaining to the lives of British child migrants. South Australia's plaque dedicated to this group was unveiled on 23 February 2001, and forms an integral part of the analysis in the following section.³⁸⁵ For now, it can be observed that there was a well-documented desire to expand child migrant heritage as a form of recognition both of their exploitation and of their contributions to the nation. Contained within *Lost Innocents* were a list of thirty-three recommendations concerning how best to improve the lives of former child migrants, the penultimate of which described in detail the need for governments at all levels to create either a memorial or a series thereof dedicated to British child migrants. The recommendation further stipulated the need for child migrants to be a part of this consultation process:

'Recommendation 32: That the Commonwealth and State Governments, in conjunction with the receiving agencies, provide funding for the erection of a suitable memorial or memorials commemorating former child migrants, and that the appropriate form and location(s) of such a memorial or memorials be determined by consulting widely with former child migrants and their representative organisations.'³⁸⁶

³⁸⁵ Monument Australia, *British Child Migration Schemes*. Available online: <https://monumentaustralia.org.au/display/103269-british-child-migration-schemes> [Accessed 16/03/2020].

³⁸⁶ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, xix.

Later parts of *Lost Innocents* described the differences in opinion between different child migrant organisations about how best to represent their narratives in the public sphere. Although differences in opinion had been expressed as to whether there should be a national memorial for child migrants, in addition to where such a mnemonic marker should be located, the following passage reflected the general consensus that multiple memorials should be created to reflect the complex and regional nature of child migrant programmes:

‘Some groups representing child migrants suggested that a suitable memorial should be located in Canberra as a national memorial – as the child migration schemes were Commonwealth-sponsored schemes. [...] The CMFS, among others, suggested that a memorial should be erected in Fremantle as it was the port of entry for most child migrants to Western Australia. The Society suggested that the memorial, cast in bronze, could depict a group of four or five children carrying only a small suitcase with an appropriate inscription attached to the memorial. [...] Another submission suggested that a sculptured memorial should be erected in at least two locations in memory of child migrants.’³⁸⁷

As is explained in the following section, the year 2004 witnessed the unveiling of a memorial at the former port of Fremantle, WA. Although the resulting memorial would take a somewhat different form to the one proposed in *Lost Innocents*, its very creation represented a large step towards the fulfilment of one of the report’s recommendations. It can also be seen to have inspired the creation of later

³⁸⁷ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 240-241.

memorials in other Australian states, including Tasmania, New South Wales, and an additional mnemonic marker in South Australia. Returning to the report itself, later passages explore the exact purpose of such memorials. Section Ten of *Lost Innocents* refers to the positive contributions made to Australia by child migrants and reiterates the need for memorials to acknowledge this aspect of the nation's history. Although a reference was made to further acknowledging the role of governments and philanthropic organisations in orchestrating child migrant schemes, there is little indication in the following passage about attempting to reconcile the harms and trauma inflicted upon these former wards of state:

'The Committee strongly believes that Australia must recognise the positive contributions that former child migrants have made to the nation. The Committee considers that as part of this recognition process, the Commonwealth and State Governments, and the receiving agencies should fund a suitable memorial or memorials commemorating former child migrants, their history and their contribution to Australian life. Such action would also be part of a tangible acknowledgment by governments and agencies of their roles in child migration to Australia.'³⁸⁸

The creation of mnemonic markers was deemed to be the most effective form of recognition of the child migrant story outlined in *Lost Innocents*. However, an albeit brief mention was made by a joint proposal by the CMT and the IAFCM&F for the creation of a Centre of Remembrance and Learning to teach the public about the experiences of former child migrants. Although there was no indication about a

³⁸⁸ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 243.

proposed location for this centre, both agencies spoke of the need to preserve this history for future generations and stipulated that the UK Government and the Australian Federal Government should provide financial assistance to the project. A statement issued by the IAFCM&F outlined some proposals for what form this site might take:

'That can take the form of a building. It can be a building equipped and adorned with memorabilia. It can be historical. It can be on tape played through a video set-up. Again, this is for the experts to determine, but we do believe we need a centre of excellence to ensure that it is recorded that, firstly, this history did happen in this country and, secondly, that it never gets another opportunity to manifest itself in the manner that it did.'³⁸⁹

At the time of writing, such a site has yet to come to fruition. Although the post-apology era has witnessed the creation of several new modes of remembering the child migrant story, the beginning of the new millennium saw a renewed emphasis on physically memorialising this narrative, albeit from a different perspective. While references were made to centres of learning and the role of museum education as a reparative tool for child migrants, *Lost Innocents* placed substantial emphasis on the recognitive power of permanent memorials. This notion of recognition had now shifted from venerating the architects of child migrant schemes to acknowledging the contributions of child migrants, at the expense of addressing the traumas inflicted upon them. This report, however, paid far more attention to the importance of memorialisation than the UKHSC's Third Report had

³⁸⁹ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 240.

done three years prior. Only one reference to memorialisation was made in the latter report and appeared in the CMT's memorandum, rather than as a recommendation from the report itself. There was a very evident divergence between the values placed upon the memorialisation of the child migrant story by the UK and Australian Federal Governments, one that would become more evident in the years building up to national apologies, as the following two sections illustrate.

Post-inquiry memorials in Australia

The publication of these national inquiries underlined the role of governments at all levels within the implementation of child migrants schemes and their responsibility in repairing associated wrongs. The divergences of these inquiries concerning the importance of memorialisation within reconciliation resulted in far more government-financed memorials being created in the receiving nation than in the country that deported child migrants. Researching the online database *Monument Australia* has highlighted that memorials dedicated to the history of child migration were created in five out of six Australian states overall between the years 2001 to 2006. They could be found in South Australia, Queensland, Western Australia, Tasmania, and New South Wales.³⁹⁰ Although not listed on the database, the Australian Senate follow-up report published in 2009 concerning the maltreatment of non-indigenous wards of state entitled *Lost Innocents and Forgotten Australians Revisited* explained that a further memorial dedicated to child migrants was unveiled in 2006 at the Immigration Museum in the state of Victoria.³⁹¹ The findings of this latter investigation further outlined that the Australian Federal Government had provided significant financial

³⁹⁰ Monument Australia, *Search Results*.

³⁹¹ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents and Forgotten Australians Revisited*, 170.

support for the creation of new memorials designed to celebrate the lives of British-born former wards of state:

'The government supports the concept of a memorial(s) to former child migrants in commemorating the contribution child migrants have made to Australia. The Commonwealth will contribute up to a total of \$100,000 towards any suitable proposals for memorials initiated by State Governments in 2002-03. This funding would be distributed equally amongst those State Governments intending to establish a memorial to child migrants, and it is envisaged that those governments would seek to involve child migrants and relevant receiving agencies in determining the form and location of any such memorial.'³⁹²

The memorials found in South Australia and Western Australia provide the foundation of this investigation, since references to both markers were made within *Lost Innocents*. The former memorial predated the release of the report by six months and was described as being a significant step towards recognising the traumatic experiences of British child migrants in Australia.³⁹³ Meanwhile, a later passage from the CMFS outlined their wishes for the creation of a memorial at Fremantle, due to the city's significance within this story due to substantial numbers of child migrants having passed through the port on their way to other destinations.³⁹⁴ The data also highlighted the creation of a further memorial at the site of Clontarf Boys Town, WA in 2008 which had been commissioned by a group of

³⁹² Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents and Forgotten Australians Revisited*, 170.

³⁹³ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 237.

³⁹⁴ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 240-241.

former residents known as the Clontarf Old Boys.³⁹⁵ However, this remained an outlier in an overall trend of child migrant memorials becoming more concerned with the role of governments within this historical narrative, rather than the influence of charities, and this latter memorial will therefore not be addressed in the following analysis.

Monuments created in relation to child migrant schemes after the turn of the twenty-first century but before national apologies differed from earlier monuments in several important ways. For example, the markers analysed in this section had strong connections to governments, as opposed to philanthropic organisations. The memorials in question all received governmental funding, were unveiled by members of political institutions, or had been commissioned by governments. In all but one of the examples discussed below, these memorials were unveiled after the publication of *Lost Innocents*. On the one hand, they primarily reflect contemporary attitudes towards child migrant schemes and the direct influence of former child migrants in telling their story is not wholly evident. Although the notion of victimhood is apparent in all of these memorials in either a written or visual sense, the message put forward by all of these memorials collectively is one of overcoming adversity, although neither the specific nature of these hardships nor the agents responsible for their occurrence are addressed explicitly in these markers. Building upon Atkinson-Phillips' work into memorials of victimhood, the creation of these markers represented a move away from celebrating the architects of child migrant programmes and child saving philanthropy at large ('Memorials as Mourning' and 'Memorials as Artwork') towards representing a newly emerging shared history of

³⁹⁵ Monument Australia, *Clontarf Boys Home*. Available online: <https://monumentaaustralia.org.au/display/61214-clontarf-boys-home> [Accessed 17/05/2022].

forced child migration ('Memorials as Public Intervention'). This was, however, defined by how the governments in question understood the success of these migrants in overcoming adversity, with attempts to address their specific suffering involved in this story remaining all but absent.

Figure 10 - British Child Migration Schemes, Adelaide, SA, 2001.



Source: Monument Australia, *British Child Migration Schemes*. Available online: <https://monumentaustralia.org.au/display/103269-british-child-migration-schemes>

[Accessed 16/03/2020].

Evidence of this new turn towards portraying governmental opinions of child migrant schemes can be seen in Figure 10, a plaque at the Migration Museum in Adelaide dating from 2001. This memorial is further evident of a somewhat more prominent narrative of childhood and victimhood emerging within this public history. The language of the memorial dedicates itself to ‘the innocent children sent to Australia from their homelands’, a statement that sets the tone for the rest of the plaque by visibly introducing a story of family separation first and foremost, a subject hitherto neglected in previous attempts to memorialise this history. The top of the plaque depicts three child migrants, one of whom is carrying a suitcase, all of whom are travelling unaccompanied. Although their facial expressions aren’t visible, the image conveys the vulnerabilities and risks associated with child migration. Furthermore, as Figure 10 demonstrates, it invokes the concept of nationhood in a rather different way to earlier celebratory memorialisation. Previous monuments discussed British and Australian citizenship in a patriotic sense, stressing that the child migrants ‘belonged’ to these nations.

However, the memorial featured in Figure 10 underlines the fact that these were British child migrants, taken from their families and made to travel to Australia against their will. The use of the word ‘sent’ is integral to the notion the monument is wishing to portray. There is an overwhelming sense that these were children who were removed from the UK, rather than having arrived in Australia, the latter concept implying that they were doing so voluntarily. The word ‘homeland’ or ‘homelands’ is used twice in the dedication to refer not to Australia, but instead to Britain. This memorial makes the case that these were British child migrants rather than Australian orphans, as the plaque also mentions twice in its dedication. A sense of belonging with the nation of Australia is mentioned momentarily when the plaque

talks about these migrants making 'this place their home', in addition to the albeit unspecified contributions made by former child migrants to the nation of Australia. However, the main message here is that as a result of their being sent to South Australia, the British children lost connection with their families, their identities and their homeland.

Although a great deal of information about the reconciliation process was conveyed through this memorial, there were also several noteworthy omissions present. Although the dedication acknowledges the contributions of these migrants to South Australia, its intention is not to explicitly admit wrongdoing or apologise for historic failures. While the children in question are described as being innocent, their poverty and institutionalisation are not written into this memorial. The types of children that were sent to South Australia are not specified, nor are the agents responsible for their migration. Figure 10 represents the beginning of a new story of child migrant schemes being told in the heritage sphere. Not one of imperial settlement and the triumphs of early-twentieth century philanthropy, but instead a more child-centred narrative concerning the severance of familial and cultural ties, as well as the accomplishments of former child migrants in adulthood.

The image in Figure 11, the first mnemonic marker in Australia created after the publication of *Lost Innocents*, offers a more overt visual depiction of the suffering endured by British child migrants in Australia. The creation of this memorial was in line with the wishes of the CMFS due to its bronze-cast representation of children carrying suitcases in the vicinity of a dedicative plaque, although only two migrants are shown here as opposed to the four or five requested by the society.³⁹⁶ It was

³⁹⁶ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 240.

unveiled on 10 December 2004, a date which coincided with the global celebration of Human Rights Day and the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.³⁹⁷ Its location at the Western Australian Maritime Museum in Fremantle holds great significance. Firstly, although this memorial is based at a museum, it is a permanent mnemonic marker that did not form a part of any specific collection or exhibition. It is publicly visible and accessible via the Victoria Quay, a site that incorporates not only the museum, but also the Fremantle Passenger Terminal. The latter was created in response to the Australian Government's post-war immigration policies, chief among them being assisted passages for British immigrants dubbed the 'Ten Pound Pom' scheme.³⁹⁸ This particular site became a significant arrival point for thousands of British immigrants after its completion in 1960, as well as being used to welcome competitors at the 1962 Commonwealth Games held in nearby Perth.³⁹⁹ The site's connection to British migration and the imperial project as a whole is evident.

The children in the memorial are dressed in smart attire and carrying suitcases, a typical representation of child migrants during the mid-twentieth century. However, where this memorial differs from these traditional depictions of child migrants is through its use of emotion. Both children appear upset to have arrived in Fremantle, with the boy visibly consoling the girl, who is in particular distress. This discomfort and unfamiliarity in their new surroundings is supported by the accompanying dedication, which extends many of the themes present from the

³⁹⁷ United Nations, *Human Rights Day*. Available online: <https://www.un.org/en/observances/human-rights-day> [Accessed 27/07/2022].

³⁹⁸ Hammerton & Thomson, *Ten Pound Poms*, 29-32.

³⁹⁹ M. Tull, *A Community Enterprise: The History of the Port of Fremantle, 1897 to 1997* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1997), 94.

memorial in Figure 10, albeit with the lived experiences of these child migrants being described in vague terms.

Figure 11 - Memorial to the Migrant Children, Fremantle, WA, 2004.



Source: Monument Australia, *Memorial to the Migrant Children*. Available online: <https://monumentaustralia.org.au/display/102227-memorial-to-the-migrant-children>

[Accessed 28/05/2021].

This decision to represent the vulnerability and isolation of child migrants, in addition to accentuating the fact that these migrants arrived in Australia during their childhood, was reflected in later memorials dedicated to child migrants found in Tasmania (dedicated in 2005 and shown in Figure 12) and New South Wales (2006). The former memorial represents a boy and a girl arriving into the state of Tasmania, as depicted by both figures carrying suitcases, with the girl also carrying a teddy bear, drawing further attention to the young and vulnerable nature of these migrants.⁴⁰⁰ The latter memorial, entitled *Coming and Going*, also represents a group of children carrying suitcases and the accompanying plaque, despite underlining the successes child migrants achieved in later lives, referenced the hardships they faced and the uncertainty of the future that lay ahead of them upon arrival in New South Wales, albeit in once again ambiguous terms.

Returning to the Western Australian memorial, the phrase 'homeland' is used once again, this time to describe child migrants who arrived from both the UK and Malta as these two migratory groups have their own separate plaques. On arrival, their future was said to be uncertain and as a result of living in Western Australia, it is stated that 'hardships were endured, benefits were derived.' This phrase bares a strong similarity to the dedication found in the Queensland memorial from the previous year, a memorial which sought to explain how these children succeeded in later life in spite of the difficulties they faced in childhood.⁴⁰¹ The dedication praises the contribution of these migrants as parents, workers and citizens, concluding that

⁴⁰⁰ Monument Australia, *Child Migration Schemes*.

⁴⁰¹ Monument Australia, *Neerkol Orphans Memorial*. Available online: <https://monumentaaustralia.org.au/display/92153-neerkol-orphans-memorial-> [Accessed 03/05/2022].

'Australia is better for their coming.'⁴⁰² The statue shown in Figure 11 represents the first meaningful attempt in the heritage sector to visibly depict some degree of child migrant suffering. A theme of familial separation is expanded upon, and there is an effort to challenge the previously dominant narratives about the morality of child migrant schemes. In this regard, this memorial reinforces the findings of *Lost Innocents* and continues to promote a sense of victimhood in the child migration narrative. However, the exact harms inflicted upon child migrants throughout their lives are not profoundly addressed here and in spite of the date of its unveiling, there is nothing in the memorial itself that explicitly states that forced child migration was a human rights abuse.

Figure 12 - Child Migration Schemes, Hobart, TAS, 2005.



Source: Monument Australia, *Child Migration Schemes*. Available online:

<https://monumentaaustralia.org.au/display/99463-child-migration-schemes> [Accessed 16/03/2020].

⁴⁰² Monument Australia, *Memorial to the Migrant Children*.

However, the scholarship of Sabine Marschall, coupled with a wider exploration of Australian Federal efforts to repair the harms suffered by former child migrants, underlines the importance of memorialisation within national reconciliation for this particular series of historic injustices. Marschall states that due to the lack of monetary reparations offered to victims of historic racial segregation and oppression in South Africa in the years following the end of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, memorials have begun to play an increasingly significant role within national reconciliation, with Marschall further arguing that post-apartheid memorials served the dual purpose of apologising for the historic injustices that they were designed to represent, as well as redressing the noticeable absence of financial reparations that had been issued during the first decade of the new millennium.⁴⁰³ When expanding the work of Marschall to encompass reconciliation efforts concerning the deportation of British children to Australia, it can be observed that Australian Federal memorials dedicated to former child migrants have come to take on a greater significance in lieu of other reparations. These memorials, though limited by their accompanying narratives that largely refused to accept that these children had been deported to Australia and concentrated on their successes in overcoming adversity at the expense of outlining what these adversities were in the first instance, represented the first meaningful effort by the Australian Federal Government to reconcile the injustices suffered by British-born former wards of state after the publication of *Lost Innocents*. Unlike in post-apartheid South Africa, it was not recommended that former child migrants receive direct reparations, but should instead be offered financial support in tracing their families, a provision that would

⁴⁰³ Marschall, *Landscape of Memory*, 77.

not be forthcoming until the creation of the Australian Travel Fund in the year 2002. Additionally, the investment in state memorials, many of which were unveiled in conjunction with state apologies, accentuated the absence of a Federal apology, with such a measure not coming to fruition until the year 2009 and being offered collectively to all non-indigenous former wards of state.

A further exploration of mnemonic markers dedicated to former wards of the Australian state, coupled with the findings of Alison Atkinson-Phillips in “Survivor Memorials”, highlights the influence of experiences of childhood on the Australian memorialisation agenda around the turn of the new millennium. The book contains an index of memorials relating to survivors throughout Australia that were created between 1985 and 2015. Focusing on the years between the publication of *Bringing Them Home* and the national apology to institutionalised non-indigenous wards of state, namely 1997 to 2008, it can be observed that recognising wrongdoings inflicted upon children became the principal focus of Australian memorialisation during this period. The index lists the creation of fifty six survivor memorials, thirty seven of which related to historic injustices suffered by the nation’s children, thirty of which sought to recognise wrongdoings inflicted upon the Stolen Generations.⁴⁰⁴

⁴⁰⁴ Atkinson-Phillips, *Survivor Memorials*, 298-302.

Figure 13 - Bringing Them Home, Sherwood, QLD, 1998.



Source: Monument Australia, *Bringing Them Home*. Available online:

<https://monumentaaustralia.org.au/display/92504-bringing-them-home> [Accessed 27/07/2022].

All of the memorials dedicated to the Stolen Generations were created after the publication of *Bringing Them Home*. This serves to underline the significance of childhood and national inquiries into historic child maltreatment upon the heritage landscape of Australia around the turn of the new millennium. One such example, represented in Figure 13, was published the year after the publication of this report and while it sought to address the contributions of First Nation Australians to the history and culture of the nation, it most principally aimed to address injustices

perpetrated against indigenous children, most notably a loss of cultural identity and familial separation.⁴⁰⁵

Post-inquiry memorials in the UK

Australian efforts to reconcile with harms inflicted upon former child migrants using memorialisation were not reciprocated in the UK, with only one memorial being created in the latter nation prior to their national apology. This is emblematic of the fact that the only mention of memorialisation contained within the UKHSC's Third Report was found within the memorandum provided by the CMT, which discussed the importance of recognition among British victims of historic child deportation. This report differed from its later Australian counterpart by not recommending the creation of any new forms of public history to address historic governmental wrongdoings. Despite these distinct differences in approach to memorialisation, it is important to note that national memorials dedicated to British child migrants would not appear in either nation during this period, with markers of this kind remaining absent from their respective heritage landscapes at the time of writing.

The mnemonic marker in question, depicted in Figure 14, is a plaque and a tree commemorating post-war child migration, unveiled in 2007. At the time of writing, it is the only memorial that specifically addresses child migrant schemes from the sending, rather than receiving country, and thus makes for an important point of contrast with the numerous Australian memorials that currently exist. The memorial is situated at the headquarters of Nottinghamshire County Council in West Bridgford, the same suburb of Nottingham in which the CMT is based. When attending the

⁴⁰⁵ Monument Australia, *Bringing Them Home*. Available online: <https://monumentaaustralia.org.au/display/92504-bringing-them-home> [Accessed 27/07/2022].

plaque's rededication ceremony in 2014, Norman Johnston, President of the International Association of Former Child Migrants, explained that the memorial is specifically connected to Nottinghamshire County Council for two reasons. The council provided significant funding and support for the CMT as well as bankrolling the process of legal redress. Furthermore, when the Australian and British governments had initially been reluctant to take ownership of their historic wrongdoings and apologise to those who were forcibly removed from their families, Nottinghamshire County Council came to the aid of these child migrants and provided them with support that had not yet been offered to them by the state.⁴⁰⁶

Figure 14 - Memorial to Child Migrants, Nottingham, Nottinghamshire, 2007.



Source: Child Migrants Trust, *Timeline*. Available online:

<https://www.childmigrantstrust.com/cmt-timeline> [Accessed 21/05/2020].

⁴⁰⁶ Child Migrants Trust, *Former Child Migrants to attend Rededication Service*. Available online: <https://www.childmigrantstrust.com/news/2016/1/27/former-child-migrants-to-attend-rededication-service> [Accessed 26/07/2022].

While the memorial celebrates the efforts of the council, its overall tone reflects the failures of charities and central governments in supporting these child migrants, both during their time in care and beyond. The dedication explores a galvanised notion of victimhood, explaining that ‘young children’ were ‘deported’ from Britain to Australia. The latter term would be used in Gordon Brown’s apology speech in 2010.⁴⁰⁷ Its usage in both contexts underlines the coercive and non-voluntary nature of child migrant schemes, explaining that the British government neglected its duty of care towards these children. The second half of the dedication once again explores the theme of familial separation and loss, invoking the phrase ‘homeland’ and emphasising family reunions as being a central feature of the ongoing process of reconciliation. The inscription does not mention the role of governments or charities in aiding the family reunification process, reflecting Johnston’s comments about the work of the council and the initial reluctance of migration agencies to address their historic wrongdoings.

⁴⁰⁷ Government of the United Kingdom. *Apology to Former Child Migrants*.

Figure 15 - Basque Refugee Children of the Spanish Civil War, Sutton-upon-Hull, East Riding of Yorkshire, 2006.



Source: Imperial War Museums, *Basque Refugee Children of the Spanish Civil War*. Available online: <https://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/item/memorial/65795> [Accessed 20/05/2022].

However, the Nottinghamshire-based child migrant memorial remains an outlier in terms of its recognition of children failed by the state. The first decade of the new millennium witnessed the creation of new memorials dedicated to Britain's efforts in providing aid to child refugees, as opposed to recognising the suffering of British children in care, thus proving to be something of a continuation of the

eneration of child migrant philanthropists that had taken place in the nation during the previous century. For example, Britain sanctioned the arrival of approximately 4,000 child refugees after the Nationalist-sanctioned bombing of the Basque town of Guernica on 26 April 1937, a major turning point in the course of the Spanish Civil War.⁴⁰⁸ Approximately one hundred homes were involved in looking after these children, and commemorative plaques can be found at eight of these sites, with seven having been created between the years 2003 and 2008.⁴⁰⁹ Such examples have included markers in Sutton-upon-Hull as represented in Figure 15, in addition to other locations in Southampton, Montrose, and Caerleon.⁴¹⁰ The principal emphasis of these memorials was to acknowledge the efforts of local charities and volunteers in caring for these children, rather than addressing the suffering that these children had experienced prior to their arrival, reinforcing the child-saving narrative present in British memorialisation of charity which had also been present during the twentieth century.

Another notable example of this wider historical trend is the London-based memorial *Kindertransport – The Arrival*, as seen in Figure 16. This bronze sculpture, unveiled in 2006, is located at the front of London Liverpool Street Station in recognition of the approximately 10,000 unaccompanied Jewish child refugees who arrived in Britain between the years 1938 to 1939, with the station having been the first point of arrival for all of these children.⁴¹¹ Marie-Catherine Allard has explained that the creator of the sculpture, Frank Meisler, was among the final party of Jewish

⁴⁰⁸ B. Shelmerdine, *British Representations of the Spanish Civil War* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), 156-157.

⁴⁰⁹ The Basque Children of '37 Association. *Plaques*. Available online: <https://www.basquechildren.org/activities/plaques> [Accessed 27/07/2022].

⁴¹⁰ The Basque Children of '37 Association. *Plaques*.

⁴¹¹ Gillian Thornhill, *The Life, Times and Music of Mark Raphael* (Bloomington: AuthorHouse, 2012), 77.

child refugees to arrive in Britain in 1939, having been sent over from Gdansk in Poland.⁴¹² The memorial principally consists of a series of bronze sculptures of children carrying their suitcases upon arrival into Britain, each of whom has a label around their neck identifying them as being Jewish refugees.

Figure 16 - Kindertransport – The Arrival, City of London, London, 2006.



Source: Imperial War Museum, *Kindertransport Sculpture (2)*. Available online: <https://www.iwm.org.uk/memorials/item/memorial/54207> [20/05/2022].

In a similar vein to memorials dedicated to the Basque children, *Kindertransport – The Arrival* has had an important role in representing the history of

⁴¹² Allard, 'Modelling Bridges', 86.

British humanitarianism during the twentieth century. As Allard has further noted, while this sculpture depicts the nuances and harsh realities of the Kindertransport, it encourages the viewer to reflect on the wider British tradition of helping people forced to leave their country due to conflict or religious persecution, including the Basque children, with the hope that the nation will resume these types of humanitarian efforts in the future.⁴¹³ During the twentieth century, Britain had a rich history of not only welcoming new immigrants to the country, but also looking after numerous groups of refugees, including Basque and Jewish children. Through the medium of memorialisation, a triumphant narrative has emerged that emphasised Britain's humanitarian successes. However, to expand Allard's analysis, this 'celebratory narrative' concerning Britain's humanitarian assistance of child refugees has been reinforced by a near total absence of memorials representing failures of child-centred philanthropy, including those representing the story of former child migrants, which are far more abundant in Australia. Due to the focus of Allard's work resting on the experiences of children arriving to Britain as part of national humanitarian efforts, she does not consider the demographics of children who have been largely marginalised within the memorialisation process, and how these absences reinforce Britain's self-styled triumphant history of providing charitable assistance to vulnerable groups of children. Although Britain's only child migrant memorial acknowledges the vital work of the CMT and accepts that former child migrants were removed from their country of birth on a non-voluntary basis, the UK has yet to create a memorial in relation to these former Australian state wards that underlines its own historic failures of childcare. This includes the abuses they suffered prior to their deportation and the ways in which many working-class children

⁴¹³ Allard, 'Modelling Bridges', 92-101.

were overlooked by major welfare reforms both prior to and after the end of the Second World War.

Conclusion

The process of memorialising the history of British child deportation to Australia was defined largely by the response of both nations to this concept in their respective national inquiries. Pre-existing memorials dedicated to individuals involved in child migrant schemes prior to these inquiries had represented a triumphant narrative of philanthropy. Britain had created numerous memorials in tribute to such figures including Thomas Barnardo and William Booth which mourned their passing while celebrating the virtues of child-saving work which were commonly held during the time of their unveiling. This was reinforced not only by visual representations of the individuals and their work, but also by their location at former homes run by Barnardo's and the Salvation Army respectively. Similar phenomena were evident in Australia's own memorialisation process, representing Brother Paul Keaney from the Congregation of the Christian Brothers of Western Australia as the 'orphan's friend', while venerating the legacy of Kingsley Fairbridge and the child migrant schemes he helped to create. However, the process of memorialisation in the latter nation prior to the commencement of national inquiries had been shaped by the wishes of child migrants themselves. All of the Fairbridge memorials referenced in the first section of this chapter were commissioned by former residents of institutions run by the Fairbridge Foundation in Pinjarra, WA and Molong, NSW. Despite its unveiling after revelations about the maltreatment of child migrants being made public, the latest of these memorials gave the most detailed exploration of the foundation's work, in

addition to the conditions in which prospective child migrants found themselves prior to their arrival in Australia, being unveiled the year prior to the UK inquiry.

The eventual national inquiries that were published in the UK and Australia offered greatly differing perspectives on the importance of memorialisation within their respective reconciliation agendas. In the case of the UKHSC's Third Report, the only reference to memorialisation occurred within the memorandum provided by the CMT, which discussed the concept of recognition more broadly. Meanwhile, *Lost Innocents* placed far greater value on the importance of creating new memorials representing the history of child deportation from Britain. While it praised the efforts of the South Australian Government in creating a commemorative plaque six months prior to the publication of the inquiry, the thirty second recommendation of *Lost Innocents* suggested that the Australian Federal Government ought to financially support the creation of a memorial, or series of memorials, in recognition of child migrants. Furthermore, advocacy groups representing former child migrants had provided details concerning what form these memorials ought to have taken. As a result, six new memorials were created and financed by the Australian Federal Government.

In accordance with the recommendations set out in *Lost Innocents*, the Australian memorials that were created prior to the national apology celebrated the lives and achievements of child migrants at the expense of fully admitting to the harms to which they had been subjected. Although these markers had been created in response to a public intervention, namely the official acknowledgement of the maltreatment of British child migrants while resident in Australia, very little about said maltreatment is referenced in these memorials. Fleeting mentions, either written or visual, are made to the hardships, uncertainty, and the juvenility of the migrants in

question in an attempt to highlight their vulnerability upon arrival. However, none of these memorials explain what these hardships were, nor who ought to be held responsible for their occurrence. Instead, these memorials primarily recognise the largely unspecified contributions of child migrants to the nation of Australia, in addition to the efforts of the relevant governments in helping trace their families. However, it is important to note that from the years 1997 to 2009, the Australian Federal Government had been undertaking substantial efforts in not only publishing inquiries concerning the maltreatment of former wards of state, but also having these stories represented in the form of public memorials. The situation differed substantially in the UK where the nation continued to celebrate its efforts in aiding child refugees through new memorials, while overlooking failures of child philanthropy. This meant that only one British memorial concerning the history of child deportation was created during the first decade of the twentieth century, remaining the only memorial of its kind at the time of writing. Moreover, national child migrant memorials in either country have yet to be created. Additionally, all of the memorials that were created in the years between the publication of child migrant inquiries and the issuing of apologies failed to adequately explore the racial, imperial, and class implications of child migrant programmes.

This chapter has advanced pre-existing scholarship relating to the memorialisation of survivor narratives in three key areas. Firstly, it has provided a thorough historical context surround the issue of memorialising child migrant philanthropists, explaining that earlier memorials in Britain only overlooked the role of these individuals in creating child migrant programmes, in favour of a narrative centred around the broader theme of child saving. This has not only involved exploring where these earlier markers fit into Atkinson-Phillips' categorisation of

survivor memorials, but also investigating how such markers have galvanised triumphant child-saving narratives that have been the subject of inquiries by Marie-Catherine Allard. This analysis has additionally illustrated that Australian memorials offered similar understandings of the relevant individuals and organisations in providing relief to British orphans, while organised groups of former child migrants themselves had a significant influence over what was memorialised, in addition to what was not.

Secondly, building upon Atkinson-Phillips' analysis of how official inquiries recommended the creation of new memorials, this chapter had looked at how the concept of memorialisation was embedded in the reports themselves. This has not only illuminated the wishes of child migrants and their advocates in having their stories formally recognised, but also addressed the value that *Lost Innocents* in particular placed on the importance of memorialisation as a form of reparation. In addition, it has demonstrated that inquiries had a substantial influence in creating new mnemonic markers that were representative of the 'Memorials as Public Intervention' phenomenon, as opposed to earlier memorials which were symbolic of the 'Memorials as Mourning' and the 'Memorials as Artwork' categories. Using Marschall's scholarship on post-apartheid South Africa, this chapter has considered the role of memorials as a form of truth-telling and how their value as a reparative tool is contingent upon the existence of other reparations, including financial redress.

This connects to the final way in which this chapter has advanced pre-existing literature, namely by offering a transnational approach to the concept of memorialising the child migrant story. Atkinson-Phillips' work helped to provide a context for the creation of memorials representing survivor narratives in Australia. However, this chapter has built upon that to understand how both Australia and the

UK have represented their shared history of child deportation, in addition to the ways in which both nations have connected with successes and failures in historic child philanthropy. By using Allard's research, it is also evident that the absence of British memorials dedicated to former child migrants can be seen as a contributing factor to the perpetuation of the 'celebratory narrative' of child-centred philanthropy that exists in the UK to this day.

Chapter 4: Post-Apology Heritage

‘There were no houses or anything around us. It was the most desolate place I’ve seen. In fact, I didn’t even know places this desolate even existed. From that moment on, things got bad, and they progressively got worse.’

Quotation from former child migrant Cliff Walsh, featured in the podcast series accompanying the exhibition *Departures: 400 Years of Emigration from Britain*, organised by the Migration Museum, London.⁴¹⁴

Introduction

Chapter Three served as an investigation of the role of heritage in shaping the reconciliation for British child migrants prior to the 2009 Australian and 2010 UK apologies. The British inquiry in 1998 and the Australian report from 2001 offered differing interpretations concerning the importance of recognising the child migrant story, with *Lost Innocents* placing great emphasis on the importance of creating new memorials alongside other reparative measures, including apologies and support in tracing families.⁴¹⁵ With the exception of a singular site of remembrance in the English county of Nottinghamshire, all of the new child migrant memorials unveiled during the first decade of the twenty first century were found across Australia’s six states of New South Wales, Queensland, South Australia, Tasmania, Victoria, and Western Australia, and were accompanied by, or placed in lieu of, a statement of regret concerning the lived experiences of British child migrants. Within the wider context of memorialisation around the turn of the new millennium, it was clear that

⁴¹⁴ M. Campion, ‘Episode 8 – Deported Children’, *Departures podcast*.

⁴¹⁵ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, xv-xix.

Australia, far more so than the UK, was beginning to create new markers that accepted failures of national childcare as opposed to celebrating child-centred philanthropy, as both nations had done throughout the previous century. This next chapter builds upon these initial findings as a means of understanding how the national apologies in both nations influenced new sites of memory beyond permanent memorials, in addition to exploring their influence in changing the child migrant narrative away from celebrating their achievements in adulthood towards focusing on individual stories of maltreatment and coercion.

This chapter addresses the evolution of government-financed child migrant heritage between the years 2009 to 2022. This era spans the issuing of the Australian Federal Government's apology to the Forgotten Australians and former child migrants until the conclusion of the latest exhibition to represent the story of this latter group within a museum context. The new heritage installations that arose in the wake of national apologies can be broken down in to three categories, namely permanent memorials, library projects, and museum exhibitions. Before detailing the exact forms of public history that arose from governmental apologies during this period, it is important to note that these years also witnessed the creation of other heritage projects that sought to represent the child migrant story within the public sphere. The most notable example of this is the 2011 film *Oranges and Sunshine*, directed by Jim Loach and starring Emily Watson in the role of Margaret Humphreys, the director of the CMT.⁴¹⁶ As Dolores Herrero has noted, the film succeeded in conveying the trauma of the child migrant experience, in particular their struggles in reclaiming their personal identities, through the lens of Margaret Humphreys, with

⁴¹⁶ *Oranges and Sunshine*. Directed by Jim Loach [Film] (Icon Home Entertainment, 2011).

the film also acting as a biopic of her.⁴¹⁷ However, due to the fact that this project, in addition to other film and televisual endeavours, did not receive government funding and were not outlined as promises in either apology, they are not addressed in the upcoming analysis.

This new era of memorialisation witnessed a diversification of the types of public history projects undertaken in relation to the child migrant story, as well as the narratives these memorials wished to portray. After the Australian Federal Government issued their apology to the Forgotten Australians and former child migrants in November 2009, the latter group would not receive any further government-financed memorials dedicated specifically to their own experiences. Instead, child migrants would be recognised alongside both indigenous and non-indigenous former wards of state within a series of joint memorials. This firstly underlined that within the medium of permanent memorialisation, the child migrant narrative had shifted from one of overcoming adversity and highlighting their contributions to Australia towards one of institutional maltreatment, a trauma that they had suffered alongside Australian-born children.

Meanwhile, the purpose of libraries, most notably the NLA, within post-apology reconciliation has been twofold. Firstly, the NLA commenced the *Forgotten Australians and Former Child Migrants Oral History Project* on 17 November 2009, the day after the Federal Government had issued their apology to both of these groups of children.⁴¹⁸ Over 200 participants came forward for the project, including Australian- and British-born former wards of state, in addition to family members and advocates, with the project enabling all interviewees to discuss the impact of child

⁴¹⁷ D. Herrero, 'Oranges and Sunshine: The Story of a Traumatic Encounter', *Humanities*, 4, 4 (2015) 715–719.

⁴¹⁸ National Library of Australia, *Forgotten Australians and Former Child Migrants Oral History Project*.

institutionalisation upon their lives.⁴¹⁹ Secondly, this oral history project was the first government-financed public history project dedicated, at least in part, to child migrants which embraced the digital turn, with 116 of the interviews generated from this endeavour being available via Trove, the NLA's digital archive.⁴²⁰ At the time of writing, it remains the largest online repository of interviews with British child migrants and their advocates.

Meanwhile, new museum projects also had significant implications for the representation of the child migrant story within physical and digital spaces. The exhibition, entitled *On Their Own: Britain's Child Migrants*, was jointly organised by Australian and British museums, in addition to touring across heritage venues in both nations. Although its creation was not mandated by either of the national apologies issued, at least in part, to former child migrants, it remains significant due to its being the only joint national reparation offered to these former state wards and the only museum project that focused purely on this specific demographic of formerly institutionalised children. Meanwhile, the creation of *Inside: Life in Children's Homes and Institutions* at the NMA was mandated by the Australian Federal apology to non-indigenous wards of state, and continued the merging of the child migrant narrative into larger histories of institutional maltreatment. Meanwhile *Departures: 400 Years of Emigration from Britain* was borne out of a context of the UK attempting to reconcile other histories of forced migration including the Windrush scandal, with the child migrant story forming a part of this larger narrative of historic British deportation.

⁴¹⁹ National Library of Australia, *Forgotten Australians and Former Child Migrants Oral History Project*.

⁴²⁰ National Library of Australia, *Forgotten Australians and Former Child Migrants Oral History Project*.

This chapter enhances recent studies published by heritage scholars including Adele Chynoweth, Eureka Henrich, and Claudia Soares, all of whom have largely focused on the representation of lived experiences in children's institutions within a museum context. The work found within the fourth chapter of this thesis addresses the preservation of the narratives of former child migrants in other heritage contexts, namely memorials and library projects. It further addresses more overtly the links between heritage and apologies, while also exploring the ways in which the narratives of former child migrants began to merge into wider testimonies concerning institutional childcare and the historic deportation of Britons.

Commitments to heritage within apologies

Building upon the prominent findings concerning memorialisation found within the UKHSC's Third Report and *Lost Innocents*, the following section explores how these decisions manifested themselves within the resulting apologies issued by the central governments of both nations. This investigation advances Chynoweth's analysis by not only explaining that new museum exhibitions and library projects came about as a direct result of the Australian Federal Government's apology to non-indigenous wards of state in 2009, but also by outlining the rationale behind the government's decision to include these measures within the apology. Unlike the UK Government, the Australian Federal Government published a reflective inquiry into their ongoing efforts to address historic wrongdoings perpetrated against non-indigenous wards of state throughout the twentieth century. The report, entitled *Lost Innocents and Forgotten Australians Revisited*, was published on 25 June 2009, almost five months prior to the Australian Federal Government issuing their apology to these groups. The report contained sixteen new recommendations within numerous areas of

reconciliation, including financial redress, family tracing, and judicial reviews, in addition to memorials and remembrance.⁴²¹ The only recommendation in the latter category concerned the creation of a day of remembrance for care leavers in the style of the Child Protection Week event held annually in Queensland.⁴²² Although there were no explicit recommendations set out by the report concerning the creation of new memorials for either British- or Australian-born former wards of state, the theme of public history was embedded within this report, in a similar fashion to *Lost Innocents*.

The follow-up report contained a sustained critique of pre-existing child migrant memorials, while explaining why projects in other parts of the heritage sector, namely museums and libraries, had yet to come to fruition. Although no references were made to the previously mooted plans for a national child migrant memorial and a centre of learning, *Lost Innocents and Forgotten Australians Revisited* analysed the successes achieved within the field of creating child migrant memorials throughout each of Australia's six devolved states. The word 'memorial' or 'memorials' featured on sixty-five occasions, and the report largely praised the role of the Australian Federal Government in facilitating the creation of new sites of memory. The report reiterated the fact that the Australian Federal Government had equally distributed a total fund of \$100,000 among all six state governments in the two years following the publication of *Lost Innocents* to create new memorials, a process that involved the consultation of child migrants and their advocates.⁴²³ The following passage outlines some of the complexities that had occurred during this

⁴²¹ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents and Forgotten Australians Revisited*, 207-226.

⁴²² Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents and Forgotten Australians Revisited*, 226.

⁴²³ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents and Forgotten Australians Revisited*, 170.

process, while highlighting the value placed upon memorials by survivors of institutional maltreatment, including former child migrants:

'The Committee notes that, despite some frustration at the sometimes lengthy timeframes involved for appropriate consultation over, and design and siting of, memorials, the value of these efforts was widely recognised and appreciated by care leavers.'⁴²⁴

This latter sentiment was echoed by the CMT. In a statement issued by the organisation that was later used in the final report, the trust explained that the process of memorialisation had been one of the greatest success stories in the years following the publication of *Lost Innocents* in 2001, with the majority of other recommendations still not having been met nearly a decade later.⁴²⁵ The passage further explained that new memorials had been ably supported by the Federal Government and the full complement of Australian devolved states, while also explaining that despite full apologies not being issued at all of the unveiling ceremonies, statements of regret were read out and the events in question all understood the severity of child migrant suffering.⁴²⁶ Additionally, the CMT explained that the creation of new memorials had been significant for former child migrants and their younger relatives, due to the story of child deportation being given a public

⁴²⁴ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents and Forgotten Australians Revisited*, 226.

⁴²⁵ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents and Forgotten Australians Revisited*, 197.

⁴²⁶ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents and Forgotten Australians Revisited*, 197.

platform, while enabling the survivors in question to visit these sites as a means of explaining their trauma to second- and third-generation family members.⁴²⁷

In a later part of the report, there is a further reflection on the proposal of other heritage measures in the realms of museums and libraries. Although *Lost Innocents* in 2001 had explicitly recommended the commencement of a programme of memorialisation recognising the contributions of child migrants to Australia, it did not outline any obligations in relation to other aspects of public history, merely other plans that had been suggested by advocacy groups. The divergence in heritage policies between Australia and the UK continued into the 2010s, being further evidenced by the role of public history within the apologies issued by both nations. For example, Australian Prime Minister Kevin Rudd stated that the 2009 apology should not only be a turning point for how the country looks after its children, but also ought also to be an opportunity to have these stories of institutional abuse be told:

'The truth is this is an ugly story. And its ugliness must be told without fear or favour if we are to confront fully the demons of our past. And in so doing, animate, once again, the better angels of our human nature. I believe we do a disservice to those who have been the victims of abuse if in any way we seek to gloss things over. Because the truth is great evil has been done.'⁴²⁸

No references to pre-existing or newly proposed memorialisation projects were made throughout the speech, with emphasis instead resting on museum and library education. The new reparative measures listed below represented a

⁴²⁷ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents and Forgotten Australians Revisited*, 197.

⁴²⁸ Parliament of Australia, *National Apology to the Forgotten Australians and former Child Migrants*.

significant policy change and underlined the importance of these measures within the reconciliation process at large. The apology represented the first time that plans for new museum or library projects in relation to the lived experiences of non-indigenous wards of state had been publicly announced. Rudd explained that these plans were of benefit to both survivors and the wider public:

‘As a result, the Australian Government is supporting projects with both the National Library and the National Museum which will provide future generations with a solemn reminder of the past. To ensure not only that your experiences are heard, but also that they will never ever be forgotten.’⁴²⁹

Although it was not confirmed within the apology text itself, these measures would take two principal forms. The first undertaking was the *Forgotten Australians and Former Child Migrants Oral History Project*, which was organised by the NLA and operated between the years 2009 and 2012, commencing the day after the national apology had been issued by Kevin Rudd.⁴³⁰ The second project was a museum exhibition entitled *Inside: Life in Children’s Homes and Institutions* organised by the NMA and touring nationwide from 2011 to 2014.⁴³¹ The above passage serves as evidence for Chynoweth’s claim that the latter museum project came about as a direct result of the 2009 Federal apology to the Forgotten Australians and former child migrants.⁴³² It was outlined earlier in this section that no immediate plans for such an exhibition were announced in the pre-apology report

⁴²⁹ Parliament of Australia, *National Apology to the Forgotten Australians and Former Child Migrants*.

⁴³⁰ Willis, *Interview with Michael Snell*.

⁴³¹ NMA, *Inside: Life in Children’s Homes and Institutions*.

⁴³² Chynoweth, ‘A Call to Justice’, 175.

concerning non-indigenous wards of state, meaning that the resulting apology represented a significant departure from this formal investigation.

To expand Chynoweth's argument, the apology also created new obligations in other parts of the heritage sector. The NLA, for example, was also tasked with creating new projects designed to represent the lived experiences of former child migrants, meaning that the exhibition *Inside: Life in Children's Homes and Institutions* was not the only government endorsed public history project that arose from this speech. The apology also represented a marked shift not only in the types of heritage that the Australian Federal Government wished to see created in relation to child migrants, but also a shift in tone concerning how this story was represented. Prior to the issuing of the apology, the Australian Federal Government had provided A\$100,000 of funding to all six of the nation's devolved states to facilitate the creation of memorials.⁴³³ Although the 2001 Australian Senate inquiry explored in detail the trauma suffered by British-born wards of state throughout their lives, it argued that new memorials should celebrate the national contributions of former child migrants and explain their successes in overcoming the adversities they experienced in childhood.⁴³⁴

From a public history standpoint, the Australian Federal apology served three principal purposes. These were to acknowledge the trauma suffered by the Forgotten Australians and former child migrants, to ensure that such injustices are never repeated, and to outline new reparative measures to increase the visibility of survivor testimonies. Establishing new heritage projects nationwide concerning the

⁴³³ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents and Forgotten Australians Revisited*, 170.

⁴³⁴ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 239-243.

institutional maltreatment of non-indigenous wards of state was seen as playing an important role in achieving all three of these aims.

However, the UK Government did not perceive the experiences of former child migrants as a learning opportunity in the same way that the Australian Federal Government had done three months prior. An analysis of the role of heritage and public education within the British apology to former child migrants further enhances Chynoweth's exploration into the connections between apologies and heritage. It highlights the comparative absence of UK Governmental measures designed to recognise the lives of former child migrants, while also addressing the Prime Minister's perceptions of memorialisation campaigns in receiving nations, including Australia and Canada, thereby offering a transnational analysis. Britain's apology to former child migrants issued by Gordon Brown on 24 February 2010 made no promises concerning the creation of new heritage projects, despite the Prime Minister referring to the need to recognise their stories and those of their advocates throughout. Brown explained that the apology was an opportunity for child migrants to have their stories and their trauma formally recognised, with seven references to 'hearing' and 'listening' being made throughout the speech. The Prime Minister spoke about his own experiences of learning about the child migrant scandal and the emotional impact that these stories of suffering can have on anyone who encounters them:

'A few years ago and again today, I listened in pain to the appalling experiences that I was being told about. And then I read the harrowing

testimonies of others. I was troubled then, as I am saddened now, at the number of childhoods that were destroyed.⁴³⁵

Later, Brown discussed the need for countries to address and understand shameful parts of their histories, a sentiment expressed in Kevin Rudd's. The British Prime Minister additionally expressed his admiration for the Canadian Government's designation of the year 2010 as 'The Year of the British Home Child', the same year in which the British apology took place.⁴³⁶ It is important to note, however, that these Canadian celebrations of former child migrants stood in lieu of an apology, with the Canadian Government having yet to issue an apology to British-born victims of forced deportation.⁴³⁷ As Suellen Murray has explained, during the same time period in which Australian and British national apologies to child migrants were being issued, the Canadian Government undertook two principal schemes to recognise the lives of these former wards of state, with the focus of these measures resting on celebrating their strengths, rather than accentuating their victimhood.⁴³⁸ The first of which was the creation of a series of stamps honouring the lives and contributions of child migrants, and the second of which being the designation of the year 2010 as 'The Year of the British Home Child.'⁴³⁹

Murray further noted that former child migrants in Canada, alongside relatives and advocates, expressed dismay at these measures, with many taking part in protests in the hope that the Canadian government would reverse their decision not

⁴³⁵ Government of the United Kingdom. *Apology to Former Child Migrants*.

⁴³⁶ Government of the United Kingdom. *Apology to Former Child Migrants*.

⁴³⁷ 'Former British child migrants seek apology from Canadian government', *CBC*. Available online: <https://www.cbc.ca/radio/thecurrent/the-current-for-march-15-2017-1.4024740/former-british-child-migrants-seek-apology-from-canadian-government-1.4024801> [Accessed 02/08/2022].

⁴³⁸ Murray, *Supporting Adult-Care Leavers*, 82-83.

⁴³⁹ Murray, *Supporting Adult-Care Leavers*, 82-83.

to offer a full apology.⁴⁴⁰ John Willoughby, director of the Canadian Centre for Home Children, offered a scathing critique of the stamp programme in particular, branding the measure ironic given the lack of support Canadian child migrants had been offered in attempting to trace their lost families.⁴⁴¹ The UK apology, therefore, offered praise to a largely unpopular set of Canadian reconciliation measures while neglecting to offer any concrete solutions concerning how the UK Government should recognise the history of forced child migration to overseas outposts. This represents a further significant point of divergence between this apology and that offered by the Australian Federal Government.

Post-apology memorials

Although the UK has yet to create any permanent publicly-funded memorials dedicated to former child migrants since their national apology, Australia did establish new memorials of their own, in spite of this policy not having been promised within the apology itself. To borrow from Alison Atkinson-Phillips, these memorials continued to be symbolic of the 'Memorials as Public Intervention' phenomenon due to their being a response to a political process, namely the 2009 Australian Federal apology to all non-indigenous former wards of state, and an advancement of national reconciliation. These markers can be found in North Adelaide, SA, Southbank, VIC, and Northbridge, WA.⁴⁴²

⁴⁴⁰ Murray, *Supporting Adult-Care Leavers*, 82.

⁴⁴¹ Murray, *Supporting Adult-Care Leavers*, 82.

⁴⁴² Monument Australia, *Search Results*.

**Figure 17 - Memorial to the Forgotten Australians and Wards of the State,
North Adelaide, SA, 2010.**



Source: Monument Australia, *Forgotten Australians*. Available online:
<https://monumentaustralia.org.au/display/94352-forgotten-australians> [Accessed
22/06/2022].

The first of these memorials, as shown in Figure 17, was designed to represent the innocence of the children in question while alluding to healing and

prosperity in the face of maltreatment. The Alliance for Forgotten Australians explained that the memorial, unveiled on 17 June 2010, is situated in the public space of Peace Park in North Adelaide, near the Memorial Hospital, an institution that primarily cares for women and children.⁴⁴³ The Alliance has further noted that the memorial was unveiled by a group of adult care leavers and approximately two hundred people were in attendance for the event led by South Australian Legislative Councillor Gail Gago, with a significant proportion of the attendees having survived institutional abuse.⁴⁴⁴

The memorial itself consists of four daisies made out of stainless steel and, according to *Monument Australia*, the largest of these flowers stands at over six metres tall.⁴⁴⁵ Kate Darian-Smith has additionally noted that the four steel daisy structures are in different stages of opening, representing optimism and hope while understanding that these care leavers are still going through the process of dealing with childhood trauma.⁴⁴⁶ In a similar vein to Australian child migrant memorials from the first decade of the new millennium, this South Australian Memorial was funded jointly by the Australian Federal Government and the South Australian Government.⁴⁴⁷ *Monument Australia* further states that this memorial arose as a direct result of the Australian Federal Government's apology on 16 November 2009.⁴⁴⁸ Although memorials were not outlined explicitly as a commitment within Kevin Rudd's speech, the creation of this new marker highlights the role of

⁴⁴³ Forgotten Australians, *Monuments – Forgotten Australians*. Available online: <https://forgottenaustralians.org.au/about/monuments#:~:text=The per cent20WA per cent20memorial per cent20to per cent20Forgotten,Western per cent20Australian per cent20and per cent20Federal per cent20governments> [Accessed 27/07/2022].

⁴⁴⁴ Forgotten Australians, *Monuments*.

⁴⁴⁵ Monument Australia, *Forgotten Australians*. Available online: <https://monumentaaustralia.org.au/display/94352-forgotten-australians> [Accessed 22/06/2022].

⁴⁴⁶ K. Darian-Smith, 'Children, Colonialism and Commemoration', in K. Darian-Smith & C. Pascoe (eds.), *Children, Childhood and Cultural Heritage* (London: Routledge, 2012), 169.

⁴⁴⁷ Monument Australia, *Forgotten Australians*.

⁴⁴⁸ Monument Australia, *Forgotten Australians*.

governments and political reconciliation within the creation of new Australian heritage. This helps to advance the scholarship of Chynoweth by highlighting the wider implications of the 2009 apology within public history beyond the museum sector.

Although the memorial was designed to represent hope and the future prosperity of all former wards of state who were raised in South Australia, the dedication offers a deeper explanation about the suffering of these children while incorporating the child migrant story into that of institutional child maltreatment and governmental neglect:

'Memorial to the forgotten Australians & Wards of the State

In honour of children who suffered abuse in institutional and out of home care.

We have grown through awareness and unity.

We celebrate our courage, strength and resilience.

We are no longer forgotten.

Dedicated to the future protection and nurturing of all children.⁴⁴⁹

The next memorial of note, depicted in Figure 18, also stands in tribute to the Australian Federal Government's apology to non-indigenous wards of state. While the design of the previous memorial focused on the lives of the children in question and the advancement of reconciliation, this memorial places far greater emphasis on the political process itself. Unveiled on 25 October 2010, this memorial is situated on the Southbank Promenade in Southbank, VIC.⁴⁵⁰ In her chapter 'Material Testimony:

⁴⁴⁹ Monument Australia, *Forgotten Australians*.

⁴⁵⁰ Monument Australia, *Forgotten Australians*. Available online: <https://monumentaaustralia.org.au/display/94368-forgotten-australians> [Accessed 19/05/2022].

Memorials Bearing Witness to Experiences of Loss and Trauma', Alison Atkinson-Phillips outlines the understated nature of the memorial's location. She explains that despite the public accessibility of 'World Within, World Without', the memorial is situated in an area of the city more closely associated with shopping and leisure as opposed to heritage and remembrance, being located in the vicinity of a series of dining establishments and the Southbank shopping mall.⁴⁵¹

Figure 18 - World Within, World Without, Southbank, VIC, 2010.



Source: Monument Australia, *Forgotten Australians*. Available online: <https://monumentaaustralia.org.au/display/94368-forgotten-australians> [Accessed 19/05/2022].

⁴⁵¹ A. Atkinson-Phillips, 'Material Testimony: Memorials Bearing Witness to Experiences of Loss and Trauma', in C. Santos, A. Spahr, T. Crowe Morey (eds.), *Testimony and Trauma: Engaging Common Ground* (Brill Rodopi: Leiden, 2019), 30.

This represents a significant departure from pre-apology memorials. For example, the South Australian memorial, unveiled in 2001, is situated at the Migration Museum in Adelaide, the 2003 Queensland memorial can be found at a former child migrant home in Neerkol, and the 2004 Western Australian marker is located at the Western Australian Maritime Museum at Fremantle.⁴⁵² These locations were all significant either as a reminder of where child migrants fit into wider understandings of Australian migration history, their experiences within the care system and their journey from the UK to Australia, with the latter museum having been a notable point of entry for many British immigrants throughout the twentieth century, including children.

Atkinson-Phillips further addresses the fact that the surface of the mosaic within the memorial is made of granite, allowing visitors to see their reflections when viewing 'World Within, World Without', and a series of small green and yellow flowers of varying sizes can be found across the display.⁴⁵³ Although not mentioned by either Atkinson-Phillips or the dedication of the memorial, it is possible that this floral display could be a reference to the memorial shown in Figure 17, which also uses the flower as a symbol of healing. The dedication further outlines the rationale concerning the placement of these flowers within the memorial, namely that this was an effort to capture the exact moment that Kevin Rudd offered his apology to all non-indigenous former state wards:

'This artwork reflects the constellations above Victoria at 11am on 16 November 2009, when Prime Minister Kevin Rudd made his national apology to the "Forgotten Australians". Wattle blossoms represent the one thousand

⁴⁵² Monument Australia, *Search Results*.

⁴⁵³ Atkinson-Phillips, 'Material Testimony', 30.

most visible stars and planets, one for every one hundred children who were in Victorian state care.⁴⁵⁴

This mnemonic marker further addresses the vulnerability and suffering of the recipients of the apology, in addition to highlighting their resilience in the face of maltreatment. This is reflected in the second half of the memorial's dedication:

'Here we remember those thousands of children who were separated from their families and grew up or spent time in Victorian orphanages, children's homes and foster homes last century. Many were frightened, abused and neglected. We acknowledge the many shattered lives and the courage and strength of those who survived.'⁴⁵⁵

The final government funded memorial created in this period in recognition of former wards of state, shown in Figure 19, contains the most overt attempt to visually represent the experience of childhood. Situated on the site of the West Australian Museum in Northbridge, WA, the sculpture of 'Unfolding Lives' represents a children's fortune-telling game crafted out of lined paper. This means that this memorial is the only one of the three post-apology markers, in addition to any of the pre-apology child migrant memorials, to incorporate testimonial evidence of growing up in a children's institution.

⁴⁵⁴ Monument Australia, *Forgotten Australians*.

⁴⁵⁵ Monument Australia, *Forgotten Australians*.

Figure 19. Unfolding Lives, Northbridge, WA, 2010.



Source: Monument Australia, *Forgotten Australians Unfolding Lives Sculpture*.

Available online: <https://monumentaaustralia.org.au/display/94358-forgotten-australians-unfolding-lives-sculpture-> [Accessed 22/06/2022].

A wide range of testimonial evidence is included on the design of the memorial, with statements drawing upon the lived experiences of former wards of state in both childhood and adulthood. Alison Atkinson-Phillips explains that some of the testimonies used within the memorial explained the pain and isolation that defined their childhoods, some addressing the fact that these children were in the process of overcoming hardships, and others outlining the homes at which the care

leavers had resided during their early lives.⁴⁵⁶ A significant number of phrases found on the memorial outlined the suffering endured by former wards of state, with many of these testimonies resonating with the child migrant experience. Such recollections include “I thought my parents were dead, they were not,” “My name was once a number,” and “Day after day working hard.”⁴⁵⁷

Other pieces of testimonial evidence speak to the reconciliation process at large and the joy that many institutional abuse survivors felt now that their stories were being recognised. These included “Someone is listening to my story,” “Regaining our identity,” and “Redress for the once vulnerable child.”⁴⁵⁸ In addition, the floor detailing contains a list of some of the homes that the children who provided testimonies had been raised. Below is a list of the institutions found within the inscription that housed child migrants, indicating that many of the participants in the gathering of testimonies for the memorial were British-born former wards of the Australian state. The child migrant homes listed on the memorial were Fairbridge Farm School, Bindoon Boys Town, Castledare, Tardun Farm School, St. Joseph’s Girls’ Orphanage, and Clontarf.⁴⁵⁹

The dedication found at the base of the memorial paid tribute to everyone who had spent time in Western Australian institutions as children. While addressing the achievements of these former state wards, the inscription follows the example of the memorials found in Figures 17 and 18 by addressing the responsibility of the government to look after its own children in the present-day, while taking ownership in their historic failures of childcare.

⁴⁵⁶ Atkinson-Phillips, ‘Material Testimony’, 30-31.

⁴⁵⁷ Monument Australia, *Forgotten Australians Unfolding Lives Sculpture*. Available online: <https://monumentaaustralia.org.au/display/94358-forgotten-australians-unfolding-lives-sculpture-> [Accessed 22/06/2022].

⁴⁵⁸ Monument Australia, *Forgotten Australians Unfolding Lives Sculpture*.

⁴⁵⁹ Monument Australia, *Forgotten Australians Unfolding Lives Sculpture*.

'This memorial is jointly funded by the Western Australian and Commonwealth Governments and is dedicated to all Western Australians who experienced institutional or out-of-home care as children.

This memorial brings the "Forgotten Australians" out of the shadows and into the light. Their most enduring legacy will be that the people now and in the future will know their stories and build upon them a platform for better care.

There is a strong thread that links the way a child is raised with the person they become in adulthood. This memorial stands as a reminder of that thread to all who create policies that affect children.⁴⁶⁰

When analysed together, these three post-apology memorials are emblematic of the changes in national memorialisation policy concerning the experiences of British child migrants. Two principal factors remained constant within this process, namely that these memorials all came about in the wake of a national governmental intervention, and that they all received some level of funding from the Australian Federal Government, alongside their respective state governments. This galvanises Chynoweth's analysis concerning the influence of the 2009 Federal apology upon Australian heritage of childhood by highlighting that despite not being promised within the apology speech, new memorials arose marking the significance of the ceremony and acknowledging the pain that it sought to address.

⁴⁶⁰ Monument Australia, *Forgotten Australians Unfolding Lives Sculpture*.

There are, however, many more differences between memorials recognising child migration created before the national apology and those created after. The influence of the 2009 apology extended not only to stipulating the creation of new forms of heritage, but also that the history of child deportation be told in a different way. Although overcoming difficulties and addressing the achievements of these former wards of state are still present in these memorials, the narratives of child migrants became absorbed into a wider history of historic child exploitation within an institutional context. While all of these new memorials were dedicated at least in part to child migrants, no direct references were made to British-born wards of state nor the concept of migration itself.

The Forgotten Australians and Former Child Migrants Oral History Project

Although the permanent memorialisation of the lives of child migrants continued after the 2009 apology, their stories were beginning to be told in more diverse ways, including a government-supported collection of oral histories. The NLA commenced the *Forgotten Australians and Former Child Migrants Oral History Project* on 17 November 2009, the day after the Federal Government issued their apology. According to the project website, it was funded by FaHCSIA, with a statement on the site outlining the significance of the apology in bringing about this project, in addition to the need to make these histories publicly available.⁴⁶¹ The Forgotten Australians and British child migrants had to share an apology, in addition to this reparative measure designed to preserve recollections of their experiences in care and beyond.

⁴⁶¹ National Library of Australia, *Forgotten Australians and Former Child Migrants Oral History Project*. Available online: <https://www.nla.gov.au/oral-history/forgotten-australians-and-former-child-migrants-oral-history-project#:~:text=Menu-,Forgotten per cent20Australians per cent20and per cent20Former per cent20Child per cent20Migrants per cent20Oral per cent20History per cent20Project,Australians per cent20and per cent20Former per cent20Child per cent20Migrants.> [Accessed 01/03/2023].

This initiative was not the first government-supported oral history project dedicated to former wards of the Australian state. The *Bringing Them Home Oral History Project* was announced in December 1997, approximately six months after the publication of the Senate inquiry into historic indigenous child removal.⁴⁶² After receiving funding of A\$1.6 million from the Australian Federal Government, the project operated during a four-year period between 1998 and 2002, collecting testimonies from First Nation Australians who had experienced removal from their families during their childhood, in addition to ecclesiastical, political, and law enforcement officials who had been involved in this process.⁴⁶³ Although the project website did not specify the exact numbers of interviewees involved, 187 interviews remain online and publicly accessible via the NLA's database.⁴⁶⁴

The undertaking of the *Bringing Them Home Oral History Project* had significant ramifications for British child migrants. Rob Willis of the NLA, who would later work on the *Forgotten Australians and Former Child Migrants Oral History Project*, conducted ten interviews with former child migrants and their relatives between the years 2001 and 2006.⁴⁶⁵ However, as the NLA database has highlighted, this precursor to the post-apology oral history project was far smaller in scale and was influenced directly by Willis' experience of researching indigenous child removal:

⁴⁶² National Library of Australia, *Bringing Them Home Oral History Project*. Available online: <https://www.nla.gov.au/collections/what-we-collect/oral-history-and-folklore/bringing-them-home-oral-history-project> [Accessed 15/08/2022].

⁴⁶³ NLA, *Bringing Them Home Oral History Project*.

⁴⁶⁴ NLA, *Search Results – National Library of Australia*. Available online: [https://catalogue.nla.gov.au/Search/Home?lookfor=my_parent%20\(AuCNL\)833081%20&iknowwhatimean=1&filter\[\]=access_type:%20All%20online%20&page=10](https://catalogue.nla.gov.au/Search/Home?lookfor=my_parent%20(AuCNL)833081%20&iknowwhatimean=1&filter[]=access_type:%20All%20online%20&page=10) [Accessed 15/08/2022].

⁴⁶⁵ NLA, *Child migrants oral history project [sound recording] – National Library of Australia*. Available online: <https://catalogue.nla.gov.au/Record/2314410?lookfor=subject:%20Child%20Migrant%20Scheme.%20&offset=1&max=4> [Accessed 08/08/2022].

'These interviews are an outcome of the interviewer's involvement in the Bringing Them Home Oral History Project which revealed the problems and even abuses that children experience in institutional care despite the good intentions of the authorities. This project will attempt to canvas the views of a number of migrant children who were sent to Australia under the Child Migrant Scheme.'⁴⁶⁶

Earlier attempts to gather oral histories of former child migrants and their advocates were influenced far more by other projects led by the NLA than by political processes, notably the publication of *Lost Innocents*. This inquiry did not explicitly recommend the creation of a new oral history project, nor did it reference the work of the NLA in beginning to preserve testimonies of the Stolen Generations. Instead, this report favoured investment in memorialisation and a potential apology as principal forms of acknowledgement for the harms created by child migrant programmes. Additionally, the commencement of this earlier oral history project began prior to the publication of *Lost Innocents*, with the first interview with Mary Molloy being conducted on 2 January 2001, nearly eight months prior to the publication of *Lost Innocents*.⁴⁶⁷ Although precise dates were not provided concerning the termination of the project, the final five interviews were conducted throughout the year 2006, with only one interview for the project having taken place between 2002 and 2005.⁴⁶⁸ Moreover, at the time of writing, only three of the ten interviews remain digitally accessible via the online catalogue.⁴⁶⁹ Unlike the *Bringing Them Home Oral History*

⁴⁶⁶ NLA, *Child migrants oral history project*.

⁴⁶⁷ R. Willis, *Interview with Mary Molloy for the Child migrants oral history project* [Recorded conversation]. 2001.

⁴⁶⁸ NLA, *Search Results*.

⁴⁶⁹ NLA, *Search Results*.

Project, the *Child Migrant Oral History Project* conducted between the years 2001 and 2006 did not arise from a specific political event that directly related to repairing the wrongs inflicted upon the former wards of state in question. Furthermore, the interviews in the latter project were conducted on a smaller scale and a more ad hoc basis, with comparatively less having been done to preserve these interviews for future generations.

The *Forgotten Australians and Former Child Migrants Oral History Project* conducted between the years 2009 and 2012 was far larger in scale and was directly influenced by the 2009 apology to non-indigenous wards of state. According to the project website, over 200 interviews by over forty interviewers were conducted with former wards of state in addition to advocates, relatives, and individuals involved in the maintenance of sheltering homes.⁴⁷⁰ Out of those 200 interviews, 116 remain available in the NLA's online database and are accompanied by photographs of the interviewees themselves, allowing the listener to gain a more developed appreciation regarding the origins of these testimonies. Out of these remaining accessible interviews, thirty were conducted with former child migrants, a further two with spouses of former child migrants, and an additional interview with Marilyn Rock, an academic who gave evidence in support of *Lost Innocents*.⁴⁷¹ Interviews conducted with child migrants, relatives, and advocates were therefore far outnumbered by those conducted with individuals associated with the *Forgotten Australians*, with interviews in the former category comprising just over one quarter of the total number of recordings.

⁴⁷⁰ National Library of Australia, *Forgotten Australians and Former Child Migrants Oral History Project*.

⁴⁷¹ NLA, *Search Results*.

The NLA themselves were aware that the project was able to facilitate healing on both national and personal levels. Evidence of the former phenomenon was outlined by Joanna Sassoon, who served as project manager for the collection of testimonies from former wards of the Australian state, who understood this endeavour as a vital form of public education, thereby enabling the country to come to terms with historic failures to protect institutionalised children:

‘This project aimed to provide social justice. We have built a mosaic of memories that reveal the many and varied ways in which people have been affected by the child welfare systems. Through including many different voices and perspectives, we hope that this project will become part of a broader national healing through understanding, in similar ways to the reconciliation movement.’⁴⁷²

This emphasis on reconciliation and healing was galvanised by the project booklet which was published by the NLA after the conclusion of the final interview. While stating that the project was mandated by the 2009 Federal Apology to non-indigenous wards of state, the collection of new recordings was deemed to enhance previous attempts to interview formerly institutionalised children by allowing the individuals in question to tell their whole life stories on their own terms. The introduction of the booklet further states that this freedom to convey the lived experiences of growing up in the Australian care system enhanced previous

⁴⁷² National Library of Australia, *You can't forget things like that: Forgotten Australians and Former Child Migrants Oral History Project*. Available online: https://www.nla.gov.au/sites/default/files/ohbooklet_forgottenaustralians.pdf [Accessed 17/08/2022].

attempts to reconcile with the matter, including public inquiries and accessing archival or personal documents:

‘These oral history interviews enable those who lived the experience to tell their stories in their own words. The recordings put flesh on the bones of other forms of historical records, present a deep and complex picture of the experience, and show the scars.’⁴⁷³

Child migrants themselves further outlined the significance of being interviewed about their lived experiences. Joy Milligan, for example, spoke of the value of the project for her on a personal level, explaining that her interview was one of the first times she was able to talk about her life outside of her family.⁴⁷⁴ Moreover, Donella Jaggs argued that the process of being interviewed had humanising potential for British-born former wards of the Australian state, enabling them to contextualise their lived experiences and inspire them to trace their lineages, creating a sense of identity for them that was lost in the process of being forcibly removed from their countries of birth:

‘Well [...] it means you've got to date that we're going to provide, hopefully, an extended and reasonably accurate database to help people understand their own lives. [...] And what it was that was in their own lives. So, in a sense, it's

⁴⁷³ NLA, *You can't forget things like that*.

⁴⁷⁴ M. Hutchison, *Interview with Joy Milligan in the Forgotten Australians and Former Child Migrants oral history project* [Recorded conversation]. 2012.

doing a bit of their genealogy for them. [...] So, it's giving you some [...] sense of belonging in the world. [...] And I think that's thoroughly valuable.⁴⁷⁵

On Their Own: Britain's Child Migrants

This chapter now turns to an exploration of three museum exhibitions that have been dedicated, at least in part, to former child migrants. The exhibitions in question are *On Their Own: Britain's Child Migrants*, *Inside: Life in Children's Homes and Institutions*, and *Departures: 400 Years on Emigration from Britain*. The first of these exhibitions, opened at the Australian National Maritime Museum on 10 November 2010, and would later embark on a tour of five Australian venues that would last until April 2014.⁴⁷⁶ These venues were the Migration Museum in Adelaide, SA, the Western Australian Museum in Perth, WA, the Immigration Museum in Melbourne, VIC, the National Archives of Australia in Parkes, ACT, and the Albury Library Museum in Albury, NSW.⁴⁷⁷ *On Their Own* would later tour across two museums in the UK, starting at the Merseyside Maritime Museum in Liverpool between 17 October 2014 and 4 October 2015, and finishing at the Victoria and Albert Museum of Childhood in London from 24 October 2015 and 12 June 2016.⁴⁷⁸

At the time of writing, *On Their Own* remains the only museum exhibition concerning British child deportation to Australia that has toured in both the sending and receiving nations involved in this process. This fact is made even more significant by the fact that apologies and family tracing measures that have been

⁴⁷⁵ J. Barnard, *Interview with Donella Jaggs in the Forgotten Australians and Former Child Migrants oral history project* [Recorded conversation]. 2011.

⁴⁷⁶ Australian National Maritime Museum, *Resources*. Available online: <https://www.sea.museum/explore/online-exhibitions/britains-child-migrants/resources> [Accessed 05/08/2022].

⁴⁷⁷ Australian National Maritime Museum, *Resources*.

⁴⁷⁸ Australian National Maritime Museum, *Resources*.

offered to former child migrants have been issued separately by both governments. While heritage scholars including Eureka Henrich and Claudia Soares have offered important insights into the ways this exhibition represented children within the stories of Australian migration and of the trauma associated with institutional care, this section enhances their analyses by understanding this exhibition as a form of reconciliation alongside other exhibitions that have been dedicated, at least in part, to former child migrants, namely *Inside: Life in Children's Homes and Institutions*, and *Departures: 400 Years of Emigration from Britain*.

Although *On Their Own* was a transnational effort to represent the history of British imperial child deportation by museums in the UK and Australia, many of the exhibits related to the experiences of former child migrants in other imperial outposts, namely Canada, New Zealand, and the former Rhodesia. Furthermore, as Eureka Henrich has explained, the exhibition sought to securely place the lived experiences of this shameful historic episode within a context of empire, immigration, childhood, and social welfare.⁴⁷⁹ According to Kim Tao, one of the curators, individual testimonies and belongings were given great emphasis within the exhibition in order to tell a complete story of child deportation that addressed the challenges that these former state wards faced throughout their lives.

'It is designed to take visitors on a journey. We move from the bustling dockside to the excitement of the ship voyage and we look at the shock of arriving on a new land and then that subsequent search for family and identity

⁴⁷⁹ Henrich, 'Children's Toys and Memories of Migration in Australian Museums', 12.

and adult life [...] It really focuses on personal, lived and individual experiences of former child migrants.⁴⁸⁰

Tao added that while the process of recounting one's childhood trauma was an emotionally demanding process for many of the participants, it also formed a vital part of having their stories recognised on a public level, having been largely overlooked for many decades.

'I wouldn't say they were happy to share their stories but they wanted to share them [...] It was important validation for them and their families for recognising the impact of these schemes on their lives. I think it was about finally being heard after such a long time of being powerless children and having no-one to turn to and talk to and believe these experiences.'⁴⁸¹

The exhibition has been digitised and remains available on the Australian National Maritime Museum's website, and allows visitors to engage individual possessions relating to historic child migrant programmes. While Eureka Henrich's research has concentrated largely on the ways in which *On Their Own* and other exhibitions pertaining to Australian migration have used toys as a means of representing lived experiences of child migration, this analysis offers a wider understanding of the use of material culture in this exhibition by encompassing objects and testimonies relating to experiences of institutional care.⁴⁸² For example, in a section of the museum entitled 'The Departure', visitors are able to view a

⁴⁸⁰ J. Allison, 'Insight into child migrant experience', *ABC Local*. Available online: <https://www.abc.net.au/local/stories/2013/02/22/3696239.htm> [Accessed 15/02/2023].

⁴⁸¹ Allison, 'Insight into child migrant experience'.

⁴⁸² Henrich, 'Children's Toys', 14.

number of personal belongings that were lent to the exhibition by former child migrants, as well as migration charities such as Barnardo's and Quarriers. Figure 20 represents a suitcase given by the latter charity to children sent to imperial outposts as a part of historic child migrant programmes. While some items, including suitcases, were used to depict the process of migrating to overseas imperial outposts, other belongings represented different aspects of the child migrant experience. Other possessions found within this part of the exhibition include a copy of the Bible lent by Barnardo's, designed to represent the religious aspect of child migrant schemes, as well as a pair of hobnail boots provided by Quarriers, which depict the labour with which many former child migrants were forced to engage during their time in institutional care.⁴⁸³

Figure 20 - A suitcase lent to the exhibition *On Their Own: Britain's Child Migrants* by Quarriers.



Source: Australian National Maritime Museum, *Belongings*. Available online: <https://www.sea.museum/explore/online-exhibitions/britains-child-migrants/the-departure/belongings> (accessed 05/08/2022).

⁴⁸³ Australian National Maritime Museum, *Belongings*. Available online: <https://www.sea.museum/explore/online-exhibitions/britains-child-migrants/the-departure/belongings> [Accessed 05/08/2022].

Meanwhile, as Claudia Soares has noted, the testimonies of former child migrants reflected the wide array of feelings that these former state wards held concerning their experiences of deportation and institutional care.⁴⁸⁴ In a section entitled 'The Voyage', visitors were invited to explore reflections from former child migrants on the experience of migrating from Britain to Australia, a process that the exhibition sought to explain was remembered in a positive light by those who experienced it, in spite of the emotional hardships of being removed from one's family. It was explained that prior to the commencement of these voyages, former child migrants were treated to afternoon tea and receptions from city mayors, members of the royal family, and philanthropists who donated significant amounts of money to facilitate child migrant programmes.⁴⁸⁵ These particular testimonies, Soares explains, reflect a sense of excitement that many former child migrants felt at the time at receiving luxury hospitality as part of their journey to a new country, a feeling which was accentuated by the fact that many of these children were not aware that their deportation to Australia would end up being permanent.⁴⁸⁶ This welcoming treatment that was experienced by many British-born former wards of the Australian state prior to and during their deportation was evidenced in the recollections of the individuals in question, including LP Welsh: 'One thing that amazed me was that we were treated the same as everybody else on board by the passengers and crew. We were treated as human beings.'⁴⁸⁷ Meanwhile, David Hill, who in the year 2007 published the book "The Forgotten Children: Fairbridge Farm

⁴⁸⁴ Soares, 'Care and Trauma', 106.

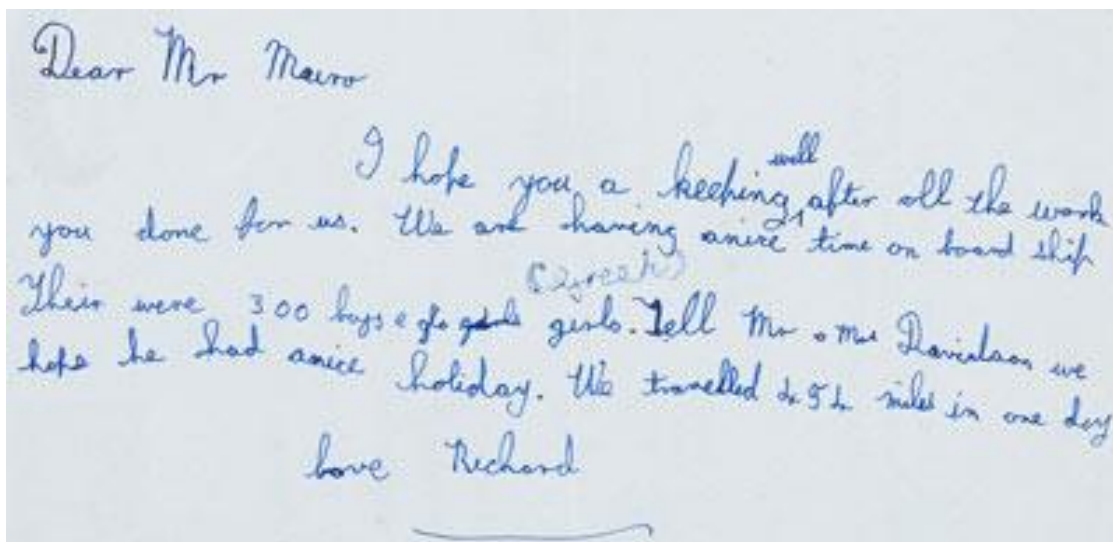
⁴⁸⁵ Australian National Maritime Museum, *The Voyage*. Available online: <https://www.sea.museum/explore/online-exhibitions/britains-child-migrants/the-voyage> [Accessed 05/08/2022].

⁴⁸⁶ Soares, 'Care and Trauma', 106.

⁴⁸⁷ Australian National Maritime Museum, *The Voyage*.

School and Its Betrayal of Britain's Child Migrants to Australia” which outlined the trauma suffered by him and former residents of Fairbridge Farm School, reflected positively on his voyage from the UK to Australia: “Like most children I found the voyage a marvel. My brothers and I had never even seen a big city like London before our proposed emigration. Now we were seeing the world.”⁴⁸⁸ Lastly, this section of the exhibition included contemporary letters written by former child migrants addressed to the Scottish charity of Quarriers which illustrated the positive experiences that many were having on their journey to Australia, as shown below in Figure 21.

Figure 21 - Letter written by a Former Child Migrant called Richard addressed to Mr Munro, Superintendent of Quarriers Homes.



Source: Australian National Maritime Museum, *The Voyages*. Available online: <https://www.sea.museum/explore/online-exhibitions/britains-child-migrants/the-voyage/the-voyages> [Accessed 05/08/2022].

⁴⁸⁸ Australian National Maritime Museum, *The Voyages*. Available online: <https://www.sea.museum/explore/online-exhibitions/britains-child-migrants/the-voyage/the-voyages> [Accessed 05/08/2022].

However, this exploration of some of the positive experiences that some former child migrants had of their voyages to Australia was replaced in the following section called 'New Lands, New Life', which outlined the brutal, unkind, and violent treatment suffered by many British-born former state wards while in care. In the subsection entitled 'The Schemes Dig In', visitors were invited to explore the lived experiences of five former child migrants, namely David Summerfield, Ian Bayliff, Raymond Brand, Pamela Smedley, and Yvonne Radzevicius. With the exception of Summerfield, all of these former child migrants offered different perspectives on the types of hardships they and their peers endured while they were wards of the Australian state. Summerfield lent a photo of himself at the age of 16 at Mowbray Park in Picton, NSW, from the year 1954, and this served as evidence of the happy recollections he had of being sent to Australia and his later career in the nation's wool industry.⁴⁸⁹ This exhibit was accompanied by a quotation in which he expressed his gratitude for being sent to the Antipodes: 'I was happy at Picton. I loved the sunshine and farm work. I thank Barnardo's for sending me to Australia, away from the wet and cold of England.'⁴⁹⁰ However, Ian Bayliff, who was deported to Australia with his three brothers to the Fairbridge home of Molong, NSW, recalled finding insects in the food that he was served, seeing one of his brothers being physically beaten by the school principal, and, upon visiting archives in adulthood, finding a series of letters written by his mother that had previously been intercepted by the school, when he had previously believed that she had forgotten about her

⁴⁸⁹ Australian National Maritime Museum, *David Summerfield*. Available online: <https://www.sea.museum/explore/online-exhibitions/britains-child-migrants/new-lands-new-life/schemes-dig-in/david-summerfield> [Accessed 05/08/2022].

⁴⁹⁰ Australian National Maritime Museum, *David Summerfield*.

children.⁴⁹¹ Raymond Brand, meanwhile, claimed to have suffered physical abuse while resident at Castledare, WA, and was later verbally maltreated after he was transferred to Bindoon, WA.⁴⁹²

Meanwhile, as Claudia Soares has written, a number of the testimonies and possessions belonging to former child migrants that were found in *On Their Own* draw attention to the work of the CMT in addressing these pursuits of family and personal identity that had been impacted by experiences of deportation and institutional neglect.⁴⁹³ For example, Pamela Smedley donated to the exhibition a toy house that she bought with the first wages she received from working in domestic servitude, as illustrated in Figure 22 below, and was utilised to explain how she suffered greatly from homesickness and longed to be part of a regular family, a wish that was fulfilled, at least in part, by being reunited with her mother with the help of the CMT in the year 1989, as Henrich outlines.⁴⁹⁴ Lastly, Yvonne Radzevicius described the deception surrounding her name being changed upon being sent to Geraldton, WA, and the emotional hardships she endured after finding her mother later in life, having previously been told that she had passed away many years prior: 'My lasting thought of Great Britain was being herded like cattle to board the New Australia. The nuns told me my parents were dead and I had no brothers or sisters.'⁴⁹⁵

⁴⁹¹ Australian National Maritime Museum, *Ian Bayliff*. Available online: <https://www.sea.museum/explore/online-exhibitions/britains-child-migrants/new-lands-new-life/schemes-dig-in/ian-bayliff> [Accessed 05/08/2022].

⁴⁹² Australian National Maritime Museum, *Raymond Brand*. Available online: <https://www.sea.museum/explore/online-exhibitions/britains-child-migrants/new-lands-new-life/schemes-dig-in/raymond-brand> [Accessed 05/08/2022].

⁴⁹³ Soares, 'Care and Trauma', 106.

⁴⁹⁴ Henrich, 'Children's Toys', 12.

⁴⁹⁵ Australian National Maritime Museum, *Yvonne Radzevicius*. Available online: <https://www.sea.museum/explore/online-exhibitions/britains-child-migrants/new-lands-new-life/schemes-dig-in/yvonne-radzevicius> [Accessed 05/08/2022].

Figure 22: A small replica of an English house belonging to Pamela Smedley.



Source: Australian National Maritime Museum, *The Schemes Dig In*. Available online: <https://www.sea.museum/explore/online-exhibitions/britains-child-migrants/new-lands-new-life/schemes-dig-in/pamela-smedley> (accessed 05/08/2022).

On Their Own remains the only museum project that has been solely dedicated to British-born former wards of the Australian state, as well as being the only museum project in which former child migrants have featured to have been hosted in both Australia and the UK. While the launching of this exhibition was not an explicit promise of either of the apologies, it sought to repair and highlight the ways

in which British-born former wards of the Australian state suffered as a result of their institutionalisation and deportation. The exhibition made visual references to the ways in which these children were put to work once they had been placed in institutional care in Australia, the deception surrounding their removal from their country of birth, their maltreatment, in addition to the struggles of former child migrants in their attempts to reconcile their personal identities. Additionally, curator Kim Tao's earlier statement concerning the intention of the exhibition to unearth previously suppressed narratives of British child deportation to Australia underlines the notion that the trauma associated with child migrant schemes had previously been neglected within the museum space, with this exhibition being designed with the lived experiences of former child migrants, as opposed to governments and philanthropic organisations, at the very forefront of its creation. Neither Henrich nor Soares sought to explore this exhibition as a reparation for the harms endured by former child migrants while living in institutional care, nor did these authors attempt to understand how this exhibition relates to other museum projects concerning British-born former wards of the Australian state. This is therefore an area of investigation that the rest of this chapter seeks to explore.

Inside: Life in Children's Homes and Institutions

Inside: Life in Children's Homes and Institutions was the first project established by the NMA to represent the lives of all non-indigenous former wards of the Australian state within a museum context. Meanwhile, this exhibition continued to merge the narratives of former child migrants into a wider history of child maltreatment in Australian institutions throughout the twentieth century. *Inside* represented the first substantive effort by the NMA to represent the lived experiences of non-indigenous

wards of state, including former child migrants. The exhibition opened to the general public at the NMA on 16 November 2011, the second anniversary of the Australian Federal Government's apology to the Forgotten Australians and former child migrants, and remained open until 26 February 2012.⁴⁹⁶ Although *Inside* would later be displayed in other Australian museums, this would not occur until eighteen months after its initial closure at the NMA. The exhibition would later feature in the Melbourne Museum, VIC, between 29 August 2013 and 27 January 2014, Western Australian Maritime Museum in Fremantle, WA from 14 March 2014 to 29 June 2014, and lastly Queensland Museum in Brisbane, QLD, from 9 August 2014 to 16 November 2014.⁴⁹⁷ As Adele Chynoweth, a co-curator of the exhibition, has noted, the NMA had previously been hesitant to dedicate substantial parts of the exhibition to either Forgotten Australians or former child migrants, even in the wake of the publication of Senate inquiries that detailed their historic maltreatment.⁴⁹⁸ It was not until the 2009 apology and the promise of Federal funding, she claims, that *Inside* eventually came to fruition, adding that this non-involvement of the museum within national reconciliation was indicative of the museum obstructing social justice.⁴⁹⁹ In a similar vein to *On Their Own*, *Inside* represented multiple phases of the lives of former child migrants, spanning from their placement in care, the ways in which they were exploited within an institutional context, and the impact of these experiences upon their adult lives. This is, however, achieved by placing the experiences of British-born former wards of state alongside other non-indigenous former state wards.

⁴⁹⁶ NMA, *Inside: Life in Children's Homes and Institutions*.

⁴⁹⁷ NMA, *Inside: Life in Children's Homes and Institutions*.

⁴⁹⁸ Chynoweth, 'A Call to Justice', 174-175.

⁴⁹⁹ Chynoweth, 'A Call to Justice', 175.

This absence of the history of child institutionalisation in Australia during the twentieth century had significant implications for former child migrants. *Lost Innocents* noted that prior to its publication, the history of child migration had only been referenced in passing within the Western Australian Maritime Museum and the NMA.⁵⁰⁰ The report added that in spite of the overall success that Australian museums had had in representing the history of migration to the country from all over the world, groups such as the IAFCM&F felt that former child migrants were chronically underrepresented within these spaces.⁵⁰¹ Although *Inside* was the first significant attempt by the NMA to represent the histories of former child migrants within a museum context, the project was further symptomatic of a wider trend that had resulted from the 2009 Federal apology, namely the merging of the child migrant narrative into a broader narrative of institutional maltreatment.

Although the exhibition opened to the public on 16 November 2011, *Inside* officially launched the day before, with many former child migrants and advocates being in attendance. Harold Haig, secretary of the IAFCM&F, and Ian Thwaites, assistant director of the CMT, attended the event and were thanked personally for their efforts in supporting British-born former wards of state and their families.⁵⁰² Also present at the launch event was Jenny Macklin, and her presence had a dual significance. Firstly, Macklin was serving as the Minister for Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs at the time, having served in this role throughout Kevin Rudd's premiership and by extension the Australian Federal Government's apology to non-indigenous wards of state in 2009. Secondly,

⁵⁰⁰ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 240.

⁵⁰¹ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 240.

⁵⁰² National Museum of Australia, *Transcripts – National Museum of Australia*. Available online: <https://www.nma.gov.au/audio/inside-life-in-childrens-homes-series/transcripts/inside-life-in-childrens-home> [Accessed 01/08/2022].

FaHCSIA had provided funding for the exhibition in the wake of the apology.⁵⁰³ At the launch of *Inside*, Macklin explained that the exhibition itself was a reminder of the Australian Federal Government's ongoing commitment to former wards of state, including former child migrants:

'We acknowledge what happened was real; and we are very sorry that what was real was forgotten - not forgotten by you but forgotten by too many. But you are now remembered. Of course, the apology helped to open so many hearts and I think very importantly the hearts and ears of the nation to your stories, to your courage and to your determination. That is really what led to the apology, and that courage and determination is what has led to this exhibition. It is your exhibition, yours, and is dedicated to all of you. Inside will make certain that the stories of the Forgotten Australians and former child migrants will be heard and will not be forgotten.'⁵⁰⁴

⁵⁰³ NMA, *Transcripts*.

⁵⁰⁴ NMA, *Transcripts*.

Figure 23 - Photo of child migrant Hugh McGowan being sent to London prior to his emigration to Australia.



Source: National Museum of Australia, *The way in*. Available online:

<https://www.nma.gov.au/exhibitions/inside-life-in-childrens-homes-institutions/way-in>

[Accessed 08/08/2022].

The layout of the exhibition offered visitors a chronological understanding of child institutionalisation, beginning with entry to their state-operated homes and concluding with an exploration of the lives of these children in adulthood and national

reconciliation. In the first part of the exhibition, entitled 'The Way In', visitors were greeted with a reception sign near the entrance taken from a former children's institution whereupon they could gain a greater appreciation concerning the personal toll of becoming a state ward. Exhibits of note concerning child migrants included a photograph of a Fairbridge resident ringing the school bell to symbolise the start of the working day, a rusted sign taken from Fairbridge Farm School in Molong, and an additional photograph documenting the beginnings of Hugh McGowan's journey to Australia from Glasgow in 1961, as shown in Figure 23.⁵⁰⁵

The written testimonies of three former child migrants, namely Godfrey Gilmour, Hugh McGowan, and Nigel Owen, were also found in this section. Gilmour's testimony spoke of being recruited by Father Cyril Stinson of the Congregation of the Christian Brothers of Western Australia on a 1952 visit to Malta, having been told that the nation of Australia and his new school would provide him with a better quality of life.⁵⁰⁶ McGowan's testimony highlighted that at the age of twelve, he was given the opportunity to migrate to Australia and while he initially accepted the offer, he later changed his mind only to be told that he was being made to leave his Glasgow orphanage whether he wanted to or not.⁵⁰⁷ Meanwhile, a passage provided by Owen in 2011 painted a very stark picture of child migrant schemes, accentuating the non-voluntary nature of these schemes and the lack of awareness that children had concerning their ultimate destination: 'When I was five years old, I was trafficked to Australia for four years [...] I had no idea even where Australia was.'⁵⁰⁸

⁵⁰⁵ National Museum of Australia, *The way in – National Museum of Australia*. Available online: <https://www.nma.gov.au/exhibitions/inside-life-in-childrens-homes-institutions/way-in> [Accessed 08/08/2022].

⁵⁰⁶ NMA, *The way in*.

⁵⁰⁷ NMA, *The way in*.

⁵⁰⁸ NMA, *The way in*.

Figure 24 - Photo of child migrants building a swimming pool at Clontarf Boys Town.



Source: National Museum of Australia, *The way in*. Available online: <https://www.nma.gov.au/exhibitions/inside-life-in-childrens-homes-institutions/way-in> [Accessed 08/08/2022].

A latter part of the exhibition entitled “Work and School” addressed the issue of forced labour at child migrant homes. Represented in Figure 24 is a photograph of a group of boys at a child migrant home in Clontarf not only being forced to build a

swimming pool on behalf of the Catholic Church, but also being made to do so without protection or supervision.⁵⁰⁹ Also included was a 1954 photograph of child migrants learning to blacksmith at Fairbridge Farm School in Pinjarra, WA, in addition to a 1935 photograph of residents of St Vincent's Boys Homes in Westmead, NSW, working at a printing press.⁵¹⁰ All of these photographs detailed the danger and exploitation associated with child labour, accentuating the fact that many of these children were working in these environments in lieu of attending school, despite having been promised a high standard of education in Australia prior to their arrival. The unforgiving and violent atmosphere that emanated from these working environments was aptly summarised by Michael O'Donoghue, a postwar resident of Clontarf Boys Town: 'It was child labour – to build up the resources of the church. We worked before and after school and at weekends. If they thought we weren't working hard enough they hit us. I've still got the injury from the beating.'⁵¹¹

Additionally, the later section entitled "Outside the Gates" detailed the struggles of child migrants in reconnecting with their families and their homelands. Among the testimonies displayed in this section of the exhibition included an anonymous submission to *Lost Innocents* which addressed the fact that many child migrants had been lied to about their parents having died prior to their deportation. A former resident of Clontarf Boys Town, known simply as Anthony R, explained that despite having been told that his mother had put him in care because she no longer wanted him, she had in fact written to Anthony every month throughout his time in Australia.⁵¹² Anthony later discovered that the Child Welfare Department had instructed the Christian Brothers to intercept and privately store these letters so as

⁵⁰⁹ NMA, *The way in*.

⁵¹⁰ NMA, *The way in*.

⁵¹¹ NMA, *The way in*.

⁵¹² NMA, *Outside the Gates*.

not to make him aware of his mother's existence.⁵¹³ Two final submissions of note came from Scottish child migrant William Nelson. In addition to a photograph of Nelson after his successful return to his homeland as seen in Figure 25, Nelson provided a poem he penned in the year 2000 outlining his anger at being deported and his desire to remain in Australia despite successfully reuniting with his long lost family:

'Oh Scotland! Why did ye forsake me? Why send me from your shores? [...]
At last the journey's over. My family I did greet. I'll new return to my adopted
land. To live my life in peace.'⁵¹⁴

Figure 25 – Photo of former child migrant William Nelson.



Source: National Museum of Australia, *Outside the Gates*. Available online:

<https://www.nma.gov.au/exhibitions/inside-life-in-childrens-homes-institutions/outside-gates> [Accessed 08/08/2022].

⁵¹³ NMA, *Outside the Gates*.

⁵¹⁴ NMA, *Outside the Gates*.

Although testimonies of child migrants specifically were not featured within the final section of the exhibition concerning the national apology, this conclusion part of *Inside* reiterated the need for further reconciliation for all former wards of the Australian state. On display were selected quotations from the 2009 Federal apology which underlined the injustices inflicted upon all of the survivors that attended the ceremony. Such passages included the following statements of Kevin Rudd: ‘The truth is a great evil has been done’, and ‘I believe we do a disservice to those who have been the victims of abuse if in any way we seek to gloss things over.’⁵¹⁵ Also featured on the display was a sample of Malcolm Turnbull’s official reply to the apology which underlined the significance of the ceremony for all survivors of institutional abuse: ‘Today I want you to know we admire you, we believe you, we love you.’⁵¹⁶ *Inside* advanced the narratives put forward by the 2009 Federal apology and resulting memorials by integrating the child migrant story into a wider narrative of institutional maltreatment. The exhibition has been archived online, allowing individuals who were unable to attend the display at the time to get a sense of how the museum decided to represent the child migrant story alongside narratives concerning the maltreatment of other former wards of state.

Departures: 400 Years of Emigrations from Britain

Lastly, the display to former child migrants found within *Departures* merged the story of these former wards of state into an additional narrative, namely the UK’s reckoning with historic deportation. At the time of writing, there have been no

⁵¹⁵ National Museum of Australia, *Apology and unfinished business*. Available online: <https://www.nma.gov.au/exhibitions/inside-life-in-childrens-homes-institutions/apology-unfinished-business> [Accessed 08/08/2022].

⁵¹⁶ NMA, *Apology and unfinished business*.

academic articles or books published concerning the exhibition entitled *Departures: 400 Years of Emigration from Britain* at the Migration Museum in Lewisham, London, nor the role that former child migrants have played within this project. Although two British museums had been involved in the creation and display of *On Their Own*, *Departures* remains the only project solely created in the UK in the fields of museums, libraries, or mnemonic markers in the years following their national apology to child migrants that references this demographic. This is despite the fact that this exhibition was not mandated within the apology, nor does any reference to the apology featured within the exhibition itself. Held at the Migration Museum in London, *Departures* opened on 30 October 2020 and initially planned on running until June 2021, according to the exhibition's press release.⁵¹⁷ However, as a result of two national lockdowns in response to the COVID-19 pandemic, the exhibition and the museum itself closed shortly afterwards, later running from 19 May 2021 until 13 February 2022.⁵¹⁸ The exhibition derived some of its funding from the UK Government's Department for Digital, Culture, Media & Sport via Arts Council England, while other sponsors included Goldsmiths (University of London), Hogan Lovells, The Northwick Trust, the Stelios Philanthropic Foundation, and the US Embassy in London.⁵¹⁹ Unlike the previous two exhibitions mentioned in this section, *Departures* did not tour across multiple museums, instead remaining at its original venue throughout its lifespan. Additionally, the Migration Museum remains the only museum dedicated specifically to the concept of migration found in the UK. At the

⁵¹⁷ Migration Museum, *Press release: Departures – immersive exhibition explores 400 years of emigration from Britain*. Available online: https://www.migrationmuseum.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/Departures-launch-press-release-and-media-assets_compressed.pdf [Accessed 05/08/2022].

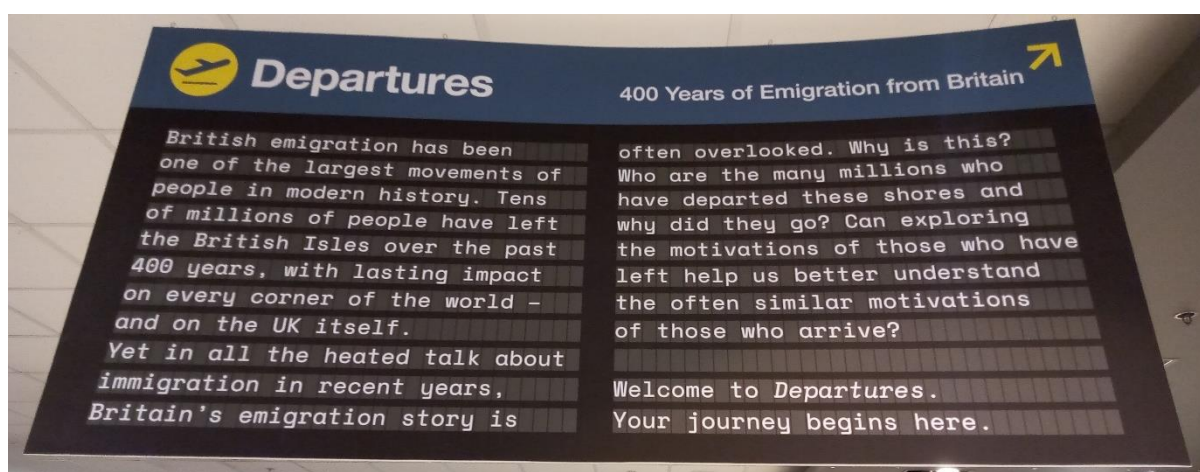
⁵¹⁸ Migration Museum, *Past Events – Page 3 – Migration Museum*. Available online: https://www.migrationmuseum.org/events/list/?tribe_paged=3&tribe_event_display=past&tribe-bar-date=2022-08-05 [Accessed 05/08/2022].

⁵¹⁹ Migration Museum, *Departures: 400 Years of Emigration from Britain – Exhibition Handbook* (London: Migration Museum, 2020), 33-34.

time that *Departures* launched, the museum lacked the same level of prominence when compared to venues used to host previous displays, including the NMA and the Merseyside Maritime Museum, due to its being located within Lewisham Shopping Centre, as opposed to being a standalone venue.⁵²⁰

The Migration Museum sought to represent the theme of migration from the UK by having the layout of *Departures* resemble that of an airport. Upon arrival to *Departures*, visitors were given a Boarding Pass introducing the theme of the exhibition and providing a map highlighting the different sections of the installation, in addition to their respective themes. Above the entry, a departure board could be found which outlined the aims of the exhibition, while encouraging the visitor to question why little is done as a nation to recognise Britons who have left their country of origin. This message can be seen below in Figure 26.

Figure 26 - Departure board from *Departures: 400 Years of Emigration from Britain*, Migration Museum, London, 2020-2022.



Source: Migration Museum, London, *Departures: 400 Years of Emigration from Britain*. 2022 [Museum exhibition].

⁵²⁰ Migration Museum, 'Visit – Migration Museum'. Available online: <https://www.migrationmuseum.org/visit/> [Accessed 05/08/2022].

Prior to entering the main exhibition, visitors were able to view promotional materials related to child migrant programmes on the right hand side of the lobby. These included governmental advertisements relating to migration to overseas imperial outposts including Australia, New Zealand, and Canada, in addition to a poster concerning the forced movement of people to the Virginia Colony dating back to 1609, a territory to which the first ever British child migrants would be sent nine years later. On the left side of the lobby, further promotional pamphlets could be found in a section known as the 'Departure Lounge'. Materials of note included two publications from the Salvation Army, one of which was entitled *The Boys of Britain*, and another was a 1907 copy of the charity's *Emigration Gazette*.

The exhibition consisted of seven sections, each of which addressed the different motivations behind emigration from the UK. The sections were entitled 'Gate 1: Escape/Dream', 'Gate 2: Forced to Leave', 'Gate 3: Desperation/Opportunity', 'Gate 4: Empire', 'Gate 5: The Good Life?', 'Journeys', and 'Baggage Reclaim: Legacies'.⁵²¹ The display addressing the history of child migration appeared within Gate 2, a section that also exhibited stories concerning the Tolpuddle Martyrs, the victims of Windrush Scandal, convict deportation of women and children to Australia, in addition to Jewish refugee children deported to Australia onboard *HMT Dunera*, all of whom found themselves being removed from the UK against their will.⁵²²

The display specific to child migrants highlighted the juvenility of the Britons in question and proposed a narrative that argued for philanthropy as being the largest

⁵²¹ Migration Museum, *Departures: Exhibition Handbook*, 1.

⁵²² Migration Museum, *Departures: Exhibition Handbook*, 12-15.

driving factor of these deportations. However, unlike *On Their Own* and *Inside*, the display dedicated to former child migrants found in *Departures* did not contain any visual indications of the exploitation and long-term impact of migrant schemes on the adult lives of these former Australian state wards, with these themes only being explored in a meaningful sense in the interview with Cliff Walsh, as is explained later. On the wall which provided the background for the display, a series of children's drawings were found, including that of a child and a passenger ship. Alongside the title of the display, the top of the installation contained an anonymous quotation from a child migrant, addressing the emotional toll of being separated from one's family at a young age:

'That first night
I cried for Mum,
for England and
everyone back there.'⁵²³

The introduction to the display encouraged the visitor to imagine what it was like to be permanently removed from one's family, while highlighting the sheer scale of the issue in question:

'Imagine yourself as an eight-year-old child. One day, you're put on a ship and sent thousands of miles from home, never to see your parents or siblings again. This was the harsh reality for over 100,000 children who were sent to

⁵²³ *British Child Migrants*. 2020 [Museum display]. Migration Museum.

Canada, Australia, Southern Rhodesia and New Zealand as part of child migration schemes between 1869 and 1967.⁵²⁴

This passage further explained the philanthropic rationale behind these programmes. It was noted that urban destitution was a problem that got continually worse throughout the nineteenth century, with children being acutely affected, as evidenced by the thousands of young Britons resident in workhouses and orphanages.⁵²⁵ The introduction further addressed the fact that governments, charities, and religious groups jointly perceived child migrant schemes to be the answer to this perceived social ill, with organisations in the former category deeming this advantageous to the imperial project.⁵²⁶ Although it was accepted that some parents believed that enrolling their children on these schemes would provide them with a superior quality of life, the vast majority of children were sent to overseas outposts against their wishes and without their parent's knowledge or consent.⁵²⁷ This symbolised the fact that child migration was a traumatic event for the wider families affected, not just the children themselves.

The true horror of child migration, coupled with its shameful legacies, are addressed in the final part of the display's introduction. The passage explained that the children in question were devalued because of their social background and were subject to repugnant treatment by those who were meant to be taking care of them, with migration programmes having significant ramifications for later generations implicated in these schemes:

⁵²⁴ *British Child Migrants*. 2020 [Museum display]. Migration Museum.

⁵²⁵ *British Child Migrants*. 2020 [Museum display]. Migration Museum.

⁵²⁶ *British Child Migrants*. Migration Museum.

⁵²⁷ *British Child Migrants*. Migration Museum.

'In Australia, children were taken to remote farm training schools or religious institutions, where they faced long days of hard work and harsh discipline. Some children suffered physical and sexual abuse. Many had to live with the stigma of being labelled criminal, diseased or corrupted. Others were lucky enough to find fulfilment and create new futures. Child migration schemes ended in the 1960s but many former child migrants and their families are still coming to terms with their experiences.'⁵²⁸

Figure 27 - Children bound for Western Australia under the Child Migration Programme aboard the *RMS Ormonde* at Tilbury docks, Essex, 1948, *Departures: 400 Years of Emigration from Britain*, Migration Museum, London, 2020-2022.



Source: Migration Museum, London, *Departures: 400 Years of Emigration from Britain*. 2022 [Museum exhibition].

⁵²⁸ *British Child Migrants*. Migration Museum.

The display itself concentrated its attention on the experiences of Canadian child migrants while drawing further attention to the role of charities in facilitating these forced deportations. The uppermost photo found on the display was that of a group of children who had arrived in New Brunswick c. 1920 under the Barnardo's migration scheme.⁵²⁹ To the left of the photo was the story of Edith Ault, as told by her great niece Deborah J Briers.⁵³⁰ The passage explained that Edith was taken from Peterborough in Cambridgeshire to Canada under the Salvation Army Child Migrant Programme in 1924, a migration that occurred after her being caught taking money from her local church in order to buy food for poor children who lived in the neighbourhood, thereby accentuating the role of charity within this narrative.⁵³¹ Other important artefacts of note were an 1884 list of children being deported to Canada by the Poplar Union, a letter from the same year written to the organisation from a disgruntled mother who disagreed with her child being sent overseas, and a picture of a crowded London slum dating from c.1890.⁵³² The only visual reference to British child migration to Australia was a 1948 photo of a group of prospective child migrants at Tilbury dock in Essex waving goodbye prior to their departure to Western Australia aboard the *RMS Ormonde*, as shown in Figure 27.

Behind the main display regarding child migrants was an audio booth which provided a more detailed exploration of the experience of being a British child migrant in Australia. The booth, which was decorated in part with the photo of child migrants at Tilbury dock as illustrated in Figure 27, contained an interview with Cliff Walsh, who had been deported to Australia after the end of the Second World War. The accompanying introduction to the interview displayed within the booth explained

⁵²⁹ *British Child Migrants*. Migration Museum.

⁵³⁰ *British Child Migrants*. Migration Museum.

⁵³¹ *British Child Migrants*. Migration Museum.

⁵³² *British Child Migrants*. Migration Museum.

the hardships Cliff faced not only as a result of being taken from Britain to a farm school on the other side of the world, but also due to his being subjected to physical and sexual abuse, in addition to forced labour.⁵³³ Listener discretion was further advised.⁵³⁴ This stands as evidence that unlike the NMA, an institution which Chynoweth explained was reluctant to display disturbing testimonies within *Inside*, the Migration Museum was far more willing to address the distressing nature of child migration through the lens of those who experienced it first-hand.

In the section of the interview used in the listening booth, Walsh firstly outlined the distressing nature of the journey to Australia that he and nine other child migrants took, explaining that many of the children were too young to fully comprehend what was about to happen to them, and were visibly upset at the prospect of never seeing their families again:

'There were ten of us and we left from Southampton. There were mixed emotions. There was me who was as cold as a [...] fish and there were others who were looking forward to an adventure, and there were others who must have known they had a mother or something because they were crying their eyes out. And it was the fact that they were crying [...] made me apprehensive to even want to leave England.'⁵³⁵

Walsh explained that he had no choice but to leave the UK for Australia. He recalls spending part of his early life in a British orphanage and, at the age of nine,

⁵³³ *Listening Booth*. 2020 [Museum installation]. Migration Museum.

⁵³⁴ *Listening Booth*. Migration Museum.

⁵³⁵ M. Campion, 'Episode 8 – Deported Children', *Departures podcast* [Podcast]. 2021. Available online: <https://www.migrationmuseum.org/output/audio/departures-podcast-episode-8-deported-children/>.

was told by a nun at his institution that he was about to be sent to Australia, adding that what happened to him was in effect a deportation, as he had no choice in the matter and that he had no prior understanding about the nation to which he was about to be sent.⁵³⁶ In a later part of the interview, Walsh outlined that the institution in which he grew up was isolated and wholly unfamiliar to anywhere he'd ever been before. He would later explain that he and the other residents of Bindoon were subjected to forced labour, in addition to violent maltreatment at the hands of the Christian Brothers:

'We were put in a truck, five of us in the front of a truck. We drove through the night to go to a place called Boys Town Bindoon and when we woke up the next morning, we saw Bindoon. It was quite an imposing building, and it was out in the middle of nowhere. There were no houses or anything around us. It was the most desolate place I've seen. In fact, I didn't even know places this desolate even existed. From that moment on, things got bad, and they progressively got worse.'⁵³⁷

It is important to note that even though the exhibition made frequent references to the notion of coming to terms with the legacies of child migrant schemes, *Departures* did not address either of the apologies issued by the UK and Australian Federal Governments. Moreover, the process of reconciling this episode in other ways, including the creation of state-funded mnemonic devices and the reuniting lost families, was also absent. Broadly speaking, the narratives of state

⁵³⁶ M. Campion, 'Deported Children'.

⁵³⁷ M. Campion, 'Deported Children'.

welfare and the Australian experience of this history were overlooked in favour of an emphasis on charities and experiences in other imperial outposts, most notably Canada. Although the inclusion of testimonial evidence from a former child migrant sent to Australia is significant, this was installed away from the main display concerning this historic episode.

Conclusion

The establishment of new heritage projects in the years following national apologies to former child migrants evidenced a noticeable shift in the representation of the lived experiences of British-born former wards of the Australian state. On the one hand, testimonial evidence concerning the history of forced child deportation was being distributed on a wider scale than had ever been previously attempted within the heritage sector. While post-inquiry memorials created in both the sending and receiving nations represented the stories and accomplishments of former child migrants in an indirect sense, testimonial evidence became exhibits in and of themselves within libraries and museums.

On the other hand, this newly gathered evidence concerning the trauma of child deportation from the UK to Australia was represented as a part of wider historical narratives. While the memorialisation of child migrant programmes prior to national apologies represented this history as being a historical narrative in its own right, public histories of British-born wards of the Australian state created after these apologies almost entirely merged this story into wider historical narratives. In the UK, the representation of child migrants within its museum sector was a medium for informing the public about the history of migration from Britain, particularly that which occurred coercively. In Australia, government-endorsed heritage projects largely

represented child migrants alongside Australian-born wards of state to represent a wider history of institutional maltreatment in Australian sheltering homes.

The influence of apologies and inquiries upon the creation of new heritage projects in both nations was highly evident. The only significant developments for child migrants in the realm of public history that were organised exclusively in the UK were the re-dedication of the Nottinghamshire child migrant memorial in the year 2014, as addressed in the previous chapter of this thesis, and the appearance of child migrants in the *Departures* exhibition between the years 2020 and 2022. At the time of writing, the UK has yet to create an additional memorial or series of memorials dedicated to child migrants, nor has there been a British oral history project in a similar ilk to the NLA's *Forgotten Australians and Former Child Migrants Oral History Project*. This is symptomatic of the absence of a follow-up inquiry to the UKHSC's Third Report, in addition to the absence of explicit promises with the 2010 UK Government's apology to child migrants to invest in heritage projects as a means of preserving their testimonies and educating the public. This lay in stark contrast to Australian reconciliation. The Australian Senate issued a follow-up report into the historic maltreatment of all non-indigenous former wards of state, which not only emphasised the successes achieved in memorialising the latter demographic after the publication of *Lost Innocents* in 2001, but also the significance of new projects, including potential endeavours in the realms of museums and libraries. However, child migrants were not represented as a distinct group of care leavers in the same manner that they had been prior to both national apologies.

This chapter has built upon earlier scholarship from Adele Chynoweth, Claudia Soares, and Eureka Henrich by firstly understanding what post-apology heritage projects have meant for former child migrants specifically. Much of the

literature in this era has either focused on the Forgotten Australians, or has discussed memorialisation of child migrants within a wider context of representing care leavers within Australian public history. By referring to national apologies and the third chapter of this thesis, a clear evolution of government funded memorialisation of British child migration emerges. A separate history which was represented almost entirely through the medium of permanent mnemonic markers was later told through a more diverse array of media, alongside the recollections of other Australian care leavers, a phenomenon that was guided by political inquiries and apologies.

Moreover, heritage projects from the NLA, NMA, and the Migration Museum in London have had significant implications for the representation of the history of child migration in the digital sphere. The *Forgotten Australians and Former Child Migrants Oral History Project* was designed to preserve the spoken testimonies of non-indigenous care leavers as a means of recognising the suffering of these survivors, in addition to allowing the wider public to learn about their experiences to previous such cases of maltreatment from ever recurring. Moreover, all of the exhibitions have been archived online for the benefit of present and future generations wishing to learn more about this repugnant episode in the histories of both nations.

Lastly, a comparative approach which had previously been absent in the pre-existing literature addressed throughout this chapter highlights a disparity between heritage measures created by the UK and Australia, with the former nation placing far less emphasis on public history within their national reconciliation agenda. This is evidenced both in the form of public inquiries, or the lack thereof, directly prior to the issuing of national apologies, the promises outlined in the resulting national

apologies of both nations, as well as the eventual public history output produced in both nations.

Part Three - Family Reunions

Chapter 5: Moves to reunite separated families

‘Mary, a 38-year-old nurse, wrote to Margaret [Humphreys] begging her to find her family. She said she had been put on a ship and sent to a children’s home in Australia in 1951, at the age of six.’

Annabel Ferriman, “Lost Children of the Empire,” *The Guardian*, 19 July 1987, 17.

Introduction

The following chapter investigates governmental attempts to reunite former child migrants with their families. The CMT’s campaigns have centred around bringing families back together that were torn apart by child deportation from the UK to Australia, activities that have been previously addressed in the second chapter of this thesis in respect to the perception of the work of the charity within the UK Government’s apology. Issues concerning the true identities of child migrants, the deception involved in child migrant schemes, the passage of time, and the transnational nature of these schemes have added to the practical challenges of tracing and reuniting lost families. Governmental policies designed to assist the CMT in this process have reflected the emotional and logistical challenges exhibited by family reunions. For the CMT themselves, the aim of reuniting families and the resolution of the legal challenges surrounding this ambition has been emblematic of their campaigns to improve the rights of child migrants, with travel funds also serving as an indirect reparation for all affected by familial separation.⁵³⁸

⁵³⁸ Child Migrants Trust, *Campaigns*.

Inquiries and reports into child migrant schemes have explained that substantial numbers of British children who were sent to Australia between 1913 and 1970 were given new names and dates of birth upon arrival.⁵³⁹ This meant that former child migrants have often encountered difficulties discovering their true familial and personal identities, in addition to obtaining their true birth certificates, which in turn impeded attempts in gaining citizenship of either Australia or the UK.⁵⁴⁰ Moreover, child migrants and their families were deceived about the whereabouts and living status of their families, further complicating family tracing and rendering many family records incomplete.⁵⁴¹ Moreover, due to the passage of time between the occurrence of child migrant schemes and the establishment of the CMT, many child migrants missed out on the chance of meeting their birth families, and other families that did reunite were not able to establish emotional bonds between long lost parents and siblings.⁵⁴² Furthermore, unlike the maltreatment of the Stolen Generations and the Forgotten Australians, the story of British child migrants was inherently transnational in nature. This not only exacerbated the previously aforementioned issues child migrants have experienced in obtaining their identities, birth certificates and citizenship, but has also led to both the UK and Australia lacking the necessary records to allow families to reunite. In addition, overseas travel relating to family reunions was suspended for a period of at least two years, due to complications created by the COVID-19 pandemic.⁵⁴³

This analysis begins with an investigation concerning the challenges that child migrants have faced in reuniting with their families. These difficulties have been four-

⁵³⁹ Commons Select Committee, *Health – Third Report*, para 1.

⁵⁴⁰ Commons Select Committee, *Health – Third Report*, para 75.

⁵⁴¹ Commons Select Committee, *Health – Third Report*, para 79.

⁵⁴² Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 137-142.

⁵⁴³ Child Migrants Trust, *Family Restoration Fund*. Available online: <https://www.childmigrantstrust.com/services/family-restoration-fund> [Accessed 20/09/2022].

fold, namely identity loss, difficulties in obtaining full birth certificates, issues in relation to gaining citizenship and passports, and the need to finance overseas travel. Following on from the establishment of this context, there is an analysis of British attempts to support the reuniting of families in the form of the Child Migrants Support Fund and financial commitments to the CMT. A parallel survey is undertaken into how the Australian Federal Government has lent support to this cause, notably through the implementation of the Australian Travel Fund and their own attempts to finance the CMT.

Throughout, this chapter seeks to enhance the scholarship of Michael Jones and Cate O'Neill, alongside that of Shurlee Swain and Elizabeth Fernandez et al. This is done by delineating the experiences of former child migrants, both in childhood and adulthood, from other former wards of the Australian state, while also exploring how the CMT and the national governments of both nations involved in these historic deportations have sought to reconcile the negative long-term outcomes of child migrants in their attempts to rebuild their sense of identity and connections with their biological families. Within these and other similar literatures, there has also yet to be a sustained critical analysis concerning the effectiveness of the UK Government's Child Migrants Support Fund and the Australian Travel Fund in advancing the work of the CMT, nor has the impact of the former upon the establishment of the latter been addressed

Challenges in involved reuniting families of former child migrants

Before addressing the specific national governmental policies that facilitated the reuniting of families separated as a result of child migrant schemes, it is important to address the principal challenges that have arisen in the process of bringing these

relatives back together, as this delineation was not present in the work of Jones and O'Neill. Four principal obstacles have stood in the way of British-born wards of state from reuniting with their families, namely a loss of personal, familial and/or national identity, difficulties in obtaining birth certificates in either the UK or Australia, challenges in applying for citizenship, passports and in turn the right to leave the nation to which they were deported, in addition to obtaining funding to facilitate transcontinental travel. The following section outlines the exact ways in which these challenges have impacted not only the process of reuniting families, but also upon the lives of child migrants.

Child migrants sent to Australia experienced a tripartite loss of identity, with the experience of deportation leading to a widespread loss of personal identity, familial identity, as well as national identity. Shurlee Swain has explained, within the context of institutional care in Australia more broadly, that upon entering the care system, children have their ties to their families significantly altered, which alters their sense of personal identity and excludes them from familial narratives that would have otherwise been afforded to them had they not been institutionalised during their childhood.⁵⁴⁴ It is, however, important to address the specific experiences of British-born wards of state, a demographic that experienced identity loss and depersonalisation on multiple levels. *Lost Innocents* outlined that British children who were deported to Australia during the twentieth century were subjected to a process of depersonalisation.⁵⁴⁵ This policy resulted in significant numbers of migrants having their names and dates of birth altered, being denied contact with their birth families, and having any possessions relating to their lives in the UK being confiscated.⁵⁴⁶ The

⁵⁴⁴ Swain, 'We are the stories we tell about ourselves', 2.

⁵⁴⁵ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 74-75.

⁵⁴⁶ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 74-75.

report outlined that many children were referred to by numbers rather than names, with their clothing and other personal possessions being labelled with numerical identities which had been forced upon them when they arrived at Australian institutions.⁵⁴⁷

This dehumanisation of British child migrants had lasting effects, with *Lost Innocents* further stating that it was not until these wards of state reached adulthood that many were able to discover their original names and dates of birth.⁵⁴⁸ This denial of access to names and dates of birth has underpinned all of the challenges that arose from attempting to reunite child migrants with their families. Being led to believe that the identities that were forced upon them were their original identities has led to child migrants experiencing substantial difficulties in obtaining a birth certificate, which in turn has seen many unable to gain citizenship rights and thus being unable to leave Australia to reunite with their birth families.

The process of reuniting families was further complicated by the dual loss of familial identity experienced by British child migrants. Firstly, although significant numbers of child migrants travelled from their countries of birth to Australia along with their siblings, they would not remain in these family units once they had settled. British migrant boys and girls were housed in separate institutions, and most siblings who arrived in Australia together were sent to different homes, sometimes in different states.⁵⁴⁹ Even in instances when siblings were raised in the same Australian institutions, child migrants were either unaware that their siblings were being raised in the same homes that they were, or were instead discouraged from spending time together.⁵⁵⁰

⁵⁴⁷ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 74.

⁵⁴⁸ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 74.

⁵⁴⁹ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 75.

⁵⁵⁰ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 75.

Secondly, child migrants were routinely denied contact with their birth parents or any remaining family in their countries of birth. *Lost Innocents* highlighted the fact that the individuals in charge of child migrant homes perceived migration schemes as being a fresh start for the new arrivals, therefore enforcing a strict ban on British-born wards of state from attempting to make contact with their families. This embargo was enforced firstly by intercepting or destroying letters sent to child migrants from the UK, with only a handful of these communications being discovered by British-born wards of state once they had reached adulthood and were attempting to trace their families.⁵⁵¹ The second method by which institutions denied child migrants from contacting their families was by telling them, often falsely, that their parents were deceased or no longer wanted them. *Lost Innocents* noted that the practice of telling these children that they were unwanted was widespread, in addition to becoming a form of punishment and abuse in and of itself:

‘A sense of abandonment and not belonging was reinforced in the children through constant derision and abuse, by being repeatedly told that family or country did not want them, or that their parents were dead or had been killed in the war, and that Australia was their last chance. Deception over the existence of parents and family was common in both catholic and non-catholic institutions.’⁵⁵²

This sense of abandonment which was experienced so frequently by British child migrants is also emblematic of a loss of national identity, with many child

⁵⁵¹ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 74.

⁵⁵² Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 75

migrants being denied access to reminders of life in their countries of birth. This policy formed one of the first parts of the depersonalisation process - having possessions that they brought with them to Australia confiscated upon arrival. Swain has noted that for children who have been raised within a familial structure, their sense of identity and belonging is reinforced by personal possessions, including photographs, toys, and other such memorabilia, something that has been largely absent among Australians who grew up in institutional care.⁵⁵³ To ground Swain's argument more specifically in the experiences of former child migrants, it can be observed not only that there was a deliberate attempt by those caring for British-born state wards to sever ties to their biological families by removing such belongings. *Lost Innocents* outlined that this decision, as with those above, was designed to reinforce the notion that the arrival of child migrants to Australia represented a new life for them, and that many of the possessions that were ceased upon arrival were never returned to the children once they had reached adulthood:

'Many former migrant children referred to the small number of personal possessions they had brought from Britain being removed from them on entry into the orphanage, including money, toys and clothing – 'We had nothing of our former lives'. At some institutions gifts or other personal items children may have received while on holiday or from people who had befriended them were often removed and generally not returned, even on their departure from the institution.'⁵⁵⁴

⁵⁵³ Swain, 'We are the stories we tell ourselves', 2.

⁵⁵⁴ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 74.

It is further important to note that the effects of child migrants having their identities erased upon arrival to Australia were transgenerational. The interception and destruction of attempted communications with child migrants that had arrived from the UK also meant that parents, relatives, and friends also found themselves deprived of contact with these wards of state. As the UKHSC's Third Report also outlined, this loss of identity has meant that second and third generation child migrants have also been denied vital information concerning their ancestries:

'Although it is difficult to know motivation, nevertheless the level of deception, the deliberate giving of wrong information or withholding of information, the policies of separating siblings, all make it very hard to accept that everything was done simply for the benefit of the children. [...] Those who have become parents feel the enormity of it when they see their own children grow up, and feel reduced by their inability to supply a history and full identity even to their own offspring.'⁵⁵⁵

The most immediate effect of former child migrants being denied their original personal identities has been an inability to obtain copies of their original birth certificates. Jones and O'Neill's analysis concerning the process of tracing the families of non-indigenous wards of the Australian state addressed the subject of record keeping, explaining that a combination of documents pertaining to these care leavers being poorly archived and the fact that said records were often kept across multiple repositories have proven to be significant barriers to this objective.⁵⁵⁶

⁵⁵⁵ Commons Select Committee, *Health – Third Report*, para 45.

⁵⁵⁶ Jones & O'Neill, 'Identity, records and archival evidence', 113.

Evidence of the early lives of these former wards of state is often fragmentary at best, with Jones and O'Neill further explaining that access to these documents, many of which concern personal identities, is dependent upon being able to prove one's identity through the possession of a birth certificate.⁵⁵⁷

To advance the work of Jones and O'Neill, it is important to explain that British child migrants have been systematically denied access to their personal records throughout their lives. Although many of these former wards of state were given British birth certificates prior to their deportation to Australia, children were denied access to these documents upon arrival in their new institutions, instead being issued with shorter documents that omitted details concerning their birth families. The UKHSC noted in their third report that the creation of new birth certificates was a further deliberate attempt to depersonalise new arrivals to Australian institutions:

'To enable child migrants to make a completely new start it was often seen as advantageous to cut all family ties and to make available birth certificates only in the shortened format which omitted details about parents. This practice has caused many difficulties for former child migrants who wish to trace their families. It has also contributed to feelings of being without roots which many people have found very damaging.'⁵⁵⁸

Additionally, a challenge present in the pursuit of birth certificates that remains unique for British child migrants is the transnational nature of this endeavour, with

⁵⁵⁷ Jones & O'Neill, 'Identity, records and archival evidence', 113.

⁵⁵⁸ Commons Select Committee, *Health – Third Report*, para 43.

many experiencing significant challenges in accessing these documents in both the UK and Australia. In her interview for the NLA's *Forgotten Australians and Former Child Migrants Oral History Project*, May Chandler explained that when attempting to trace documents related to both her and her twin sister, the different birth certificates that were provided to her from both nations offered different dates of birth for both her and her sibling, with other forms of documentation omitting Chandler as a family member altogether.⁵⁵⁹ In his interview for the same project, British-born former ward of the Australian state Maurice Crawford-Raby explained that the process of getting married proved a significant turning point in the pursuit for his personal identity, most notably his attempts to obtain access to his birth records. While explaining that obtaining a birth certificate from his former sheltering home in the UK enabled him to legally get married, it was also the first time that he learned who his birth parents were.⁵⁶⁰

Lost Innocents made repeated references to how the pursuit of birth certificates underpinned the search for personal identity, in particular the ability to obtain citizenship and passports, both of which had previously been denied to child migrants. The report's fourteenth and fifteenth recommendations outlined the need for child migrants and their descendants to gain access to vital documents such as birth certificates, with the former statement outlining that birth records should be returned to British-born former wards of state at the earliest possible opportunity.⁵⁶¹ Former child migrant Maurice Crawford-Raby, who had difficulties in marrying, was among those affected by a lack of access to personal records during his attempts to apply for an Australian passport. In the same interview conducted with the NLA,

⁵⁵⁹ R. Willis, *Interview with May Chandler for the Forgotten Australians and Former Child migrants oral history project* [Recorded conversation]. 2012.

⁵⁶⁰ Willis, *Interview with Maurice Crawford-Raby*.

⁵⁶¹ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 172.

Crawford-Raby explained that neither the Australian nor British authorities had access to his birth certificate, with the Australian passport office not having previously been aware of his existence and had therefore not provided him with a passport until he had formally queried the situation:

'I said, "Oh, my name's Maurice Crawford-Raby". "How can I help you"? "I'd like a passport". "What's wrong with the one you've got"? I said, "I haven't got one". "What do you mean you haven't got one"? I said, "I haven't got one". He said, "Are you an Australian Citizen"? I said, "No" I said, [...] "I came from England". [...] And he said, "What about paperwork, what paperwork have you got"? I said, "I've got nothing". He said, "What do you mean you've got nothing"? He said, "How did you get out here"? I said, "On a ship". He said, "When"? I said, "In nineteen fifty-two". He said, "You're an alien!"'⁵⁶²

A significant reason as to why Crawford-Raby and other child migrants who arrived in Australia before the end of the Second World War was that the Federal Government did not grant Australian citizenship to British immigrants until the creation of the Australian Citizenship Act of 1948. *Lost Innocents* outlined that any arrivals to the country prior to the act coming into force were either subjects of the UK or were legally aliens, with the only exception being if one or both parents had themselves acquired Australian citizen status.⁵⁶³ Although the UKHSC did not make any recommendations concerning the granting of British citizenship to former child migrants, the seventeenth recommendation of *Lost Innocents* stated that these former wards of state ought to be granted Australian citizenship automatically. This

⁵⁶² Willis, *Interview with Maurice Crawford-Raby*.

⁵⁶³ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 174.

decision was designed to reconcile the fact that many of those in question could not prove their identities in a traditional sense and allowed child migrants to refuse citizenship, the report explained:

'In the past, lack of documentation, such as birth certificates, has caused problems for former child migrants applying for citizenship, passports and visas. Recognition by the Commonwealth Government that former child migrants are a group who require special assistance with citizenship applications has helped former child migrants. However, the Committee considers that citizenship should be automatically conferred on all former child migrants who so desire. Those who do not wish to become Australian citizens should be able to decline the conferring of citizenship.'⁵⁶⁴

The final and most obvious challenge involved in the process of reuniting child migrants with their families is the fact that this is a transnational endeavour, meaning that travel funds must be secured before lost relatives are able to meet again. Jones and O'Neill have previously discussed the cost of accessing records for non-indigenous former wards of the Australian state, explaining that even if the application for a copy of one's birth certificate is successful, this process can be extremely expensive in and of itself.⁵⁶⁵ Additional costs arise from attempting to access further personal records which are often held across multiple locations, therefore incurring multiple fees.⁵⁶⁶ It is further important to stress that British-born former wards of state are subject to an additional financial burden when attempting

⁵⁶⁴ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 176.

⁵⁶⁵ Jones & O'Neill, 'Identity, records and archival evidence', 113.

⁵⁶⁶ Jones & O'Neill, 'Identity, records and archival evidence', 113.

to access their personal records, namely overseas travel expenses. Although the third section of this chapter explains in greater detail the British response to this issue as outlined in the UKHSC's Third Report, the same document alluded on numerous occasions to the excessive costs involved in helping child migrants to reunite with their birth families. The committee found that many former child migrants were put off from reuniting with their families or visiting their countries of birth simply because of the costs involved, with only sporadic funding having been available at the time of writing from groups such as C-BERS and the ACMF.⁵⁶⁷ The report further stated that funding ought to be made available for these former wards of the Australian state to visit their country of birth on at least one occasion.⁵⁶⁸

The memorandum supplied for the report by the CMT outlined that the supply of funding for family reunions was a matter of urgency for both former child migrants and the trust itself. While explaining that the organisation was in need of more full-time researchers and financial backing to facilitate the process of family tracing, British-born wards of state were unable to afford to reunite with their birth families and saw this ambition was being central to the overall process of repairing the historic wrongs created by migration schemes:

'A package of resources, including air fares to enable former Child Migrants and their families to be reunited is needed desperately. At present many former Child Migrants cannot obtain assistance for travel to the UK to meet with their families. There are two limited schemes for assistance, mainly in Western Australia with restricted access and funds. Only a neutral,

⁵⁶⁷ Commons Select Committee, *Health – Third Report*, para 89.

⁵⁶⁸ Commons Select Committee, *Health – Third Report*, para 89.

government-administered fund would provide the equity of access needed at the sensitive and difficult period surrounding a family reunion.⁵⁶⁹

The work of the Child Migrants Trust

Before explaining the specific governmental responses to the challenges of family tracing in the wake of national inquiries, it is important to briefly address the work of the CMT. Although this charity was the first advocacy group established to support victims of child deportation from the UK, their work was all but overlooked in Jones and O'Neill's article. With the focus of this chapter resting on the attempts of former child migrants to obtain the necessary records to trace their lost families, an investigation into the campaigns led by this charity is an imperative means of understanding how the specific challenges of reuniting child migrant families have been addressed. It further serves to provide an enhanced understanding of the national governmental responses to this overall challenge, with both the UK and Australian Federal Governments committing to funding of this organisation in the wake of their national inquiries and apologies, the latter of which are addressed in the final chapter of this thesis.

Although the CMT was not established until 1987, Margaret Humphreys' own efforts in helping to reunite families separated by child migrant schemes began in earnest a year prior. As reported by Annabel Ferriman in *the Observer* newspaper, while Humphreys was already a well-known social worker specialising in familial separation, her discovery of the historic deportation of child migrants from the UK

⁵⁶⁹ Commons Select Committee, *Health – Third Report*, Memorandum provided by the Child Migrants Trust, Section 2.

began because of a speculative letter from a Nottingham-born child migrant wishing to be reunited with her family:

'The plight of these abandoned children, many of whom [...] now want to find their families, was brought to the attention of *the Observer* by Margaret Humphreys, a social worker from Nottingham and a specialist in adoption work. She discovered their existence when her reputation for working with families who have been separated by adoption reached the ears of one of them in Sydney in 1986. Mary, a 38-year-old nurse, wrote to Margaret begging her to find her family. She said she had been put on a ship and sent to a children's home in Australia in 1951, at the age of six.'⁵⁷⁰

Humphreys established the CMT the following year, and while they have achieved great success in advocating for child migrants in an official capacity, their primary aim has been to reunite families separated by historic child migrant programmes. Suellen Murray has noted that upon hearing the accounts of Mary and other child migrants, Humphreys was shocked not only by what these British children had suffered, but also by the lack of public awareness and specialist support linked to their forced deportation and familial separation.⁵⁷¹ The Trust currently has offices in the UK city of Nottingham, as well as the Australian cities of Perth, WA and Melbourne, VIC.⁵⁷² Murray has further explained that the CMT continues to offer a range of services to British-born former wards of the Australian state, the majority of which directly concern the reuniting of child migrants with their families.⁵⁷³ These

⁵⁷⁰ Ferriman, *Lost Children of the Empire*, 17.

⁵⁷¹ Murray, *Supporting adult care-leavers*, 154-155.

⁵⁷² Murray, *Supporting adult care-leavers*, 154-155.

⁵⁷³ Murray, *Supporting adult care-leavers*, 155.

include locating personal documents, procuring full birth certificates, undertaking worldwide family tracing, and helping former child migrants gain citizenship, with the Trust also providing counselling to all former child migrants and their relatives, including in instances where they are undertaking the process of reuniting.⁵⁷⁴

Although Murray's analysis outlined the rationale behind the creation of the CMT, in addition to listing the services they offered in aiding the process of family reunification, her passage on the subject did not detail the precise nature of the work undertaken by the charity. An understanding of this subject is achieved with reference to the CMT website and the details this organisation has provided about the services in question. It is firstly important to mention that the Trust's website lists an additional service overlooked by Murray, namely the management of the Family Restoration Fund.⁵⁷⁵ This specific bursary is addressed in the fourth section of this chapter, but for now it is important to mention that this service represents a significant step towards addressing the challenges arising from the transnational nature of family tracing on behalf of former child migrants.

The CMT website outlines both the historic and ongoing work of the charity, while also explaining the obstacles that former child migrants have faced when attempting to reunite with their families. The organisation explained that their work has not only involved retrieving documents from governmental and philanthropic repositories, but has also extended to working alongside these archives to provide tailored assistance to child migrants.⁵⁷⁶ The Trust further noted the fact that many child migrants were not given a birth certificate, with others receiving an abridged

⁵⁷⁴ Murray, *Supporting adult care-leavers*, 155.

⁵⁷⁵ Child Migrants Trust, *Family Restoration Fund*.

⁵⁷⁶ Child Migrants Trust, *Retrieving Files from Government Departments*. Available online: <https://www.childmigrantstrust.com/services/retrieving-files-from-government-departments> [Accessed 20/09/2022].

version of this document, additionally explaining that a full birth certificate, which contains a record of one's date of birth, place of birth and biological parents, is a requirement for commencing inquiries relating to family tracing and applying for a passport.⁵⁷⁷

The CMT have also noted the global nature of their work in researching families, explaining the transnational process of reuniting lost relatives, as well as explaining that some parents of child migrants may have moved to other countries, most notably Canada and the United States. In addition to attempting to locate lost relatives, the charity aims to conduct in-person interviews with all of the family members in question regardless of where they are situated.⁵⁷⁸ In relation to applications for citizenship, child migrants in Australia have had to undertake the process of transitioning from residents to citizens, a potentially costly process that the CMT has made cheaper by successfully campaigning for the waiving of application fees in recognition of the specific issues which have afflicted British-born former wards of state.⁵⁷⁹ Lastly, the CMT continues to offer professional counselling to former child migrants and their relatives, including in instances when they are in the process of reuniting, addressing the full range of emotions that emanate from meeting separated relatives for the first time.⁵⁸⁰ All of this work addresses the unique issues faced by child migrants in their attempts to retrace their familial origins, understanding the specific nature of the loss of identity they experienced and the

⁵⁷⁷ Child Migrants Trust, *Retrieving Files*.

⁵⁷⁸ Child Migrants Trust, *Conducting Family Research Worldwide*. Available online: <https://www.childmigrantstrust.com/services/conducting-family-research-worldwide> [Accessed 20/09/2022].

⁵⁷⁹ Child Migrants Trust, *Help with Citizenship Applications* Available online: <https://www.childmigrantstrust.com/services/help-with-citizenship-applications> [Accessed 20/09/2022].

⁵⁸⁰ Child Migrants Trust, *Providing Professional Counselling*. Available online: <https://www.childmigrantstrust.com/services/providing-professional-counselling> [Accessed 20/09/2022].

documents they were deprived of throughout their lives, engaging in transnational and sometimes global family tracing endeavours.

The work of the CMT is all the more significant when one takes into account the impact that deportation and forced familial separation had had upon the adult lives of former child migrants. This topic has been the focus of a 2019 study by Elizabeth Fernandez et al, and while their article does not explicitly focus on the ways in which the CMT has alleviated these difficulties, their work nonetheless highlights the failures of governments to improve the lives of former child migrants in adulthood.⁵⁸¹ For example, in the section of their study concerning the transition from leaving institutional care into adulthood, Fernandez et al found that fewer than ten percent of participants in their study stated that obtaining access to social services was either 'very easy' or 'slightly easy', compared to approximately forty percent of respondents who described this process as being 'very difficult'.⁵⁸² Additionally, when asked about maintaining contact with family members after leaving care, twenty percent of those surveyed stated that they had found this either 'very easy' or 'slightly easy', in contrast to ten percent of respondents claiming that this had been 'slightly difficult' and a further forty percent who explained that they had found keeping in touch with family to be 'very difficult'.⁵⁸³

To expand the research of Fernandez et al, it can be noted that failures in both institutional childcare and aftercare once former child migrants had left these settings underlines the importance of the work of the CMT. The data gathered by Fernandez et al suggests that institutions and governments neglected their duty of care towards former child migrants at all stages of their lives. For example, 93.5 per

⁵⁸¹ Fernandez et al, 'Uprooted from Everything that Attaches You', 523–545.

⁵⁸² Fernandez et al, 'Uprooted from Everything that Attaches You', 535.

⁵⁸³ Fernandez et al, 'Uprooted from Everything that Attaches You', 535.

cent of those surveyed stated that they had experienced some form of institutional maltreatment, with 42.3 per cent of those surveyed stating that they had psychiatric disorders that required ongoing treatment, 53.3 per cent experiencing flashbacks concerning their childhoods, and 27 per cent stating that they experience 'very high' levels of psychological distress, a rate which was ten times higher than the Australian national average.⁵⁸⁴ Former child migrants have faced significant barriers in transitioning away from institutional care and into adult life, challenges which many former child migrants have had to address without the support of social services or their biological families.

These challenges have further extended into the realm of accessing personal records, which in turn have impacted significantly on former child migrants' pursuits of personal, familial, and national identity. When exploring the issue of former child migrants being able to access their records, Fernandez et al discovered that approximately 61 per cent had been able to locate their birth certificates, with the remainder having either unsuccessfully found this document or had not attempted to do so.⁵⁸⁵ Birth certificates, however, remained the most successfully obtained personal record among British-born former wards of the Australian state, with roughly 50 per cent of respondents having found their care records, with fewer than 40 per cent having discovered information concerning their parents, and just over 30 per cent having found records pertaining to their siblings.⁵⁸⁶ When explaining why so many former child migrants have struggled to locate their records and reunite with their biological families, Fernandez et al argue that there has been an overwhelming lack of professional support offered at all stages of the family reunion process.⁵⁸⁷

⁵⁸⁴ Fernandez et al, 'Uprooted from Everything that Attaches You', 533-537.

⁵⁸⁵ Fernandez et al, 'Uprooted from Everything that Attaches You', 539.

⁵⁸⁶ Fernandez et al, 'Uprooted from Everything that Attaches You', 539.

⁵⁸⁷ Fernandez et al, 'Uprooted from Everything that Attaches You', 539.

Moreover, Shurlee Swain has explained that even in the wake of recent advances in policies designed to allow former state wards, including former child migrants, access to their records, there are a number of issues which continue to arise when Australian care leavers decide to partake in this process.⁵⁸⁸ Swain states that one of the most common and notable examples of this phenomenon is the fact that state wards continue to be systematically denied access to so-called 'third party records', many of which concern relatives including parents and siblings, with this lack of access in turn hindering the process of reforging a sense of personal identity and belonging to one's biological family.⁵⁸⁹ However, these authors have not explained that since its inception, the CMT has endeavoured to mitigate this absence of specialised help in reuniting lost families, and that their own work has been restricted by insufficient government funding, with initial financial reparations from said governments being time-restricted, which has in turn inhibited the charity's ability to expand their operations. These issues are explored in the following two sections.

The UK Health Select Committee's Third Report and family tracing initiatives

The UKHSC published their Third Report on 23 July 1998, in the process outlining that more needed to be done by the UK Government to support former child migrants, especially in their pursuit of reuniting families. As explained in the previous section, a loss of personal identity was a common consequence of child migrant programmes, with British-born former wards of state often being given a new name, number, or date of birth on arrival, with others being issued with false or redacted birth certificates, all of which complicated the process of tracing and reuniting

⁵⁸⁸ Swain, 'We are the stories we tell ourselves', 3-4.

⁵⁸⁹ Swain, 'We are the stories we tell ourselves', 3-4.

families. As Michael Jones and Cate O'Neill have further noted, former wards of the Australian state, including the Forgotten Australians and former child migrants, were subjected to a circular and prohibitive policy concerning access to records, namely that many applicants looking to obtain the birth and family documents which helped to prove their identities needed to offer proof of identity in order to look at these records in the first instance.⁵⁹⁰ To advance the work of Jones and O'Neill, it is important to address how the UK and Australian Federal Governments responded to these challenges in the context of historic British child migration to Australia, including recommendations concerning support for philanthropic organisations such as the CMT. Although the report addressed all four of the core issues present in the process of reuniting child migrant families, the principal response of both national governments was to address the last of these concerns, namely the creation of travel funds to facilitate overseas family reunions.

The distressing, costly and lengthy nature of this process was addressed in the UKHSC's Third Report, a document which further outlined the responsibility of the UK Government to support this process. The report outlined that the CMT themselves were under severe financial constraints, in part induced by the UK Government's own failures in providing the charity with sufficient funding. In the section of the report concerning the work of the CMT, the committee argued that support for former child migrants, in addition to the publication of the report itself, was only made possible by the work of the charity, in particular its director Margaret Humphreys.⁵⁹¹ The committee's report further outlined the past failures of the UK Government to offer sufficient financial support to the charity. Shortly after its

⁵⁹⁰ Jones & O'Neill, 'Identity, records and archival evidence', 112.

⁵⁹¹ Commons Select Committee, *Health – Third Report*, Memorandum by the Child Migrants Trust, Section 1.

establishment in 1987, the CMT applied for three initial government grants, beginning with a payment of £111,000 for the tax year 1990/1991, followed by two further bursaries of £92,000 for the 1991/1992 and the 1992/1993 tax years.⁵⁹² Instead, the trust only received £20,000 to cover the first of these years and nothing for the following two years, representing a shortfall of £275,000 for this three year period alone.⁵⁹³

This lack of adequate funding for the charity continued beyond the year 1993. Although the report did not specify the levels of government funding the CMT applied for in later years, the charity received an annual subsidy of £30,000 in April 1993, a fund which was later reduced to £25,000 and later £20,000 in the following two tax years.⁵⁹⁴ Although the work of the CMT was praised throughout the report, the committee noted that the UK Government was set to offer them no additional funding, with the charity instead deriving its money from the National Lottery, local governments, and charities:

'There are currently no plans for any further financial support from DoH. In addition to this DoH funding, the Child Migrants' Trust has received a National Lottery grant, as well as funding from Nottinghamshire County Council, Sefton Metropolitan Borough Council, Lincolnshire Social Services, some state governments in Australia and the Uniting Church of Australia.'⁵⁹⁵

The conclusion of the report underlined the psychological harms created by child migrant programmes, including the consequences of separating families, while

⁵⁹² Commons Select Committee, *Health – Third Report*, para 96.

⁵⁹³ Commons Select Committee, *Health – Third Report*, para 96.

⁵⁹⁴ Commons Select Committee, *Health – Third Report*, para 96.

⁵⁹⁵ Commons Select Committee, *Health – Third Report*, para 96.

stating that the UK Government was in part responsible for rectifying these and other such consequences of historic child deportation:

'We have met many former child migrants who continue to suffer from emotional and psychological problems arising directly from this misguided social policy. [...] Blame must be distributed amongst all the governments and agencies who involved themselves with child migration. This imposes on them a responsibility to offer help to the surviving human casualties of the child migration schemes.'⁵⁹⁶

The UKHSC's Third Report contained seventeen recommendations in total, the first eight of which either directly or indirectly concerned the facilitation of reuniting families separated by child migrant programmes. The report outlined that the process of tracing families is challenging for former child migrants as well as their relatives, therefore recommending that all individuals concerned should be granted immediate access to records by organisations in control of these documents, that agencies that either deported or received child migrants should play their part in family tracing, and that counselling ought to be provided by governments and charities formerly involved in child migrant programmes to all who require it free of charge.⁵⁹⁷ The report offered two obligations specific to the governments of receiving nations including Australia, namely that former child migrants ought to continue receiving social security payments from their country of residence during their time reuniting with their families in their country of birth, and any remaining issues

⁵⁹⁶ Commons Select Committee, *Health – Third Report*, para 98.

⁵⁹⁷ Commons Select Committee, *Health – Third Report*, para 102-para 106.

concerning access to citizenship must be resolved at the earliest possible opportunity.⁵⁹⁸ It is important to note on this latter point that no specific recommendations were made concerning the provision of UK citizenship to former child migrants, in spite of most of these former wards of the Australian state having been born in the UK with many at the time pursuing documentary proof of this fact. Although the issuing of an Australian passport to former child migrants represented the first time that many were able to leave the country, the lack of guarantees surrounding the provision of UK passports complicated the process of permanent repatriation, implying that the care of child migrants was in the hands of the nation which received them during their childhood, namely Australia.

The creation of a centralised child migrant database represented the first recommendation listed in this section and its creation was deemed to be the joint responsibility of the UK Government, as well as those of receiving nations, including Australia. The report stipulated that the proposed database should act as a point of reference for child migrants and their families wishing to obtain detailed records regarding their identities, while mandating that the governments in question must address privacy obstacles impeding access to these documents, including Freedom of Information policies.⁵⁹⁹ The recommendation further stated that, in the event that the researchers in question were distrustful of governments as a result of the trauma that either they or their relatives experienced, nominated organisations would be allowed to conduct these investigations on their behalf.⁶⁰⁰

As the CMT explained in their submission to *Lost Innocents*, the UK Government created the Child Migrant Central Information Index in direct response

⁵⁹⁸ Commons Select Committee, *Health – Third Report*, para 107.

⁵⁹⁹ Commons Select Committee, *Health – Third Report*, para 102.

⁶⁰⁰ Commons Select Committee, *Health – Third Report*, para 102-para 103.

to the publication of the UKHSC's Third Report.⁶⁰¹ The Trust noted that uptake of the service was high among former child migrants and the source itself contained the personal information of approximately 7,000 British children who were deported to Australia after 1920.⁶⁰² It was claimed, however, that this source was of limited use, due in part to the records themselves being incomplete as a result of the Salvation Army's claim that many of their child migrant documents were destroyed during the Second World War, in addition to the database merely providing clues for child migrants as to how to trace their families, rather than acting as a direct link.⁶⁰³ As is explained in the next chapter, a central database for non-indigenous former wards of the Australian state and their descendants, including those born in the UK, would later arise as a result of the joint apology issued by the Australian Federal Government on 16 November 2009.

The report offered two further recommendations specifically targeted at the UK Government, the first of which being the creation of a Travel Fund to help former child migrants to reunite with their families. The former recommendation explained that this bursary should cover the cost of British-born former wards of the Australian state who wished to travel to their country of birth, to partake in family reunions or to visit locations pertinent to their personal origins.⁶⁰⁴ It further outlined the need for nominated organisations to apply for funding on behalf of child migrants and their families in accordance with their wishes, while also stipulating that thorough care and attention should be paid to the mental, physical, and emotional state of all family members during the process of reuniting.⁶⁰⁵ Voluntary organisations who were

⁶⁰¹ Child Migrants Trust, *Submission to the Senate Community Affairs: References Committee: Inquiry into Child Migration* (Canberra: Government of Australia, 2001), 41.

⁶⁰² Child Migrants Trust, *Submission to Inquiry into Child Migration*, 41.

⁶⁰³ Child Migrants Trust, *Submission to Inquiry into Child Migration*, 41.

⁶⁰⁴ Commons Select Committee, *Health – Third Report*, para 105.

⁶⁰⁵ Commons Select Committee, *Health – Third Report*, para 105.

involved in the process of forcibly emigrating British children were deemed to have a supporting role in this process, with the report outlining that these groups should act as the providers of accommodation during family reunion visits.⁶⁰⁶ The Third Report additionally argued that the CMT's work in reuniting families and offering counselling ought to be increased with the help of additional government funding.⁶⁰⁷ In a House of Commons debate on 19 May 1999, it was announced that the UK Government was acting on the former recommendation by increasing the annual grant given to the CMT from £20,000 to £150,000 for the 1999/2000 financial year.⁶⁰⁸ The UK Government would implement the former recommendation just over seven months after the publication of the report.

On 26 February 1999, the UK Government announced the establishment of a £1 million Child Migrants Support Fund to support child migrants in their aim of retracing their families.⁶⁰⁹ This policy represented the first official effort by either the UK Government or the Australian Federal Government in facilitating the reuniting of families separated as a direct result of child migrant programmes. The fund operated during a three-year period between April 1999 to March 2002, encompassing the cost of a return flight from Australia to the UK, a fortnight's worth of accommodation and the option of up to three hours of counselling after the visit if deemed necessary.⁶¹⁰ There were, however, several eligibility criteria that needed to be met in order for applications to the fund to be successful. For example, former child migrants who applied had to be from the UK, with applications from Ireland and

⁶⁰⁶ Commons Select Committee, *Health – Third Report*, para 105.

⁶⁰⁷ Commons Select Committee, *Health – Third Report*, para 109.

⁶⁰⁸ Hansard, *British Child Migrants*, 19 May 1999.

⁶⁰⁹ Child Migrants Trust, 'Timeline'.

⁶¹⁰ Find and Connect, *Child Migrant Support Fund – Event – Find and Connect – Western Australia*. Available online: <https://www.findandconnect.gov.au/ref/wa/biogs/WE00967b.htm> [Accessed 25/08/2022].

Malta not being accepted, proof of a parent, aunt, uncle, or sibling living in the UK and being willing to meet the applicant, the applicant would not have met the applicant in question before using financial support derived from this programme, and all applications would be means tested.⁶¹¹

Many former child migrants and advocates who participated in the 2001 Australian Senate inquiry into child migration argued that these criteria were unnecessarily prohibitive. The ISS, the organisation responsible for the distribution of money allotted by the Child Migrants Support Fund, argued that the programme was severely impeded by the small amount of money designated to conduct the work of reuniting families. Despite the scheme operating for three years, the ISS outlined that the £1 million budget could hypothetically be spent in a much shorter time frame:

'I guess the overriding thing about the fund is it has finite dollars. It is £1 million and they expect the £1 million to be spent in three years. [...] If the £1 million is not spent by then, I imagine that it is possible that they could say it can run on for another three months until the money runs out or something but, in terms of making major extensions to it, it is always that overriding situation that there is only £1 million to be spent.'⁶¹²

Furthermore, the CMT criticised the restrictions placed on the amount of funding allotted to each applicant according to their income, in addition to the limitations on the exact types of relatives British-born wards of the Australian state

⁶¹¹ Find and Connect, *Child Migrant Support Fund*.

⁶¹² Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 184.

were allowed to meet.⁶¹³ The organisation further explained that in spite of promises being made concerning funding for visits of places of importance, child migrants were not allowed to visit sites of remembrance dedicated to deceased relatives under the scheme:

‘Applications are means tested, and involve only first time reunions with mothers, fathers, brothers and sisters, uncles and aunts. Visits to other relatives such as cousins, or to pay respects at a parent’s grave, are ineligible for funding.’⁶¹⁴

The limitations placed on the purpose of visits and the relatives former child migrants were allowed to meet were particularly acute for those deported to Australia prior to the end of the Second World War. The Australian Senate inquiry explained that the parents of pre-war child migrants would have almost certainly passed away by the time the fund was announced, with any remaining relatives most likely being nephews, nieces or cousins, visits to whom were not covered by the scope of the fund.⁶¹⁵ The critique of the Child Migrants Support Fund added that these visits were vital for reclaiming lost personal identities, a process that could not be completed in just one trip as allowed in the terms of the fund.⁶¹⁶ *Lost Innocents* made further note of the prohibitive nationality criteria surrounding access to the fund. In their submission to the report, C-BERS claimed that they were the only organisation that

⁶¹³ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 182-183.

⁶¹⁴ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 182-183.

⁶¹⁵ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 183.

⁶¹⁶ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 183.

had provided funding to child migrants who had been deported to Australia from Malta, with these former wards of state being ineligible for the Child Migrants Support Fund issued by the ISS:

'The ISS does not make funds or assistance available to Maltese former child migrants and this means their experience is inequitably treated when compared with persons from Britain. The only funding that we are aware of for this group comes through C-BERS, with individual, as-needs assistance from female religious orders.'⁶¹⁷

It is, however, important to note that the Child Migrants Support Fund was largely welcomed by British-born former wards of the Australian state, with a high volume of applications being made to the scheme within the first two years of its existence:

'ISS Australia has received over 400 inquiries over the last two years from former child migrants, and 234 of these people have gone on to submit an application to the Fund. Of the 234 applications in Australia for travel funding, ISS has submitted 214 to the United Kingdom for approval [...] The United Kingdom has approved 181 applications and rejected 22 applications. A further 16 applications have been withdrawn by the applicants for various personal reasons.'⁶¹⁸

⁶¹⁷ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 183.

⁶¹⁸ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 181.

Lost Innocents and family tracing initiatives

In a similar vein to the UK Government, the Australian Federal Government's response to their own national child migrant report was to continue supporting transnational travel and the work of the CMT, although a central database for child migrants was not yet forthcoming. The Australian Senate inquiry into child migrant programmes, known as *Lost Innocents*, was published on 30 August 2001, by which point the UK Government had already implemented increased funding for the CMT, the creation of a central child migrant database and the establishment of a travel fund designed to facilitate family reunions. Like the British response to the question of child migrant family reunions, the Australian Federal policy was to directly address the transnational challenges that arose from reuniting former child migrants with their families, while supporting the CMT in their pursuit of identities, birth certificates, and passports.

In their submission to *Lost Innocents*, the CMT expressed strong disappointment concerning the lack of help afforded to them by the Australian Federal Government. The charity explained that both the UK and Australian Federal Governments were jointly responsible for repairing the wrongs of child migrant programmes, most notably familial separation, with the latter government failing to offer an adequate response to the announcement of the Child Migrants Support Fund, among other measures:

'It is difficult to understand the Australian Government's response to the recent British package of measures to assist former Child Migrants. There is a clear joint responsibility between Australia and the United Kingdom for the position of former Child Migrants. The Australian Government was not a

passive victim but an active, energetic instigator and chief architect of policy to boost Australia's population and economy.'⁶¹⁹

As a result of this lack of commitment to new financial obligations, the CMT claimed that the Australian Federal Government's response to the need to help British-born wards of state had deteriorated throughout the previous decade. Despite the UK Government's Child Migrants Support Fund being administered in Australia via ISS in Melbourne, VIC, the Australian Federal Government neither contributed to this fund nor created any services of their own, leading the charity to heavily critique their lack of action in helping former child migrants to reunite with their families:

'The most obvious, simple and humane reaction would have been for Australia to match Britain's level of funding for the Trust and the Support Fund. [...] Instead, the Government took a year to announce that in essence there would be no fundamental change in Australia's existing level of funding. There was not even an acknowledgement that Australia should consider making a contribution to the Support Fund.'⁶²⁰

The Australian Federal Government responded to the CMT's concerns in two principal ways, by increasing funding for the charity and the implementation of their own travel fund to help reunite families. *Lost Innocents* noted that despite the many successes achieved by the CMT in reuniting lost families, their work was heavily limited by a lack of resources, including funding. At the time the report was

⁶¹⁹ Child Migrants Trust, *Submission to Inquiry into Child Migration*, 42.

⁶²⁰ Child Migrants Trust, *Submission to Inquiry into Child Migration*, 43.

published, the CMT held offices in Nottingham in the UK as well as the Australian cities of Perth, WA and Melbourne, VIC, with the Australian offices being particularly understaffed in proportion to the scale of work they were undertaking.⁶²¹ With the two Australian offices being limited to having only one social worker and one administrative officer each, the Trust found themselves burdened with heavy caseloads of former child migrants wishing to access their services, with the charity having over 300 active clients at both of their Australian offices and over 700 across Australia as a whole.⁶²² The CMT explained that the average cost of tracing a family separated by child migrant programmes ranged from between £1,000 to £1,500.⁶²³

Prior to the publication of the report, the Australian Federal Government, alongside Australia's devolved governments, had provided the Trust with over AUS\$800,000 of funding between the years 1990 to 1998, and had continued to provide the charity with an annual grant of approximately AUS\$120,000 between 1999 to 2001.⁶²⁴ The value of British Pound Sterling against the Australian Dollar fluctuated greatly between the years 1990 to 1998, dropping as low as 1.89 in May 1996 and peaking at 2.89 in September 1998, meaning at the combined Australian governmental funding of the CMT during this period was worth between approximately £277,000 to £423,000.⁶²⁵ The annual grant of AUS\$120,000 between 1999 to 2001 fluctuated in value from approximately £39,900 to £51,500.⁶²⁶ Although the Trust had financially benefitted from the creation of the £1 million Child Migrants Support Fund by the UK Government in 1999 which facilitated overseas travel, the

⁶²¹ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 129.

⁶²² Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 129.

⁶²³ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 163.

⁶²⁴ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 125-132.

⁶²⁵ Pound Sterling Live, *British Pound / Australian Dollar Historical Reference Rates from Bank of England for 1990*. Available online: <https://www.poundsterlinglive.com/bank-of-england-spot/historical-spot-exchange-rates/gbp/GBP-to-AUD-1990> [Accessed 30/09/2022].

⁶²⁶ Pound Sterling Live, *British Pound / Australian Dollar: 1990*.

terms of the grant meant that the money could not be spent on tracing and counselling services outside of the UK.⁶²⁷ The work of the CMT in Australia was therefore limited by a lack of governmental funding, with the amount of money provided to the charity by all Australian governments increasing only after the publication of *Lost Innocents*.

The importance of the CMT, including their work in tracing and reuniting of families, was further reflected in the report's fifth recommendation, which additionally sought to enhance ongoing financial commitments from the UK Government, as well as numerous devolved governments in the UK and Australia:

'Recommendation 5: That the Commonwealth Government continue to provide funding for at least three years directly to the Child Migrants Trust to ensure that the specialised services of tracing and counselling are provided or accessible to former child migrants living throughout Australia.'⁶²⁸

Although the publication of *Lost Innocents* resulted in the Australian Federal Government committing to a new package of financial measures designed to aid in reconciling historic wrongdoings suffered by former child migrants, these measures were not without their critics. This package, which was formally announced in May 2002, consisted of a AUS\$100,000 grant to create memorials dedicated to child migrants, the creation of a AUS\$1 million travel fund designed to operate for an initial three-year period, and a commitment to providing the CMT with AUS\$125,000 annual funding for an initial three-year period.⁶²⁹ These commitments were each

⁶²⁷ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 131.

⁶²⁸ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 135

⁶²⁹ International Social Service, *The Journey of Discovery*, 9.

worth approximately £42,000, £420,000 and £52,000 respectively at the time of their announcement.⁶³⁰ Writing in his 2003 article “Child Migration Schemes: A Dark and Hidden Episode of Australia's History Revealed,” Senator Andrew Murray described the money offered to the CMT as ‘rather paltry’, while also explaining that the financial support offered to former child migrants was far lower than that offered to the Stolen Generations.⁶³¹ Murray outlined that the initial monetary commitments outlined by the Australian Federal Government after the publication of *Lost Innocents* totalled approximately AUS\$3.7 million, meanwhile the publication of *Bringing Them Home* led to the government committing to a package of measures worth AUS\$69 million to support victims of indigenous child removal to trace their lost families.⁶³²

The following analysis advances the work of Senator Andrew Murray in two principal ways. On the one hand, it is argued that the terms of the Australian Travel Fund successfully addressed the limitations of the UK Government’s Child Migrants Support Fund by allowing previously excluded groups of child migrants to meet their birth families, while also understanding that reclaiming one’s personal identity cannot be resolved by one overseas visit. On the other hand, there is an explanation that the emphasis placed on the Australian Travel Fund led to an imbalance in the financial support offered to former child migrants. Although the Australian Travel Fund led to hundreds of successful repatriations for former child migrants and was expanded due to high uptake, the comparative lack of financial support offered to the CMT meant that the charity struggled to meet this demand for family reunions and were therefore unable to expand their operations in Australia. The first of the commitments outlined by the Australian Federal Government after the publication of

⁶³⁰ Pound Sterling Live, *British Pound / Australian Dollar: 1990*.

⁶³¹ Murray, ‘Child Migration Schemes’, 30.

⁶³² Murray, ‘Child Migration Schemes’, 30.

Lost Innocents, namely the creation of new child migrant memorials, was covered in the third chapter of this thesis. This promise resulted in the creation of child migrant memorials in each of Australia's devolved states, with the focus of these memorials resting heavily on the achievements of child migrants while overlooking institutional and governmental failures in care.

It was within the second commitment of this overall financial package that the Australian Federal Government sought to address the limitations of the UK Government's Child Migrants Support Fund. After being formally established in November 2002, the scheme identified five groups as being in particular need of funding. These were former child migrants who had yet to revisit their country of birth, those with parents who were still alive, those over the age of sixty five, those currently in receipt of a pension, and those who had not previously met the criteria for the UK's Child Migrants Support Fund.⁶³³ Although those who had successfully applied for the Child Migrants Support Fund were unable to also apply for the Australian Travel Fund, the latter fund sought to address the limitations of the former in a number of important ways. These differences were the Australian Travel Fund was not means tested, the money received could be used to fund repeat visits to the child migrant's country of birth, visits to previously excluded family members, notably cousins, nephews, and nieces, were permitted, the fund covered visits to the gravesites of deceased family members, and child migrants who had arrived from Malta were allowed to apply for the fund.⁶³⁴

These amendments to the Australian scheme serve as evidence of the Australian Federal Government acting upon the acknowledged limitations of the

⁶³³ International Social Service, *The Journey of Discovery*, 9.

⁶³⁴ International Social Service, *The Journey of Discovery*, 9.

earlier Child Migrants Support Fund. Multiple submissions to *Lost Innocents* noted the invasive means testing involved with applications to the UK fund, further explaining that child migrants deported to Australia before the Second World War, as well as Maltese-born child migrants, were at a particular disadvantage.⁶³⁵ By the time the Australian Travel Fund was unveiled in 2002, child migrants who had been deported to Australia before 1939 would have been at least sixty years of age, meaning that the likelihood of them meeting their birth parents would have been lower than those sent over after the end of World War Two. The terms of the Australian Travel Fund recognised that older child migrants ought not miss out on taking part in family reunions of their own, understanding the value of meeting other long lost relatives, namely cousins and nephews, as well as visits to sites of important familial significance, in helping former child migrants to better understand their own lineage. Maltese-born former child migrants, who had previously relied on the help of charities such as the CMT in tracing their families, were now formally included within governmental reconciliation, recognising the ancestries of all children deported to Australia under child migrant programmes and galvanising the inclusivity of new reparative measures.

These enhancements mentioned above, in addition to the permission of repeat visits to one's country of birth, all aided in helping to mend the personal identities of British-born wards of state as a result of their coerced involvement in child migrant schemes. Although the Child Migrants Support Fund was the first governmental attempt to financially support the temporary repatriation of British child migrants, Australia's equivalent travel bursary was designed to allow these former wards of the state to visit their families more than once, in recognition that this was a wider part of

⁶³⁵ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 182-183.

their reconciliation with the personal identities that were denied to them in their childhood. Repairing one's personal identity, a process which includes reforming bonds with recently reunited family members, is a gradual and emotionally demanding process. The terms of the Australian Travel Fund succeeded in addressing this concern which had previously been expressed by the IAFCM&F in 2001:

'Many people seem to believe that once a former Child Migrant has been reunited with their mother, father, or family member, that everything is 'hunky dory' and everyone lives happily ever after. [...] Thirty, forty, fifty or sixty years of loss, pain, grief, anger and sadness cannot be resolved in one short visit and Australia will always remain 12,000 miles away.'⁶³⁶

Demand for the Australian Travel Fund was unexpectedly high during its three-year operation. Between 2002 and 2005, the bursary had been provided with a total of AUS\$5.5 million worth of government funding, with the initial fund of AUS\$3 million needing to be expanded to reflect the volume of applications.⁶³⁷ This total bursary was worth in the region of £1.93 million to £2.42 million, representing a far higher amount of money supplied when compared to the UK Government's bankrolling of the Child Migrants Support Fund.⁶³⁸ This funding covered all of the necessary costs involved with a two-week visit to a relative or gravesite in the child migrant's country of birth, including transport to their nearest airport, an economy

⁶³⁶ Department of Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs, *Find and Connect Service: Scoping Study*. (Canberra: Commonwealth of Australia, 2010), 50.

⁶³⁷ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents and Forgotten Australians Revisited*, 72.

⁶³⁸ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents and Forgotten Australians Revisited*, 72.

class flight ticket, seventeen days of travel insurance, fourteen days of accommodation, and the reimbursement of all administrative costs for child migrants who were not yet in receipt of an Australian passport.⁶³⁹ In recognition of the age and health concerns of many of the child migrants wishing to be reunited with their families, exceptional circumstances were put in place to allow for a designated carer to travel alongside them or for a designated relative to travel to Australia to take part in a formal reunion.⁶⁴⁰ During the lifespan of the Australian Travel Fund, over 826 applications were made by former child migrants, with 771 of these requests leading to travel being approved and a total of 703 successful temporary repatriations having taken place.⁶⁴¹ Although the CMT praised the Australian Travel Fund and welcomed the fact that the Australian Federal Government had implemented a significant increase in funding for the measure, the charity later explained that they were unable to sufficiently expand their own operations to keep pace with the high volume of funding applications:

‘Despite this large increase, the Trust continued to be restricted to grants of only \$125k per year. Clearly, there was a massive imbalance in this allocation of resources, which created tremendous pressures on the Trust’s staff, both in the UK and Australia, to support reunions.’⁶⁴²

The third commitment, namely a renewed promise of funding for the CMT, witnessed a marginal increase in the amount of money granted to the charity by the

⁶³⁹ International Social Service, *The Journey of Discovery*, 9-10

⁶⁴⁰ International Social Service, *The Journey of Discovery*, 10.

⁶⁴¹ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents and Forgotten Australians Revisited*, 72.

⁶⁴² Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents and Forgotten Australians Revisited*, 72.

Australian Federal Government, with this bursary increasing to \$150,000 per year to cover the period 2005 to 2009.⁶⁴³ In spite of this increase in funding, the 2009 Australian Senate report *Lost Innocents and Forgotten Australians Revisited* noted that the charity were unable to expand their services, with the implementation of the Australian Travel Fund and increased public awareness of historic British child deportation leading to increased demand for the CMT's services that they were struggling to meet.⁶⁴⁴ The Trust were also unable to expand their operations in Australia, only having offices in Melbourne, VIC and Perth, WA, both of which were staffed by just one social worker each.⁶⁴⁵ Norman Johnston of the IAFCM&F explained that the Australian Federal Government had failed to adequately support the work of the CMT, while also failing to take seriously the recommendations of *Lost Innocents*:

'We asked for adequate, long-term funding, for the specialist independent services of the Child Migrants Trust. Unfortunately [this request was not] accepted. [...] Eight years later social justice still has not been delivered to us. In our view, the spirit of the recommendations was not accepted by the government of the day.'⁶⁴⁶

This disparity in funding for child migrant family reunions demonstrated that the Australian Federal Government greatly prioritised subsidising travel over financially

⁶⁴³ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents and Forgotten Australians Revisited*, 67.

⁶⁴⁴ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents and Forgotten Australians Revisited*, 68.

⁶⁴⁵ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents and Forgotten Australians Revisited*, 68.

⁶⁴⁶ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents and Forgotten Australians Revisited*, 69.

supporting the process of family tracing. While the Australian Travel Fund achieved great successes in its aim of facilitating overseas travel to enable former child migrants to reconnect with their families and countries of birth, the work of the CMT was unable to expand in the way they would have liked. Prior to the publication of *Lost Innocents*, the charity only had two offices in Australia and were in the process of working through over 700 cases, a workload that only increased after the publication of the federal inquiry into historic child migrant programmes. Despite the increased caseload faced by the CMT and the Federal Government nearly doubling its funding of the Australian Travel Fund during its lifespan, the charity only received a marginal increase in federal funding, they were unable to create new offices in Australia, and the offices they already had remained severely understaffed. Although the Australian Travel Fund proved a successful measure for child migrants wishing to reconnect with their families and homelands while also addressing the limitations of the Child Migrants Support Fund, it put a strain on the CMT and meant that they struggled to provide other vital services to former child migrants, including tracing their lost families, as the money within this bursary could only be spent on visiting relatives once they had been located, rather than tracing these family members in the first instance. Additionally, as Senator Andrew Murray has noted, in spite of *Lost Innocents* recommending that all former child migrants be offered automatic Australian citizenship, significant numbers of whom had worked and paid taxes in the country throughout their lives, the Australian Federal Government did not offer this provision to British-born former wards of the Australian state.⁶⁴⁷ While previous apologies and memorials recognised former child migrants as being Australian

⁶⁴⁷ Andrew Murray, 'Child Migration Schemes', 30.

nationals, these declarations did not translate into legal statehood within the country to which these former state wards were deported.

Conclusion

Former child migrants, considered as a distinct group within the overarching bracket of former wards of the Australian state, have faced considerable difficulties in tracing their families and identities, a process made immeasurably more complicated by the transnational nature of their experience of institutional care. While all former wards of state suffered some degree of identity loss, former child migrants experienced a loss of national identity, with many also being subjected to a process of depersonalisation upon arrival in Australia which in turn resulted in the alteration of names and birth certificates, greatly impacting attempts to trace one's personal identity in adulthood. An inability to prove their original name, place or date of birth has severely impeded the attempts of many former child migrants in obtaining access to their personal records, as well as the citizenship and passports required to allow these former wards of state to return to their countries of birth. Even once passports have been obtained, the process of travelling overseas can be financially prohibitive and emotionally demanding for all participants

The CMT was established in 1987 to assist former child migrants in navigating these issues. While their work received substantial acclaim in both the UK and Australian Federal Government's inquiries, their ability to help all former child migrants in need remained limited throughout the first decade of the new millennium. British governmental funding of the CMT increased substantially after the release of the UKHSC's Third Report, while this publication also prompted the creation of the £1 million Child Migrants Support Fund, a three-year bursary managed by the charity

to facilitate overseas travel, in addition to counselling and family tracing services in the UK.

The charity was also bankrolled in part by the Australian Federal Government. After their publication of *Lost Innocents* and receiving criticism from the CMT due to a lack of financial support, the Australian Federal Government offered a marginal increase in funding for the charity while also establishing the Australian Travel Fund. While the latter measure succeeded in addressing many of the limitations of the Child Migrants Support Fund, including the exclusion of child migrants without living parents or siblings as well as Maltese-born child migrants, the money supplied to this new bursary significantly outweighed the support offered to the CMT. This meant that the charity was unable to expand their operations in Australia and struggled to fulfil their existing caseload while having to also meet new demand for family reunions generated by the creation of this new federal scheme.

This chapter has built upon the work of Jones and O'Neill, as well as Shurlee Swain, by firstly considering child migrants as a distinct group of care leavers who suffered unique challenges in reuniting with their families and locating their personal records. This work has also addressed the work done by the CMT in supporting British-born wards of state in reclaiming their identities while attempting to overcome the many financial, emotional, and transnational challenges that have arisen from this process. Moreover, this work has contained an exploration of the role of the UKHSC's Third Report and *Lost Innocents* in prompting government action in helping former child migrants to find their families, including facilitating access to personal records, funding the CMT, and creating bursaries to facilitate overseas travel, thus also serving to advance the work of Fernandez et al. These respective national responses have been compared as a means of understanding the extent to

which government funding of family restoration impacted the caseload faced by the CMT and how the Australian Travel Fund sought to advance the initial successes achieved by the Child Migrants Support Fund, with detailed explorations into these policies and their significance for the reforging of personal identities for former child migrants being largely absent from academic literature at present.

Chapter 6: Family tracing after national apologies

‘The Family Restoration Fund is a significant and practical step in bringing families together and healing the deep wounds of separation.’

Margaret Humphreys, director of the CMT, on the launching of the Family Restoration Fund by the UK Government, 26 July 2010.⁶⁴⁸

Introduction

Following on from the analysis concerning the impact of the UKHSC’s Third Report and *Lost Innocents* upon the creation of policies designed to facilitate the process of reuniting families separated by child migrant programmes, this chapter addresses the role of national apologies in furthering this ambition. While family tracing measures that emanated from both national inquiries centred around financing overseas family reunions, the apologies offered by the UK and Australian Federal Governments served as evidence of a significant divergence in policy between these respective countries. Although providing funding for the CMT remained a secondary aim of both governments following the issuing of their respective apologies, the Australian Federal Government went about creating *Find and Connect*, a new database designed to aid all non-indigenous former wards of state in tracing their personal records and families. Meanwhile, the UK Government’s principal commitment to family reunions in the years following the apology was the creation of the Family Restoration Fund, a new travel fund that was managed by the CMT and served as a significant enhancement of their previous Child Migrants Support Fund.

⁶⁴⁸ Child Migrants Trust, *Family Restoration Fund Information Pack*, 1.

This was due to the Family Restoration Fund receiving higher financial backing and served as a more inclusive reparation, with the funding being available to previously excluded demographics of former child migrants and could be spent on visits beyond first-time family reunions.

These respective policies served as evidence of another significant policy divergence, namely the differing extents to which former child migrants were considered a distinct group of former state wards. The UK Government's measures designed to reconcile with former child migrants intended to address issues specific to their own lived experiences, rather than the experiences of all adult care leavers. The 2010 apology, issued by then-Prime Minister Gordon Brown, was addressed specifically to former child migrants and as a result, the Family Restoration Fund was created to cater specifically to the needs of former child migrants, principally facilitating overseas travel. Meanwhile, the Australian Federal Government decided to create the *Find and Connect* programme to aid all non-indigenous former wards of state to locate their families and personal records. This is reflective of the joint nature of the apology they issued in the year 2009, which also prompted the creation of a museum exhibition, an oral history project, and several memorials dedicated to all non-indigenous former wards of state, with child migrants decreasingly being considered as a distinct group of care leavers within the Australian context.

This chapter begins with a summary of the main issues faced by former child migrants in the years following the issuing of national governmental apologies in 2009 and 2010 respectively. These include the underfunding of the CMT, the heightened time pressure facing former child migrants to either locate their families or continue reconciling lost relationships, as well as a need to resolve the lack of travel funding after the termination of the Australian Travel Fund in the year 2005.

The analysis then turns towards the impact of the 2009 Australian Federal apology upon efforts to help reunite families separated by child migrant schemes, specifically the *Find and Connect* programme, a service designed to be a starting point for all non-indigenous former wards of state wishing to locate their families and personal records. A parallel investigation also takes place concerning how the aim of reuniting families was addressed in the UK Government's apology to former child migrants in the year 2010, with Gordon Brown's speech prompting the creation of the Family Restoration Fund, a travel bursary that greatly expanded upon the earlier Child Migrants Support Fund. This final chapter concludes by addressing the issues that have resulted from the late implementation of these measures and outlines the limitations of family tracing measures broadly spoken, including the challenges of reuniting families that had been separated for many decades.

Throughout, this chapter refers to the scholarship of Suellen Murray, Joanne Evans et al, and Cate O'Neill. While all of these authors have offered fascinating and vital insights into the mechanics and significance of the *Find and Connect* programme, there has been no prior consideration of the importance of this programme specifically for British-born former wards of the Australian state and their advocates. There has also been a comparative lack of scholarly interest in the UK Government's Family Restoration Fund, how this newer bursary sought to build upon earlier travel funding schemes, and concerns over the longevity of this programme. While these authors have considered in detail the emotional toll of tracing and reuniting with one's family, this chapter also features an exploration of cases in which family reunions were unsuccessful and where child migrants have been unwilling to reconcile with their biological relatives.

Pertinent issues within post-apology family restoration measures

The reparative measures designed to facilitate family tracing and family reunions for British-born former wards of state in the years following national inquiries, though an important step towards assisting the process of reclaiming lost identities, were not without their limitations. Three overarching issues needed to be addressed to ensure that family reunion measures implemented in the wake of national apologies were supportive of the work of non-government agencies, were open and inclusive to all potential applicants, and were aware of the time sensitive nature of the family reunion process. These were the uneven allocation of funding, the restrictions placed on which child migrants were eligible to apply for funding, and a lack of appreciation for the time sensitive nature of family reunions. The measures that were introduced by the Australian Federal Government and the UK Government after their respective apologies given at least in part to former child migrants, will be critiqued in accordance with their abilities to advance previous measures designed to facilitate family tracing, in addition to their suitability in addressing the specific needs of former child migrants outlined in the previous chapter of this thesis.

The first principal issue that needed to be rectified by post-apology family reunion measures was the disparity in the allocation of funding in support of child migrant family reunions. This is of particular importance when one considers that most former child migrants sent to Australia had experienced economic deprivation throughout much of their lives, most notably in childhood, with many potentially being unable to afford to reunite with their birth families, even during the lifespan of previous government schemes which had been impacted by strict time limits. The years following the publication of national child migrant inquiries witnessed a marked increase in capital for the process of reuniting lost families separated by child

migrant schemes. The family tracing work undertaken by the CMT was comparatively underfunded during this same period. The Child Migrants Support Fund, established in the year 1999 by the UK Government, was managed directly by the CMT, with the £1 million bursary facilitating family tracing and counselling work conducted in the UK, in addition to funding overseas travel once reunions had been arranged.⁶⁴⁹ Although the ISS in Melbourne, VIC was able to use a portion of this money to finance family reunions for child migrants living in Australia, only UK-based work undertaken by the CMT in the fields of family tracing and counselling was eligible for funding from the Child Migrants Support Fund.⁶⁵⁰ This UK Government grant was terminated three years after its announcement in 2002, and while this same year also witnessed the creation of the Australian Travel Fund, the previous chapter of this thesis noted that this Australian Federal bursary inhibited the CMT's abilities to either clear their ever-growing caseload or to expand their operations in Australia.⁶⁵¹

Although the Australian Travel Fund received additional funding prior to its termination in the year 2005, the fact that it was a temporary bursary, in the same vein as the Child Migrants Support Fund, created two significant problems for former child migrants and their advocates. On the one hand, while the year 2002 marked the conclusion of the UK Government's Child Migrants Support Fund and the opening of the Australian Federal Government's Australian Travel Fund, no governmental measures were put in place to mitigate the termination of the latter programme three years later. This meant that there was no money available from either the UK Government or the Australian Federal Government to finance child

⁶⁴⁹ Child Migrants Trust, 'Timeline'.

⁶⁵⁰ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 179-180.

⁶⁵¹ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 129.

migrant family reunions for a five-year period until the creation of the UK Government's Family Restoration Fund in the year 2010. This is in spite of the fact that, in October 2005, the Australian branch of the ISS issued three recommendations concerning the continuation of Australian Federal support for child migrant family reunions, the first of which explicitly mandated the continuation of travel funding.⁶⁵²

On the other hand, this also resulted in many former child migrants missing out on the opportunity to reunite with lost relatives or to return to their countries of birth. In the 2009 Australian Senate inquiry concerning the lives of all non-indigenous former wards of the Australian state, the IAFCM&F and the CMT jointly argued that the temporary nature of these government bursaries failed to properly account for the complexities involved in attempting to trace separated families:

'If family or a close relative's grave could be found within the allotted three-year period, they would be eligible. If not, they experienced further loss and discrimination by remaining excluded. It is always a problematic policy to try to resolve matters of social justice by means of a device which could be regarded as a lottery.'⁶⁵³

The second overarching issue that needed to be rectified by post-apology family reunion measures was to ensure that they were not time sensitive. In the case of the UK Government, any new reparative measures that emanated from their national apology needed to further address the stringent eligibility criteria that had

⁶⁵² International Social Service, *The Journey of Discovery*, 24.

⁶⁵³ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents and Forgotten Australians Revisited*, 73.

previously prohibited many former child migrants from applying to the Child Migrants Support Fund. This may have been due to their not having living parents or siblings in their country of birth, their being born outside of the UK, their health not allowing them to travel overseas, or reasons pertaining to their financial means.⁶⁵⁴ Specific groups of former child migrants, namely those born after the outbreak of the Second World War in addition to those born in either Ireland or Malta, were at a particular disadvantage when applying to this UK Government scheme. With the creation of the Australian Travel Fund, the Australian Federal Government successfully rectified these limitations by allowing applicants to visit other relatives including aunts, uncles, cousins, nephews and nieces, enabling non-UK-born former child migrants to apply for the schemes, permitting a designated person to travel alongside the applicant in the event of ill health, and by ensuring that applications were not means tested.⁶⁵⁵ When reflecting upon both the UK and Australian Federal Governmental bursaries, the CMT noted that the Australian Travel Fund was far more inclusive, while also recognising the health conditions that were impacting the endeavours of British-born former wards of state in reuniting with their families and homelands:

‘The eligibility requirements of the travel fund were less restrictive and more compassionate than the UK scheme, acknowledging the importance of visits to parents’ graves if no living relatives could be found. The frailty and vulnerability of former child migrants was acknowledged by the provision of funding for carers as escorts, when confirmed by medical/psychological assessment.’⁶⁵⁶

⁶⁵⁴ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 182-185.

⁶⁵⁵ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 192-195.

⁶⁵⁶ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 72.

However, both during and after the lifespan of the Australian Travel Fund, concerns relating to funding for the CMT were all but overlooked. The unprecedented demand for the services of the CMT continued beyond the year 2005, with the charity still facing challenges in meeting the needs of all clients after the conclusion of the Australian Travel Fund. This continued lack of funding for the work of the CMT went against the second recommendation issued by the ISS in October of that same year: 'Recommendation Two: That State and Federal Governments continue to provide funding for specialist services, particularly in relation to family tracing, counselling and financial assistance for this unique group of people.' Although the CMT continued to receive annual funding from both the UK Government and the Australian Federal Government, this was not proportionate to the services that the charity was now expected to offer, with this newly found demand being created in large part by the establishment of the Australian Travel Fund. The charity themselves explained that this situation was exacerbated by former child migrants being disenfranchised from pre-existing governmental family tracing and counselling systems, and served as another example of how British-born former wards of state who required more extensive investigations into their ancestries were overlooked in the process of governmental reconciliation:

'[...] there remains a steady flow of new referrals for family restoration services. This continued need arises from several sources, including the resolution of particularly complex family research, due to the poverty of data or deceit; or as a result of new referrals from those who have been isolated

from mainstream services. [...] Resources are needed to support first time reunions alongside follow up visits.⁶⁵⁷

While the first chapter of this thesis argued that the 2008 Australian Federal apology to the Stolen Generations influenced the type of acknowledgement that the CMT wished for former child migrants to receive, this apology also inspired the charity to request a more robust series of measures for non-indigenous former wards of state wishing to reunite with their families.⁶⁵⁸ On 13 February 2008, Australian Prime Minister Kevin Rudd apologised to First Nation Australians who had been forcibly removed from their families in childhood, with his speech paying particular attention to the loss of cultural, national, and familial identity suffered by the Stolen Generations, as well as their relatives:

'For the pain, suffering and hurt of these Stolen Generations, their descendants and for their families left behind, we say sorry.

To the mothers and the fathers, the brothers and the sisters, for the breaking up of families and communities, we say sorry.

And for the indignity and degradation thus inflicted on a proud people and a proud culture, we say sorry.'⁶⁵⁹

⁶⁵⁷ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, 73.

⁶⁵⁸ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents and Forgotten Australians Revisited*, 71-74.

⁶⁵⁹ Government of Australia, *Address at the apology to the Stolen Generations* (Canberra: Government of Australia, 2008).

In an additional speech given to the Australian Parliament later that same day, Rudd advocated for the creation of new family tracing measures in support of his apology. He reiterated the significant harms inflicted upon both victims of indigenous child removal, as well as their parents and descendants, while arguing for the creation of a robust package of measures to help all of those in question to be reunited with their families and reclaim their lost identities:

‘Our challenge for the future is to now cross that bridge and, in so doing, to embrace a new partnership between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians—embracing, as part of that partnership, expanded Link-Up and other critical services to help the stolen generations to trace their families if at all possible and to provide dignity to their lives.’⁶⁶⁰

When reflecting on this apology the following year, Margaret Humphreys explained that this speech served as an example of the need to also provide former child migrants with a more comprehensive set of measures in continuing the reclamation of their own lost familial identities. While having previously explained the lack of adequate governmental funding given to the CMT in the years following the issuing of national child migrant inquiries, the charity’s director explained that British-born former wards of state should be given the ability to repeatedly return to their countries of birth. This, according to Humphreys, would afford former child migrants with the ability to control the types of relationships they wish to build with their newly

⁶⁶⁰ Parliament of Australia, *Apology to Australia’s Indigenous Peoples*. Available online: [https://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/search/display/display.w3p;query=Id: per cent22chamber/hansardr/2008-02-13/0003 per cent22](https://parlinfo.aph.gov.au/parlInfo/search/display/display.w3p;query=Id:per cent22chamber/hansardr/2008-02-13/0003 per cent22) [Accessed 27/10/2022].

rediscovered relatives, an issue that pre-existing travel funding had been unable to resolve:

'[...] travel funds have restrictions. They impose limits. [...] It is government money so they have to. [...] I think that [the apology to the Stolen Generations] perhaps could lead forward to a reparation package that involves quite a few things. I suggest that could involve people making their own choices and their own decisions about whether they go back to family or not.'⁶⁶¹

The final principal issue that needed to be rectified by post-apology family reunion measures was to address the issues that arose as a result of the passage of time between inquiries and apologies. The Australian Federal Government offered their apology to all non-indigenous former wards of state on 16 November 2009, eight years after the Australian Senate had first formally recommended that an apology be issued to former child migrants.⁶⁶² Meanwhile, the UK Government's apology, issued on 24 February 2010, arrived nearly twelve years after the publication of the UKHSC's Third Report, which also recommended that the UK Government ought to offer an apology to British-born former wards of the Australian state.⁶⁶³ These significant time gaps meant that reparative measures designed to facilitate child migrant family reunions emanating from national apologies needed to

⁶⁶¹ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents and Forgotten Australians Revisited*, 74.

⁶⁶² Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents*, xviii.

⁶⁶³ Commons Select Committee, *Health – Third Report*, para 118.

address the fact that many British-born former wards of the Australian state had significantly advanced in age compared to the time at which official inquiries into their lived experiences had been published. Increasingly fewer former child migrants were able to meet more senior relatives, namely parents, aunts and uncles, and previous governmental measures to facilitate family reunions were severely limited for those seeking to reunite with their families as a matter of urgency. Although the Australian Travel Fund did not exclude applicants sent to Australia before the outbreak of the Second World War in addition to non-UK-born former child migrants, unlike the Child Migrants Support Fund, both overarching measures implemented by these governments were limited to a three-year lifespan.

This new context also meant that the descendants of former child migrants, many of whom were now entering into adulthood, were seeking to reclaim their own identities which had been altered by their parents' deportation from the UK as children. Although the UKHSC's Third Report, *Lost Innocents*, and *Lost Innocents and Forgotten Australians Revisited* all advocated for allowing the descendants of former child migrants to access the personal records of their forebears, no unique provisions had been made to allow these descendants to access counselling, nor had they been able to access travel funding. The previous family reunion measures offered by both the UK and Australian Federal Governments had only focused on first-generation British-born former wards of the Australian state, with their children only being allowed to travel for reunions alongside their parents in exceptional circumstances.⁶⁶⁴ It is, however, important to note that the third and final recommendation of the ISS' report recognised the unique situation faced by the children of former child migrants, and wished to see services expanded to meet their

⁶⁶⁴ International Social Service, *The Journey of Discovery*, 24.

own needs in reclaiming identity: 'Recommendation Three: That specialist services be made available to the adult children of former child migrants.'⁶⁶⁵ In addition, the need for any new measures to not be time sensitive was of vital importance to these later generations, so as to continue the process of reclaiming identities.

Australian Federal funding of the Child Migrants Trust and Find & Connect

While post-inquiry governmental support for former child migrants primarily composed of creating travel funds to facilitate overseas family reunions, it was after the issuing of national apologies that UK and Australian Federal policies addressing reconciliation for child migrant schemes began to diverge. While the Australian Federal Government shifted their focus towards empowering all former wards of state to access their records, the UK Government sought to expand upon their previous bankrolling of overseas travel while permitting repeat visits and encouraging the continued re-establishment of previously severed familial ties. The following section expands upon the analysis of Jones and O'Neill found in the fifth chapter of this thesis. This is done by firstly explaining that while the implementation of *Find and Connect* came about as a result of the Australian Federal Government's apology to all non-indigenous former wards of state, it also represents an effort to address the shortcomings of the government's initial reparative measures designed to help former child migrants reunite with their families.

Unlike the UK Government, the Australian Federal Government had not previously created a database where former child migrants could begin the process of tracing their families, with the latter government having also placed substantially

⁶⁶⁵ International Social Service, *The Journey of Discovery*, 24.

more emphasis on facilitating overseas travel at the expense of enhancing work designed to trace lost families. This section further argues that, in a similar vein to the apology issued by the Australian Federal Government in 2009, the *Find and Connect* programme stood as evidence of British child migration merging into a wider narrative of historic institutional childcare in Australia. This meant that post-apology reparative measures issued by the Australian Federal Government were targeted towards all former wards of state, rather than the specific needs of former child migrants. It is therefore explained what this project meant specifically for former child migrants and their advocates. Lastly, this section addresses the ways in which the UK Government sought to remedy the issue of family reunions in their own apology while attempting to address the limitations of their earlier Child Migrants Support Fund.

Although the 2009 Australian Senate report *Lost Innocents and Forgotten Australians Revisited* did not explicitly list the creation of the *Find and Connect* programme as a new reparative measure, the report outlined the importance of continuing to help former child migrants in tracing their families. For example, the seventh recommendation of the inquiry outlined the need for the Australian Federal Government to continue financially supporting former child migrants in their pursuit of family reunions, although it was not specified whether this would involve funding the CMT, the creation of a new travel fund or establishing a care leavers database.⁶⁶⁶ Although a new travel fund was neither recommended nor announced in this later inquiry, it was confirmed that the Australian Federal Government would be continuing to provide the CMT with AUS\$600,000 for the next four upcoming tax

⁶⁶⁶ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents and Forgotten Australians Revisited*, x.

years between 2008/09 and 2011/12, a commitment that would later be reiterated in the resulting apology.⁶⁶⁷ This amount, however, represented a far smaller figure than that offered to the *Find and Connect* programme, the principal family tracing promise that resulted from the 2009 apology to all non-indigenous former wards of the Australian state.

It is notwithstanding important to note that the Australian Federal Government's funding of the CMT has increased significantly in recent years, as the most recent data taken from the Australian Charity Commission illustrates. In their annual report for the 2021/22 financial year, the CMT received a total of AUS\$929,533 from Australian Governmental Grants, AUS\$135,878 was derived from the state government of Western Australia, with the remaining AUS\$793,655 being donated by the Australian Federal Government via its Department for Social Services, AUS\$532,225 of which came directly from the *Find and Connect* programme.⁶⁶⁸ Nonetheless, the Australian Federal Government has yet to offer any further travel funding to former child migrants in a form similar to that of the earlier Australian Travel Fund, the CMT has not been able to expand its operations in Australia beyond its two existing bases in Perth, WA, and Melbourne, VIC, and, according to the most recently published financial data, the charity continues to have only a small amount of human resources, with seven full-time employees, two part-time employees, and eight full-time equivalent staff.⁶⁶⁹ While the implementation of *Find and Connect* has offered the CMT a much-needed financial windfall, this policy has not helped the charity to increase their operations and was not designed with the

⁶⁶⁷ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents and Forgotten Australians Revisited*, 9.

⁶⁶⁸ Australian Charities and Not-for-profits Commission, *Child Migrants Trust Inc – ACNC*. Available online: <https://www.acnc.gov.au/charity/charities/f541d8b5-38af-e811-a962-000d3ad24a0d/documents/0b7d2efb-61a0-ed11-aad1-00224810056d> [Accessed 24/03/2023].

⁶⁶⁹ Australian Charities and Not-for-profits Commission, *Child Migrants Trust*.

specific needs of former child migrants in mind, instead catering for all non-indigenous former state wards.

The creation of *Find and Connect* was alluded to, although not yet officially announced, within the report's twelfth recommendation, which sought to remove many of the privacy barriers that had previously hindered all care leavers in tracing their families:

'The Committee recommends that the Commonwealth government pursue the reform of national freedom of information (Fol) and privacy legislation to ensure that care leavers are not hindered in their access to information about their childhoods and families; and that current and future reviews of Commonwealth and State Fol regimes explicitly address this issue.'⁶⁷⁰

The Australian Federal Government's apology to the Forgotten Australians and former child migrants, issued on 16 November 2009, represented the official announcement of the *Find and Connect* programme. In his speech, Kevin Rudd outlined the difficulties that many former wards of state had faced in tracing their families, promising to create a singular access point for those wishing to locate their personal records and access any necessary support services:

'The service will provide a national database that will collate and index existing state identified records into a national searchable data base,

⁶⁷⁰ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents and Forgotten Australians Revisited*, x-xi.

accessible to state and other care leaver services and also directly to care leavers themselves.⁶⁷¹

The *Find and Connect* website, which remains open to this day, was designed with three specific purposes in mind. These were to learn details and discover photographs pertaining to sheltering homes, to enable care leavers to contact relevant organisations that will aid them in unearthing their records, and to signpost support networks and services in each of Australia's devolved states and territories.⁶⁷² However, due to the website only containing information within the public domain, care leavers were not able to find their personal records on the platform itself, instead being able to make contact with charities that would be able to undertake this work on their behalf.⁶⁷³ Although users of the resource are able to make contact with groups that can support the process of retracing their ancestry, Jim Goddard et al have explained that laws surrounding access to personal records differ greatly between Australian states.⁶⁷⁴ They have further explained that in spite of the recommendations of *Bringing Them Home* (1997), *Lost Innocents* (2001), and *Forgotten Australians* (2004), there continue to be inconsistencies in policy concerning both the preservation and freedom of access to personal records held by non-governmental caregiving institutions.⁶⁷⁵ Even if users of the resource are able to successfully make contact with organisations that offer support to former wards of state wishing to access their records, they are still confronted with the possibility that

⁶⁷¹ Parliament of Australia, *National Apology to the Forgotten Australians and former Child Migrants*.

⁶⁷² Find and Connect, *About Find and Connect*. Available online: <https://www.findandconnect.gov.au/about/> [Accessed 04/10/2022].

⁶⁷³ Find and Connect, *About Find and Connect*.

⁶⁷⁴ J. Goddard, S. Murray, and Z. Duncalf, 'Access to Child-Care Records: A Comparative Analysis of UK and Australian Policy and Practice'. *The British Journal of Social Work*, 43, 4 (2013), 759-774.

⁶⁷⁵ Goddard et al, 'Access to Child-Care Records', 770-771.

the records they wish to view may be inaccessible or do not exist. This represents a significant limitation of the *Find and Connect* programme, especially for former child migrants who were raised in multiple institutions in different states within Australia.

According to the *Find and Connect* website, the resource was created by a group of social workers, historians, and archivists working at Australia Catholic University and the University of Melbourne.⁶⁷⁶ While a primary version of the website was launched in November 2011, it was redesigned in 2013 and continues to expand where new information and resources arise.⁶⁷⁷ The website further acknowledged the emotional, mental and financial challenges involved in tracing lost families, seeking to directly address the concerns raised in the Senate inquiries into institutional childcare including *Lost Innocents* (2001) and *Forgotten Australians* (2004):

'This website was developed to help Forgotten Australians and Former Child Migrants understand more about their past and about the historical context of child welfare. For many people who grew up in 'care', the search for records and information – so vital to identity and to the process of reconnecting with family – can be frustrating, complicated, time-consuming, expensive and traumatic.'⁶⁷⁸

The *Find and Connect* service was designed to cater to the specific needs of care leavers not only through simplifying the process of locating disparate children's

⁶⁷⁶ Find and Connect, *About Find and Connect*.

⁶⁷⁷ Find and Connect, *About Find and Connect*.

⁶⁷⁸ Find and Connect, *About Find and Connect*.

homes and archives, but also through providing dedicated support for those wishing to access their records. Writing in the year 2014, Michael Jones and Cate O'Neill explained that over 13,000 items were catalogued on the *Find and Connect* website, including records pertaining to sheltering homes and care providers, governmental legislation and amendments, as well as photographs documenting children's institutions, in addition to lived experiences of institutional childcare.⁶⁷⁹ As Suellen Murray has explained, in a similar vein to other scholars of institutional childcare including Shurlee Swain, these photographs can play an important role in reconstructing personal identities beyond simply retrieving names and dates of birth by allowing individuals who grew up outside of nuclear familial units to partake in similar forms of story-telling and remembrance.⁶⁸⁰ Jones and O'Neill have further explained that the creators of the site were aware of the difficulties faced by care leavers in attempting to trace their records, and sought to remedy these challenges by holding regular workshops across the country to instruct former wards of the state as to how to access these newly assembled resources.⁶⁸¹

These workshops, as well as other services provided by *Find and Connect*, also had the effect of enabling service providers to better appreciate the difficulties faced by care leavers in attempting to access their records, particularly in an emotional sense. As Joanne Evans et al have argued, while these workshops sought to help Forgotten Australians and former child migrants in using these online resources, the sessions also proved beneficial for the historians and archivists involved, as they were able to gain a better appreciation of the personal challenges involved in reclaiming identities that were altered by time in the care system, while

⁶⁷⁹ Jones & O'Neill, 'Identity, records and archival evidence', 117.

⁶⁸⁰ Murray, 'Child Migration Schemes', 134.

⁶⁸¹ Jones & O'Neill, 'Identity, records and archival evidence', 120.

also promoting more empathic and inclusive working practices.⁶⁸² Additionally, the scoping study of the *Find and Connect* project outlined that the initial AUS\$26.5 million supplied by the Australian Federal Government across an initial four-year period also encompassed a number of new services beyond creating a single access point for care leavers wishing to trace their records. These included creating a dedicated phone line where care leavers could interact with specialists about accessing records, establishing specialised services to help locate records and reunite family members where possible, and founding tailored counselling services addressing the emotional trauma of attempting to trace one's family.⁶⁸³

Although the Australian Federal Government has invested significant amounts of money into *Find and Connect*, questions remain about the longevity of the programme. Suellen Murray has noted that as early as the year 2015, it was unclear whether this programme would remain in operation indefinitely, as no specific end date for the scheme had been set.⁶⁸⁴ Furthermore, an issue impacting the longevity of this programme and the tracing of child migrant families at large is the extent to which former child migrants wish for their records to be accessed by their descendants, especially once they have passed away. In her submission to *Forgotten Australians and Former Child Migrants Revisited*, Margaret Humphreys of the CMT acknowledged that the rights of former child migrants in the areas of privacy and data protection must be upheld, noting that inquiries into third party access to records are undertaken on an individual basis.⁶⁸⁵ These same sentiments

⁶⁸² Evans et al, 'All I Want To Know Is Who I Am', 8.

⁶⁸³ Department of Families, Housing, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs, *Find and Connect Service: Scoping Study*, i.

⁶⁸⁴ Murray, *Supporting adult care-leavers*, 156-158.

⁶⁸⁵ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents and Forgotten Australians Revisited*, 159.

were echoed by Bill Hoyles, Senior Manager of Youth Affairs and Aftercare at Barnardo's Australia:

'We have taken advice from our own child migrants and many of them are unhappy about the idea of having their personal information released to their relatives after they die, particularly recently because a number of books have been published in which they have told their story and the story that they have told is not necessarily reflected in the files that we have.'⁶⁸⁶

This is not an issue that can be universally resolved by governmental legislation. Rather, it remains of utmost importance that former child migrants continue to have autonomy over who has the right to view their personal records once they have passed away, even though this may disadvantage later generations wishing to trace their lineages.

It must also be noted that many of the defenders of the *Find and Connect* programme, including Joanne Evans et al, have not sought to explore the benefits of this programme specifically for former child migrants, and in doing so, significant limitations arise. Evans et al make a cogent case for the implementation of this programme being an example of 'archival justice', with the accompanying workshops designed to address the practical and emotional challenges arising from attempting to trace one's personal records, including the navigation of Freedom of Information laws and cases where documents may be absent from official records.⁶⁸⁷ However, in arguing that this project facilitated access to Australian records relating to

⁶⁸⁶ Australian Senate Community Affairs Committee, *Lost Innocents and Forgotten Australians Revisited*, 159.

⁶⁸⁷ Evans et al, 'All I Want To Know Is Who I Am', 2-3.

institutional care, Evans et al overlook the fact that documents concerning the experiences of former child migrants in care can not only be found in multiple locations across Australia, but also in the countries from which these former state wards were deported.⁶⁸⁸ As this endeavour to facilitate access to care records was a policy of the Australian Federal Government, rather than being a transnational effort involving the UK Government, in addition to British archives, philanthropic organisations, and local authorities, former child migrants wishing to use the *Find and Connect* programme are only able to begin the process of tracing records relating to their experiences within the Australian institutional care system. This is in spite of the fact that these former state wards experienced institutional care in at least one other country prior to their deportation, an issue not addressed by Evans et al.⁶⁸⁹

Furthermore, Cate O'Neill places the advent of *Find and Connect* within a wider context of preserving and displaying mementos concerning institutional experiences of Australian childcare in an online capacity. O'Neill explained that the creation of the *Find and Connect* programme coincided with the opening of Trove, a search engine belonging to the NLA, which contains photographs of personal belongings and experiences of care, as well as oral history interviews, and has in turn allowed the organisers of *Find and Connect* to expand the number of digitised items that can be found within its database when users wish to begin the process of locating their personal records relating to institutional care.⁶⁹⁰ The oral history interviews conducted by the NLA with non-indigenous former state wards have formed a significant part of the primary analysis found throughout this thesis.

⁶⁸⁸ Evans et al, 'All I Want To Know Is Who I Am', 7-8.

⁶⁸⁹ Evans et al, 'All I Want To Know Is Who I Am', 11-13.

⁶⁹⁰ O'Neill, 'Forgotten Australians in the library', 184.

However, to expand the work of O'Neill, the vast majority of these mementos, which can be recovered during the process of attempting to trace one's families and personal records, only reveal one half of the story of British child deportation to Australia, due to these archiving efforts having occurred on a national, rather than international, level. Additionally, the maintenance of funding for the CMT and the establishment of the *Find and Connect* programme made little tangible difference to alleviating the caseload faced by the charity, with *Find and Connect* simply being a starting point for child migrants wishing to locate their records and the CMT not being able to create any new offices in Australia. Furthermore, the Australian Federal Government made no further financial provisions facilitating overseas family reunions, with the responsibility for supporting this area of reconciliation instead resting with the UK Government in the post-apology era.

UK Governmental funding of the Child Migrants Trust and the Family Restoration Fund

The issuing of the UK Government's apology to former child migrants witnessed the beginning of a significant divergence in reconciliation policy with that of the Australian Federal Government. While Kevin Rudd's speech promised the creation of a new database that allowed all former wards of state, including child migrants, to begin the process of tracing their families, Gordon Brown's speech outlined a commitment to a new and more expansive overseas travel bursary. However, in a similar vein to the Australian Federal apology to all non-indigenous wards of state, the UK apology emphasised the pain caused by familial separation, with Gordon Brown's speech making nine references to the work of the CMT in reuniting lost families. As addressed by Suellen Murray, this apology was an opportunity to

facilitate the process of enabling former child migrants to access their records while also representing a long-term commitment to supporting the work of Margaret Humphreys and the CMT.⁶⁹¹ Brown used a case study of a former child migrant called Patrick as a means of exploring the painstaking work undertaken by the CMT, with the charity having worked for over two decades in attempting to trace his mother, only to find out that she had passed away some years prior.⁶⁹² Patrick, like many other former child migrants, missed out on the chance of meeting his birth parents, but was able to connect with his extended family and his country of birth, an experience that the Prime Minister claimed gave Patrick a sense of belonging that was denied to him and so many of his peers throughout their lives.⁶⁹³

The UK apology paid particular attention to the work of Margaret Humphreys. Gordon Brown expressed his own pride and admiration in her endeavours to support former child migrants, while praising her commitment, kindness, and the overcoming of adversities in her attempts to reunite families torn apart by historic child deportation.⁶⁹⁴ In recognition of the CMT's work, Gordon Brown promised that the UK Government would continue to provide an albeit unspecified amount of funding for the charity while also creating a new bursary to allow former child migrants to better reconnect with their lost relatives:

'Now, I am pleased to tell you today that the government will continue to fund the Child Migrants Trust. You can press on, therefore, with your well-respected work in seeking resolution for former child migrants and their families. We are also setting up a new £6 million Family Restoration Fund to

⁶⁹¹ Murray, *Supporting adult care-leavers*, 154.

⁶⁹² Government of the United Kingdom. *Apology to Former Child Migrants*.

⁶⁹³ Government of the United Kingdom. *Apology to Former Child Migrants*.

⁶⁹⁴ Government of the United Kingdom. *Apology to Former Child Migrants*.

support travel and other costs for former child migrants who wish to be reunited with their families.⁶⁹⁵

The Family Restoration Fund was formally launched on 26 July 2010, after the end of Gordon Brown's premiership and during the first year of the Conservative-Liberal Democrat coalition. Secretary of State for Health Andrew Lansley MP described the announcement of the fund as a formal recognition to the enduring campaigns of child migrants and their advocates. Meanwhile a statement of behalf of the IAFCM&F welcomed the new fund, stating that its unveiling was 'a time of reconciliation between the British Government and former child migrants.'⁶⁹⁶ Margaret Humphreys, the director of the CMT, further perceived this announcement as a moment for healing and understood the Family Restoration Fund as being a major turning point for separated families:

'The Child Migrants Trust welcomes this positive initiative which addresses the painful legacy of Child Migration for individuals and families. The Family Restoration Fund is a significant and practical step in bringing families together and healing the deep wounds of separation.'⁶⁹⁷

Although the money provided for both the Child Migrants Support Fund and the Family Restoration Fund was supplied by the UK Government and managed directly by the CMT, the latter bursary was an improvement on the former in two key areas. Firstly, applications to the fund were not restricted to meeting lost family

⁶⁹⁵ Government of the United Kingdom. *Apology to Former Child Migrants*.

⁶⁹⁶ Child Migrants Trust, *Family Restoration Fund Information Pack*, 1.

⁶⁹⁷ Child Migrants Trust, *Family Restoration Fund Information Pack*, 1.

members in the UK for the first time. Although visits to gravesites were still not permitted, as well as Maltese-born and second generation former child migrants still being denied access to the fund, the focus of the Family Restoration Fund rested on allowing British-born former child migrants to build relationships with their lost relatives while enabling them to be a part of significant family events and to support their relatives in their time of need. This new fund can therefore be seen to successfully meet the dual challenges of bankrolling overseas travel and seeking to restore personal identities that were altered in the process of child deportation, as evidenced by the following passage from the Family Restoration Fund Information Pack:

‘Applicants must be able to demonstrate a need to build or develop family relationships, a need to be involved in significant family events such as weddings or funerals or demonstrate an urgent travel need due to a family crisis such as serious illness or death. [...] In the event of the death of a former child migrant who has no family members in the country in which he or she died, the Family Restoration Fund can enable a member of the deceased’s family to travel to attend the funeral.’⁶⁹⁸

The second area of improvement between the Family Restoration Fund and the Child Migrants Support Fund was the fact that the former was financially more substantial, in addition to not being time restricted. The £6 million budget of the Family Restoration Fund greatly eclipsed the £1 million dedicated to the Child Migrants Support Fund, the latter of which only operated between the years 1999 to

⁶⁹⁸ Child Migrants Trust, *Family Restoration Fund Information Pack*, 5.

2002. Although applications to the Family Restoration Fund were encouraged to apply as early as possible, there was no specific deadline put in place, meaning that the bursary had the potential to be expanded if there was deemed to be sufficient demand: 'The fund is intended to operate for a number of years but the precise length of time it is open will depend on demand from former child migrants and available funding. It is in your best interests to apply as early as possible.'⁶⁹⁹

Unlike the Child Migrants Support Fund, the Family Restoration Fund received additional funding and remains in operation to this day. On 11 September 2014, the UK Department of Health and Social Care announced that the Family Restoration Fund would be extended until the year 2017.⁷⁰⁰ At the time that this decision was made, over 700 former child migrants and relatives of British-born former wards of the Australian state had been able to travel for family reunions and other significant events. Secretary of State for Health Dan Poulter outlined the significance of maintaining the programme while explaining the importance of allowing former child migrants to be reunited with their families:

'We can never forget the hardship and heartache experienced by children and their families as a result of misguided child migration schemes. [...] We can't undo the past. But we can help to reunite families that were torn apart so unjustly and completely. I'm pleased to announce the fund will run until 2017.'⁷⁰¹

⁶⁹⁹ Child Migrants Trust, *Family Restoration Fund Information Pack*, 5.

⁷⁰⁰ GOV.UK, *Child migrant Family Restoration Fund extended*. Available online: <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/child-migrant-family-restoration-fund-extended> [Accessed 05/10/2022].

⁷⁰¹ GOV.UK, *Child migrant Family Restoration Fund extended*.

Margaret Humphreys, the director of the CMT, echoed these same sentiments while also explaining that the extension of the Family Restoration Fund galvanised the apology issued by then-Prime Minister Gordon Brown four years prior:

‘Former child migrants and their families will welcome this positive step.

Restoring a sense of family life is vital after years of separation and the Fund is a lifeline for hundreds of families. It adds real substance to our national apology.’⁷⁰²

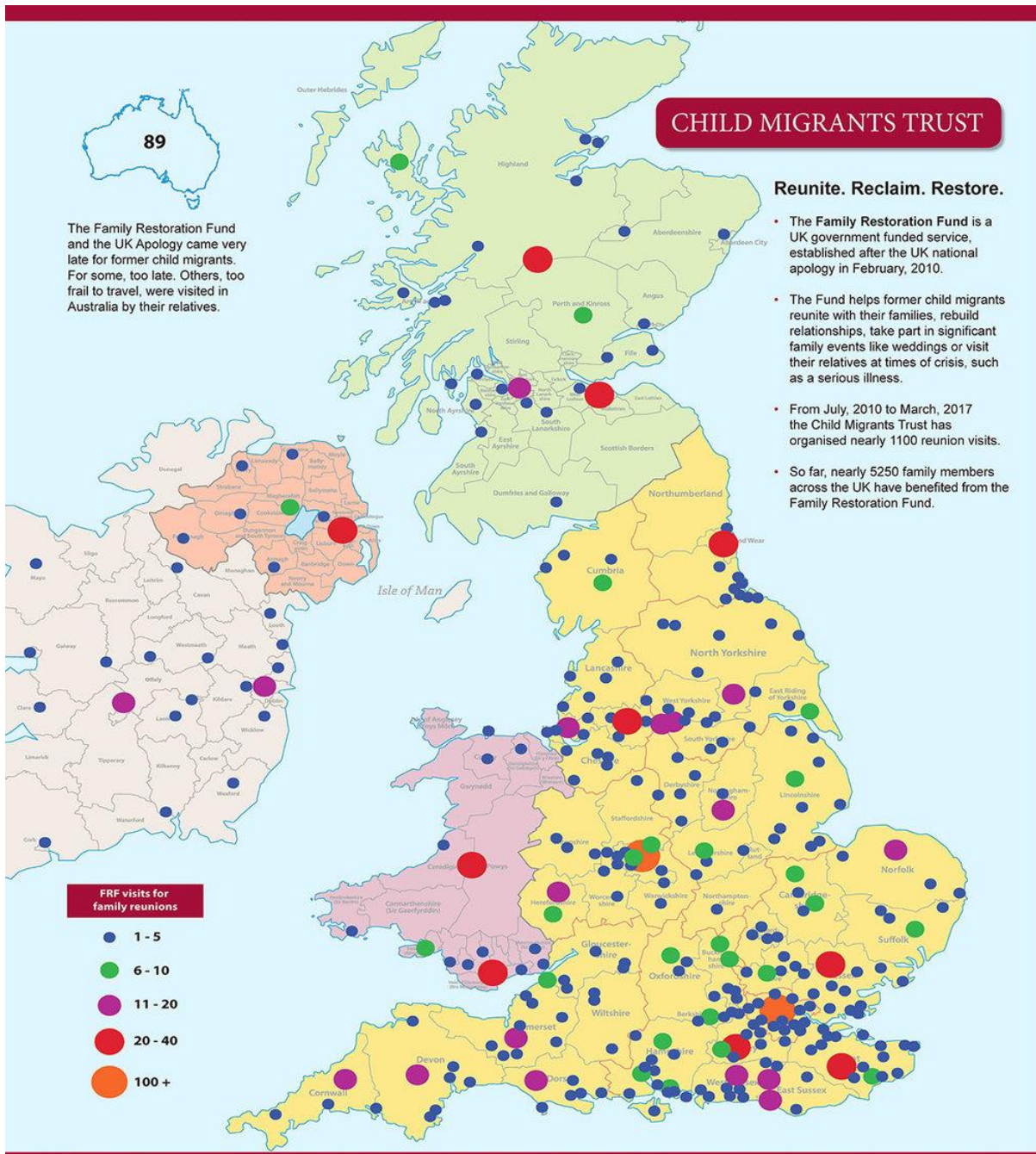
Moreover, on 7 July 2017, the UK Department of Health and Social Care announced that the Family Restoration Fund would be extended once again for an indefinite period while also receiving £2 million of additional funding. The year 2017 also marked the commencement of the IICSA with former child migrants being the first cohort of historic abuse victims to give evidence at the hearings. Secretary of State for Health Jackie Doyle-Price MP explained that the commencement of the inquiry was an opportunity to strengthen reparative measures designed to support historic child deportees:

‘The Independent Inquiry into Child Sexual Abuse is working to ensure that justice is done for all victims of abuse. Its focus on the child migration schemes allows us to learn important lessons from the events of the past, to ensure that we never forget former child migrants and their families.’⁷⁰³

⁷⁰² GOV.UK, *Child migrant Family Restoration Fund extended*.

⁷⁰³ GOV.UK, *Family Restoration Fund gets £2 million extra funding*. Available online: <https://www.gov.uk/government/news/family-restoration-fund-gets-2-million-extra-funding> [Accessed 09/08/2022].

Figure 28 - Family Restoration Fund Map, Child Migrants Trust.



Source: Child Migrants Trust, *Family Restoration Fund*. Available online:

<https://www.childmigrantstrust.com/services/frf-map-2016> [Accessed 22/04/2022].

Although the CMT has only made available data concerning the Family Restoration Fund covering the period 2010 to 2017, the image in Figure 28 highlights

the high uptake of the programme during these years. During this period, over 1,000 visits for the purposes of family reunions had taken place, with over 5,000 UK citizens having been able to reunite with relatives overseas who had previously been deported as a result of child migrant programmes. In the event that child migrants themselves were too unwell to travel to their country of birth, nearly 100 relatives of British-born former wards of the Australian state had been able to visit their lost relatives in Australia. Although family reunions involving former child migrants returning to their countries of birth were concentrated to the capital cities of the UK's four constituent nations, as well as other major cities including Birmingham, Manchester, and Newcastle, these events took place throughout the British Isles and even into the Republic of Ireland, evidencing the vast scope of historic child deportation from the UK.

At the time of writing, there have been no additional commitments outlined by the UK Government in upholding or extending the Family Restoration Fund since the year 2017, nor is it clear whether second-generation child migrants will be able to obtain access to the fund to facilitate their own re-identification endeavours. The former issue regarding the longevity of this bursary was raised by Labour MP Lisa Nandy in the House of Commons on 26 February 2019, with Nandy seeking clarity that the creation of the redress programme for former child migrants the previous year would not detract from pre-existing commitments to supporting the tracing and reuniting of lost families.⁷⁰⁴

⁷⁰⁴ UK Parliament: Hansard, *Former British Child Migrants: Payment Scheme - Volume 655: debated on Tuesday 26 February 2019*. Available online: [https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/2019-02-26/debates/51FB55EA-FEE0-4795-BFDC-5E3DB97D6113/FormerBritishChildMigrantsPaymentScheme?highlight=family per cent20restoration per cent20fund#contribution-87493A3A-B07F-445E-AF00-F02228719A12](https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/2019-02-26/debates/51FB55EA-FEE0-4795-BFDC-5E3DB97D6113/FormerBritishChildMigrantsPaymentScheme?highlight=family%20per%20restoration%20fund#contribution-87493A3A-B07F-445E-AF00-F02228719A12) [Accessed 09/11/2022].

Although the Minister in question, namely Jackie Doyle MP, who was serving as the Under-Secretary of State for Health and Social Care, outlined the importance of the Family Restoration Fund and promised continued co-operation with the CMT on the matter, Nandy outlined that no specific guarantees had been made concerning the longevity of this programme:

‘There was one issue about the family restoration fund that I might write to the Minister about to try to get some more clarity, given the uncertainty about the ongoing nature of that scheme. I was glad to hear about the level of urgency within Government to try to resolve some of the issues and the ongoing commitment to meet and work with the Child Migrants Trust as we move forward.’⁷⁰⁵

The most recent update provided by the UK Government concerning the Family Restoration Fund was issued on 24 March 2022. This statement, given by then-Prime Minister Boris Johnson, explained that responsibility for the management of the Family Restoration Fund had moved from the Department for Health and Social Care to the Department for Education, and did not provide any indication about the longevity or funding for the programme:

‘I am making this statement to bring to the House’s attention the following machinery of government change. From the post-war period through to 1970, approximately 3,500 British children in care were sent abroad to former British colonies. Governmental responsibility for these children, who are now aged

⁷⁰⁵ Hansard, *Former British Child Migrants: Payment Scheme*.

between 60 and 90, has been held by the Department for Health and Social Care, or DHSC. [...] Responsibility for matters relating to those British children in care who were being sent abroad up until 1970, funding for the Child Migrants Trust, and the operation of the family restoration fund will transfer from DHSC to the Department for Education—DFE—from 1 April 2022.⁷⁰⁶

According to the UK Register of Charities, the UK Government continues to provide funding directly to the CMT, although it must be noted that this level of funding has decreased sharply during the last three financial years. This data illustrates that during both of the financial periods ending on 31 March 2018 and 31 March 2019, the CMT received approximately £1,650,000 in grants from the UK Government, with these bursaries decreasing to roughly £654,000, £549,780, and £621,000 during the following three financial years respectively.⁷⁰⁷ Although some degree of uncertainty remains surrounding future UK Governmental funding of the CMT and its activities, it must be noted that unlike the Australian Federal Government, the UK Government continues to offer separate bursaries for overseas family reunion endeavours, and has created measures tailored to the specific needs of former child migrants, as opposed to all children who were raised in the nation's care system during the twentieth century.

⁷⁰⁶ UK Parliament: Hansard, Machinery of Government - Volume 711: debated on Thursday 24 March 2022. Available online: [https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/2022-03-24/debates/22032442000018/MachineryOfGovernment?highlight=family per cent20restoration per cent20fund#contribution-1993375F-6A59-4C3F-8F1A-642E9CA20AA7](https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/2022-03-24/debates/22032442000018/MachineryOfGovernment?highlight=family%20restoration%20fund#contribution-1993375F-6A59-4C3F-8F1A-642E9CA20AA7) [Accessed 09/11/2022].

⁷⁰⁷ Charity Commission for England and Wales, *Child Migrants Trust*. Available online: <https://register-of-charities.charitycommission.gov.uk/charity-search/-/charity-details/5070038/financial-history> [Accessed 24/03/2023].

Issues that could not be addressed by post-apology family tracing measures

Reuniting with lost family members has represented an integral part of both national reconciliation and reclaiming child migrant identities. However, through no fault of the CMT, British-born former wards of state have not always been successful in reuniting with their biological families. Even though the process of tracing and locating lost relatives has been enhanced by governmental policies emanating from national inquiries, the delay in their implementation has resulted in inconsistencies regarding who has been able to benefit from family tracing measures. These discrepancies have resulted from several factors, including the passing of family members due to the time elapsed since the deportation of British children to Australia, difficulties in forming emotional bonds with reunited relatives, and the anger that some British-born wards of state feel towards their parents due to their being removed from their country of birth. This upcoming analysis further enhances the work of Suellen Murray by addressing the material effects of family reunion policies, gauging the opinions of child migrants themselves towards this overall process, while also seeking to understand the issues that cannot be resolved by political reconciliation.

Many of the interviews conducted with former child migrants by the NLA in the three years following the Australian Federal apology addressed the joy many felt at meeting their lost relatives in the two decades prior, while also praising Margaret Humphreys and the CMT. For example, Michael Harvey was among the child migrants who were successfully able to reunite with their birth mothers, and while he and his twin brother Terry had drastically different reactions upon meeting this long lost parent, Michael stated that he cherished the moment when he and his mother were first reunited in the UK, and revisited her in later life.⁷⁰⁸ Harvey vividly recalled

⁷⁰⁸ Evans, *Interview with Michael Harvey*.

the moment when Margaret Humphreys informed him that she had successfully traced his mother, outlining the emotional reaction he had to the prospect of being able to reunite with one of his biological parents:

'We got a phone call one day. [...] Margaret [Humphreys] was ringing from Perth [...] I wanted basically to meet mum. Of course, I was inwardly emotional and confused and bewildered, this sort of thing. And what happened was Margaret [Humphreys] said "I've met your mother, and the first thing she said was "I want my boys home."'" And [...] I just blew. I just absolutely burst out. [...] Those words [...] they stick in my mind.'⁷⁰⁹

Some former child migrants, including Maurice Crawford-Raby, were initially uninterested at the prospect of tracing their family background. Crawford-Raby had previously accepted what he had been told during his time in institutional care in Australia, namely that his family were killed during the war, and had therefore not previously seen the value in attempting to discover his ancestry.⁷¹⁰ It was not until Crawford-Raby's son expressed an interest in the matter and had made contact with a genealogist that Crawford-Raby decided to contact the CMT.⁷¹¹ His interaction with the charity to trace his Aunt Elma helped to reveal a number of vital details about his past, including learning his real surname, that he had a sister who had passed away ten years prior, and that he had two nephews in Lincoln, Lincolnshire, with Crawford-Raby himself having been born in Skegness, Lincolnshire.⁷¹² In his interview with

⁷⁰⁹ Evans, *Interview with Michael Harvey*.

⁷¹⁰ Willis, *Interview with Maurice Crawford-Raby*.

⁷¹¹ Willis, *Interview with Maurice Crawford-Raby*.

⁷¹² Willis, *Interview with Maurice Crawford-Raby*.

Rob Willis of the NLA, Crawford-Raby recalled that Ian Thwaites of the CMT was able to successfully trace his lost family in a timely manner:

'[...] I thought, 'Oh [...] I'll just give these people [...] a ring.' So I phoned up and of course I got on to Ian Thwaites. [...] And [...] Ian said, "Send me everything you've got" [...] so I sent everything I had, which was a grey dossier. [...] And then Ian got on to the phone and he said, "[...] we'll take over from here". In one month they found it.'⁷¹³

Meanwhile, Maltese-born former child migrant Tony Costa addressed his belief that the CMT were far more effective at tracing lost families than his childhood institution had been. Although Costa's mother passed away too late for the pair to formally reconcile, Costa expressed his profound gratitude towards the work of Margaret Humphreys and the CMT in helping him to understand his identity, a task which many philanthropic and religious groups had been previously unwilling to undertake:

'Some of us, in latter years have gone back, through the help of the Child Migrant Trust, and [...] discovered our long lost families. It's been an overwhelming experience. And there's others that haven't been successful and very sad. [...] I'm a great supporter of the Child Migrant Trust. I continue to wave their banner. The church agencies [...] have no [...] empathy for whatsoever. They've handled the whole thing [...] badly.'⁷¹⁴

⁷¹³ Willis, *Interview with Maurice Crawford-Raby*.

⁷¹⁴ R. Willis, *Interview with Tony Costa in the Forgotten Australians and Former Child Migrants oral history project* [Recorded conversation]. 2010.

Despite the numerous successes achieved in reuniting lost families and the work of the CMT being held in particularly high esteem by British-born former wards of state, family reunions were not always successful endeavours due to the difficulties many faced in reforming previously severed emotional ties. While Joanne Evans et al have explored the emotional challenges associated with archival records, and Suellen Murray had addressed the psychological difficulties linked to reuniting with one's biological family, examples of where former child migrants have been unable to form emotional bonds with their biological families upon reuniting provide an insightful series of case studies that have been largely overlooked within current literature in this area of study. Several interviews conducted by the NLA, including with former child migrant Len Magee, addressed this challenge. Magee was four years old when his father passed away of tuberculosis, and with his mother unable to raise the family by herself, he was taken into care at the age of six, being looked after firstly by the Fairbridge Foundation and later Barnardo's.⁷¹⁵ When asked about his current feelings towards his mother, Magee explained that while he was too young to fully understand what being taken into care meant at the time, he vividly recalled the feelings of pain and abandonment that blighted his formative years, ultimately describing his placement in care as a betrayal by his mother.⁷¹⁶ Even though the pair reconciled in later life, Magee explained that they were unable to build a close mother-son relationship, stating that he did his duty as a son but little else aside.⁷¹⁷

⁷¹⁵ J. Barrkman, *Interview with Len Magee in the Forgotten Australians and Former Child Migrants oral history project* [Recorded conversation]. 2012.

⁷¹⁶ Barrkman, *Interview with Len Magee*.

⁷¹⁷ Barrkman, *Interview with Len Magee*.

Another interviewee, namely Ken Pound, also explained his ambivalence towards reuniting with his family. After explaining that his brother acted in a hostile manner towards him upon their first in-person reunion, Pound explained that he was never able to fully reconnect with his mother and felt no emotional connection towards her, even after her passing, expressing similar sentiments of familial duty outlined in Len Magee's interview:

'Yes [...] I did have a little bit of a correspondence with her, but [...] I'm sorry to say [...] it was like when I went to her grave site, I felt nothing. [...] If you've got to think about having [...] a feeling response, [...] it doesn't seem very natural to me, or spontaneous. [...] I was [writing to her] because [...] it was my mother. I had no [...] feeling at all. [...] It wasn't anger or anything, it was just ... Well, you know ... what does it matter?'⁷¹⁸

Bob Taylor was among those who believed that regardless of whether he could reunite with his mother, nothing could be done to fully repair the emotional bonds that were severed not only by familial separation, but also by the cruelty that former child migrants suffered and the passing of time since their deportation. In his interview with Rob Willis, Taylor mentioned that he was still in the process of attempting to trace his brother, a goal he valued not only for the opportunity to meet a long lost sibling, but to also ask him whether he had any knowledge about their shared lineage.⁷¹⁹ Taylor was further endeavouring to locate his mother's grave,

⁷¹⁸ G. Davey, *Interview with Ken Pound in the Forgotten Australians and Former Child Migrants oral history project* [Recorded conversation]. 2010.

⁷¹⁹ R. Willis, *Interview with Bob Taylor in the Forgotten Australians and Former Child Migrants oral history project* [Recorded conversation]. 2011.

believing that she was longer no alive due to his own advancing age, stating that nothing could be done to rebuild their relationship even if she were still alive and in spite of the vital work of Margaret Humphreys:

'I've always said I would be happy to find my mother's grave, because I don't think for one minute she's alive today, but [...] having said that I think the appalling part is no records were kept of a lot of children of the day, and those that were kept were kept aside until years later. And a lot of this was exposed by Margaret Humphreys in the late 80s and 90s. [...] But [...] money's not the answer and nothing can replace a child that should have had the love and affection they deserved.'⁷²⁰

Patricia Carlson's attempts to reunite with her parents represented one of the most complex and emotionally demanding case studies in this area of inquiry. Carlson was born in the English town of Devonport in the year 1933 and had two older sisters, Maureen and June, with whom she did not become acquainted during her childhood, due firstly to her mother leaving the family before she was born, and secondly to Carlson being briefly fostered before being placed into care.⁷²¹ It wasn't until the year 1987 that Carlson knew she had two older sisters after they had both successfully traced her, and it was upon learning about the existence of her two older sisters that she found out that both of her parents had died. Carlson had missed out on the lifelong ambition of meeting them. She recounted the anguish she

⁷²⁰ Willis, *Interview with Bob Taylor*.

⁷²¹ S. Marsden, *Interview with Patricia Carlson in the Forgotten Australians and Former Child Migrants oral history project*. 2010.

felt upon hearing the news in an emotional exchange with interviewer Susan

Marsden:

'[Maureen] wrote to me. And [...] she said, "My dear Patricia," she said, "What can I say to a sister I have never known? I am [...] Maureen Monica, your sister. You have another sister, June Rose. [...] And she says, "And that makes you the baby of the family". [...] Unfortunately, she said our mother and father are dead. [...] So, I missed out by [...] one of them by six years and one by about seven or eight, which [...] was quite devastating, because [...] I had asked and asked for twenty years.'⁷²²

Lastly, Carolyn Rasmussen's interview with Jean Pringle outlined the latter's feelings of hostility towards her mother which inhibited the opportunity for a successful family reunion. Pringle remembered vividly the day she was officially taken into care, with her mother dropping her off at the orphanage, telling her to go upstairs to have a wash, after which they were supposed to have a cup of tea together, only for Pringle to never see her mother again until their reunion in later adulthood.⁷²³ This encounter left Pringle not only with a feeling of abandonment and loneliness that impacted the rest of her life, but also leading her to question why she was put into care in the first place, with this overarching concern about her early life leading to her expressing anger towards her family, in particular her mother.⁷²⁴

⁷²² Marsden, *Interview with Patricia Carlson*.

⁷²³ C. Rasmussen, *Interview with Jean Pringle in the Forgotten Australians and Former Child Migrants oral history project* [Recorded conversation]. 2011.

⁷²⁴ Rasmussen, *Interview with Jean Pringle*.

Family tracing is undoubtedly a vital part of the reconciliation process for former child migrants. Some, including Michael Harvey, were able to successfully reconcile with their lost family members and deemed their reconciliation to be a turning point in their lives. Others, including Tony Costa and Maurice Crawford-Raby, expressed their gratitude for the family tracing work undertaken by the CMT due to its being integral to understanding their own personal identities and aiding them in learning about members of their extended family they would have otherwise never known about. However, the testimonies discussed throughout this section reveal wider limitations of policies designed to aid with reuniting lost families. Former child migrants, including Tony Costa, Maurice Crawford-Raby, and Patricia Carlson, all missed out on the chance to meet relatives due to their passing prior to commencing formal attempts to reunite.

Even when former child migrants were able to successfully reunite with parents or siblings, some expressed ambivalence and even antipathy towards their recently reunited relatives. Len Magee and Ken Pound struggled to establish an emotional bond with their mothers, and Jean Pringle expressed anger towards her mother when they were able to formally reunite, with Pringle believing that her entire family neglected their duty of care towards her. For former child migrants like Bob Taylor, the passing of time and the lack of love shown towards him as well as other former wards of state meant that a family reunion in adulthood could never replace having an experience of family in childhood. Regardless of the UK and Australian Federal Government's attempts to facilitate family tracing and provide funding for the CMT, no guarantees can be made that family reunions will be successful, with the trauma of institutional abuse and familial separation often inhibiting the reformation of emotional bonds with newly found relatives.

Conclusion

The issuing of national governmental apologies, addressed at least in part to British-born former wards of the Australian state, represented a moment of significant divergence in policy concerning how both states wished to address the issue of reuniting lost families. While both the Australian Federal Government and the UK Government had both previously implemented travel funds to former child migrants as a means of facilitating overseas family reunions, the former embarked on a process of aiding all non-indigenous care leavers to begin locating their personal records after their apology in 2009, meanwhile the latter created an expanded travel fund the following year. The Australian measure, known as *Find and Connect*, was grand in scope and received significant financial backing that far surpassed that of the UK Government's previous Family Restoration Fund. However, *Find and Connect* was not designed specifically to help former child migrants, nor did its announcement coincide with a significant increase in funding for the CMT or a replacement for the since expired Australian Travel Fund. Instead, the charity would continue to receive the same level of annual funding, in spite of the fact that they had a significant caseload to address and were still unable to expand their operations in Australia beyond the two offices that they already held in Melbourne, VIC and Perth, WA. While the Australian Federal Government has allowed all former child migrants to access the *Find and Connect* site, as well as the programme's accompanying services, concerns surrounding the ability for second and third generation former child migrants to gain access to personal records and a lack of indication concerning future funding for the project has cast doubt over its longevity.

The implementation of the UK Government's Family Restoration Fund ended a five-year period in which neither government had provided funding to assist overseas travel, with the measure being designed specifically with the needs of both former child migrants and the CMT in mind. The significantly higher uptake in the service, in addition to its being in receipt of increased funding and its focus on the long-term repairing of lost familial bonds, meant that this new UK Government bursary represented a significant step forward in addressing the ongoing needs of former child migrants when compared to their earlier Child Migrants Support Fund, which expired in the year 2002. However, this new fund was not created for the descendants of former child migrants, with these later generations of former state wards only being able to access this bursary in exceptional circumstances. Furthermore, the inability for the fund to cover costs for non-UK born child migrants and for visits to family gravesites meant that Irish-born and Maltese-born former wards of the Australian state, as well as those deported to from the UK to Australia in earlier migration programmes, continued to be disenfranchised, despite their needs having been considered in the Australian Travel Fund, which had launched eight years prior.

It is further important to note that all measures designed to help former child migrants to be reunited with their families, including those issued both prior to and after national apologies, have been unable to cater to the needs and circumstances of all British-born former wards of the Australian state. Although the work of the CMT has proved both vital and successful in helping significant numbers of former child migrants in meeting their lost relatives, their work has been impeded by a lack of financial backing by both the UK and Australian Federal Governments. Furthermore, the nature of forced familial separation and institutional maltreatment, coupled with

the time elapsed between the deportation of these children and their ability to reconcile with their relatives, meant that many former child migrants missed the opportunity to meet their biological parents. For others, emotional bonds that had been broken decades prior could not be so easily repaired by a singular visit to one's country of birth. It was not until the establishment of the Family Restoration Fund in the year 2010 that repeat visits and the long-term reconstruction of lost familial relationships became serious considerations for either of the governments involved in reconciliation. By which point, an opportunity had been lost to help many more child migrants with their own process of healing and re-identification.

An exploration of these three areas, namely the *Find and Connect* programme, the Family Restoration Fund, and the significance and limitations of family tracing measures across the board, have helped to expand the work of Suellen Murray, Joanne Evans et al, and Cate O'Neill by considering the specific needs of former child migrants and explaining where post-apology measures have sought to address the limitations of previous governmental commitments to support family tracing. It is further evident that the two overarching projects implemented by both governments represented a significant divergence in policy and the extent to which child migrants were considered to be a distinct group of former state wards. While the design of the Family Restoration Fund reflected the fact that the UK Government's apology in 2010 was addressed specifically to former child migrants, the apology issued by the Australian government a year prior sought to reconcile with the institutional maltreatment of all non-indigenous former wards of state. All of the reparative measures that emanated from the 2009 apology, including the creation of *Find and Connect*, as well as the heritage projects detailed in the fourth chapter of this thesis, sought to cater to the overlapping needs of the Forgotten

Australians and former child migrants, with the apology itself beginning a process in which child migrant narratives began to merge into wider histories of institutional maltreatment.

Conclusion

‘It is a changed conversation, we need a new conversation with governments. Time is of the essence.’

Margaret Humphreys, director of the Child Migrants Trust, in conversation with *the Guardian*.⁷²⁵

This thesis has utilised three overarching strategies of apologies, memorials, and family reunions within a transnational context as a means of understanding the ways in which the national governments of Australia and the UK have sought to reconcile their involvement in historic child migrant schemes. While there exists a substantial literature concerning efforts to offer non-monetary reparations to British-born former wards of the Australian state, this thesis has expanded this research in a number of important areas. Firstly, this thesis has challenged the significance of apologies within the overall process of reconciling historic wrongdoings inflicted upon former child migrants. While the secondary scholarship, critiqued in this thesis, has discussed the significance of apologies within reconciliation politics broadly speaking, this project has placed official apologies within a wider context. This has not only included the importance of memorialising historic wrongdoings and supporting former child migrants in discovering their personal and familial identities, but also the extent to which the apologies offered, at least in part, to British-born former wards of the Australian state, were derived from official inquiries concerning

⁷²⁵ S. Chenery, ‘I couldn’t love her’: the last UK child migrants to Australia on the long, lonely search for their mothers’, *The Guardian*. 12 March 2023. Available online: <https://www.theguardian.com/australia-news/2023/mar/13/i-couldnt-love-her-the-last-uk-child-migrants-to-australia-on-the-long-lonely-search-for-their-mothers>.

their maltreatment in institutional care. The first two chapters of this thesis have expanded upon earlier scholarly interest in the so-called 'age of apology' by analysing neglected aspects of reparative justice surrounding British child deportation. This includes revealing delays between the recommendation of apologies and their being issued, in addition to how the passage of time and the implementation of other measures have diminished the impact of these reparations. Both apologies have also been assessed by their use of language, reception among former child migrants and advocates, and the promises that resulted from their delivery. The question surrounding the utility of an apology is of particular importance to former child migrants due to the fact that, at the time of writing, there has yet to be an independent judicial inquiry concerning the historic deportation of British children to Australia. This has meant that apologies have been issued on the UK and Australian Federal Governments' own terms, being based on the findings outlined by reports that they have sanctioned, rather than the findings of an impartial organisation. Ultimately, former child migrants did not receive an apology from the Australian Federal Government until the year 2009, and from the UK Government the following year. Thus, by the time that these measures had been implemented, governmental efforts to provide memorials and family tracing initiatives to former child migrants had already been ongoing or were obsolete because those involved had already died.

Secondly, this thesis has addressed how the reparative measures sought to improve the lives of British-born former wards of the Australian state specifically. Though an analysis of the experiences of the Forgotten Australians and the Stolen Generations was not part of the project's main aims, an understanding of the apologies, memorials, and family tracing measures offered to these other former

Australian state wards has helped to provide a wider perspective on the role of childhood within Australian national reconciliation, while also explaining the extent to which these justice campaigns have facilitated reparative measures offered to former child migrants. Yet unlike the scholarship of the latter, the key focus of this study has been to discern the unique responses to historic child deportation. This is crucial because, despite the fact that the Australian Federal Government currently leads the global number of apologies issued concerning historic wrongdoings suffered by children, overall apologies specifically for forced child migration remain limited and thus obscured. In contrast, the UK's apology to former child migrants remains the only apology offered by this government in relation to wrongdoings suffered by children at the time of writing. However, the reparative campaigns for the Stolen Generations and the Forgotten Australians, discussed throughout this thesis, influenced the scale and character of reparations offered to former child migrants in different ways. While the Stolen Generations received their own separate apology alongside a memorialisation programme and family tracing measures before former child migrants did, the latter demographic were in receipt of multiple reparative measures which sought to also redress harms suffered by the Forgotten Australians. While much of the pre-existing literature addressed within this project has discussed these reparations within a context of the suffering of non-indigenous children in the Australian care system, this thesis has focused specifically on what these have meant for British-born former state wards.

Lastly, even though this thesis has not sought to be of a purely comparative nature, it has offered a transnational analysis on the ways in which both the UK and Australian Federal Governments have approached the issue of reconciliation in relation to child migrant programmes, a perspective that has been lacking in the pre-

existing literature on this subject matter. Apologies, memorials, and family tracing have represented the three areas in which the Australian Federal Government has focused as a means of reconciling the historic wrongdoings suffered by former child migrants. This thesis has therefore compared how these areas of reconciliation map onto the approaches taken by the UK Government's attempts to redress their own involvement in historic child migrant schemes. Within the realm of apology, which was the focus of the first two chapters, this analysis has involved exploring the relationship between the Australian Federal Government's apology to non-indigenous former wards of state in 2009 and the UK Government's apology to former child migrants in 2010. This has included the extent to which the former apology influenced the creation of the latter, the problematic nature of the UK Government deciding to apologise after the Australian Federal Government, as well as the ways in which former child migrants themselves understood the links between these two apologies.

Turning to memorials, as explored in Chapters Three and Four, this thesis has uncovered the different approaches that both nations have taken in their wider efforts to memorialise the care of children under the welfare state. This has included Australia's focus on the suffering and later-life successes of state wards within the care system, lying in stark contrast to Britain's overarching focus on successes in supporting the arrival of Jewish and Basque child refugees during the interwar period. In a post-apology context which was explored in Chapter Four, this thesis has further compared the contrasting importance given to permanent markers, museum, and library projects dedicated, at least in part, to former child migrants, and the extent to which the latter demographic has been able to define their own historical narratives. When considering family tracing endeavours, which were the

crux of Chapters Five and Six, this thesis has compared the endurance of family reunification programmes offered by both governments, the numbers of cases these projects have generated, alongside respective commitments to providing funding to the CMT, promises that were galvanised by the issuing of national apologies.

Due to this project focusing on apologies, memorials, and family tracing initiatives that have been offered by the UK and Australian Federal Governments to British children who were deported to Australia between the years 1913 to 1970, there are several issues that this thesis has not addressed. The first of these has been the experiences of former child migrants in other overseas outposts of the British Empire, namely Canada, New Zealand, and the former Rhodesia. Although former child migrants were forcibly migrated to all these areas during the twentieth century, this thesis has focused on the specific injustices endured by those initially housed in British orphanages to be later deported to Australia between the years 1913 to 1970. At the time of writing, Australia is the only former part of the British Empire involved in historic child migrant programmes to have apologised, at least in part, to former child migrants, while also engaging in a dedicated memorialisation programme, including the creation of mnemonic markers, museum exhibitions, and an oral history project. Second, because the focus of this project has rested on the reconciliation efforts of the national governments of the UK and Australia, the involvement of local governments, charities, and religious orders within this process has not been meaningfully addressed. Finally, given the decision to focus on apologies, memorials, and family tracing, measures that emerged separately from the apology and inquiry process, namely public histories in the realms of film and television, in addition to financial reparations, have not been part of the analysis.

One further issue that has significantly impacted on the form the thesis now takes is the global COVID-19 pandemic. This project, part of the Falling Through the Net Research Cluster at the Wilberforce Institute for the study of Slavery and Emancipation, University of Hull, commenced in September 2019. Prior to the outbreak of COVID-19, the focus of this project was somewhat different. This work was initially intended to address more specifically the memory and public history of British child deportation to Australia between 1913 to 1970, relying on a number of qualitative research methods that would later be rendered impossible to conduct as a result of both domestic and international health restrictions. These included face-to-face interviews with politicians, practitioners, academics and former child migrants, overseas travel to visit Australian museums, archives, the homes of former child migrants, in addition to the offices of the CMT in Perth, WA, and Melbourne, VIC, and domestic travel to fulfil similar research objectives in the UK. In response to the limitations placed on travel in particular, the focus of this thesis adapted to consider the ways in which both the Australian Federal Government and the UK Government have utilised apologies, public history, and measures designed to facilitate family reunions as a means of repairing the historic injustices suffered by British-born former wards of the Australian state. Additionally, the vast majority of primary research materials had to be sourced online. This has included governmental inquiries and apologies, heritage projects with the exception of the *Departures* exhibition at the Migration Museum in London, and documents pertaining to family tracing and reunions. This project has further been enhanced by a consultation with Dr Margaret Humphreys at the CMT's UK Headquarters in Nottingham which took place in August 2021, in addition to the Office of Gordon and Sarah Brown who

supplied several crucial sources concerning the apology issued by Gordon Brown and his later participation in IICSA.

It is, however, important to note that in spite of the many challenges faced in the creation of this thesis resulting from the COVID-19 pandemic, this global health crisis has had a far greater impact on the lived experiences of former child migrants themselves. The restrictions placed on overseas travel between Australia and the UK that were in place between March 2020 and February 2022 meant that overseas family reunions or other return visits were not possible during this time. At the time of writing, overseas travel for these purposes is still strongly discouraged by the CMT for former child migrants who were more advanced in age or had underlying health conditions. This has meant that many former child migrants may have missed the opportunity to reunite with their families altogether. Moreover, it is important to note that the process of being forcibly removed from their family and country of birth, being subjected to violent, humiliating, and inhumane maltreatment in institutional care, in addition to attempting to reclaim their lost or altered personal identities has taken a severe psychological toll on these British-born former wards of the Australian state. Many have relied on the CMT to provide counselling and support in tracing families. However, social distancing, travel restrictions, and the closure of sites containing personal records has meant that, through no fault of their own, the charity were unable to offer their regular services throughout the majority of the years 2020 and 2021. For some former child migrants, this has prolonged the pursuits of regaining identity and addressing their childhood trauma.

By utilising a transnational approach which has encompassed three distinct areas of reconciliation, this thesis has identified three key findings. Firstly, the overarching areas of apologies, memorials, and measures designed to facilitate

family tracing have all represented attempts to recover the lost narratives of former child migrants. However, within these three areas, the aim of truth-telling has been marginalised. At the time of writing, there has yet to be an independent judicial forum dedicated specifically to the plight of former child migrants, and while the measures addressed within this thesis have all sought to help British-born former wards of the Australian state come to terms with their deportation and maltreatment in care, the terms of reconciliation have been set by the very governments who orchestrated these deportations in the first instance. The apologies, for example, contained brief case studies concerning the lived experiences of former child migrants, including their time in the care system, their adult lives, and their attempts to reconcile their personal identities.

These testimonies, however, were peripheral to the overall aim of these speeches, which was to outline failures of policymaking within the context of children living under the care of the state. Within the realm of memorialisation, museum and library projects have represented the most earnest attempts to offer a truth-telling forum to former child migrants, as these endeavours have sought to gather and publicly display their personal recollections as a means of highlighting the cruelty endured by these former state wards throughout their lives. However, permanent memorials, constructed both prior to and in the aftermath of state apologies, have been rather more celebratory in tone, highlighting the significance of apologies and successes that former child migrants and their advocates have achieved in overcoming adversities. Alongside apologies, the process of creating permanent memorials has largely reflected the ways in which governments have perceived child migrant programmes, rather than being a vehicle for unearthing the testimonies of the non-voluntary participants in these schemes. Meanwhile, efforts to facilitate the

work of family tracing undertaken by the CMT have been of vital importance in helping former child migrants to meet their lost relatives, discover their true names and dates of birth, and to make sense of their formative years. While this has been undoubtedly useful in providing British-born former wards of the Australian state with a more truthful understanding of their own identities, it has not necessarily been a truth-telling forum in and of itself, with this particular measure having not yet been offered to former child migrants.

Secondly, aside from the creation of the *On Their Own* exhibition and collaboration concerning the issuing of money from the Child Migrants Support Fund, reconciliation has occurred on purely national, rather than transnational, levels, with little cooperation between the UK Government and the Australian Federal Government. When comparing the reconciliation approaches of both nations, several important asymmetries emerge. For example, it was the Australian Federal Government, rather than the UK Government, who were the first to offer an apology to former child migrants, with the apology itself, being issued to all non-indigenous former state wards, setting the tone for future reparative measures, as British-born former state wards would continue to receive redress measures alongside the Forgotten Australians. This is despite the fact that former child migrants had not only been the subject of their own Senate inquiry which was published in the year 2001, but had also been offered a series of bespoke memorials in each of Australia's six states which were installed between the years 2001 and 2007. After the 2009 apology, however, memorialisation in Australia became further emblematic of the merging of the child migrant story into wider non-indigenous experiences of institutional care during the twentieth century. This trend applied to the *Find and Connect* programme, which aimed to serve both the Forgotten Australians and

former child migrants, unlike the previous Australian Travel Fund which had been targeted only at the latter demographic. Turning to the efforts of the UK Government, their reconciliation efforts have treated former child migrants as their own distinct group of adult care leavers. The apology offered by the UK Government to former child migrants has been the subject of numerous critiques, including the fact that it occurred after that of the Australian Federal Government, and that it did not consider the abuses that occurred prior to their deportation. However, it addressed the specific injustices suffered by former child migrants as a result of their being deported, with the apology leading to the creation of a bursary designed to help only former child migrants to be reunited with their relatives. While the UK Government has placed comparatively little emphasis on publicly memorialising the child migrant story, instead choosing to publicise instances of child-saving philanthropy and the successes in taking in child refugees as opposed to failures of childcare, it has been far more proactive in providing funding for the CMT, and continues to support overseas travel for family reunions at the time of writing.

The last overarching finding of this thesis is that the families of former child migrants, alongside themes of social class, race, and empire, have been all but overlooked within the process of reconciliation. The two national apologies were addressed, at least in part, to former child migrants. While these speeches acknowledged the relatives that were left behind, alongside the challenges faced by the descendants of British-born former wards of the Australian state, these apologies were not formally extended to these groups. This is despite the fact that they too have had to reconcile forced familial separation and the pursuit of personal identities. This lack of focus on the families of former child migrants extends to the realm of heritage, as redress measures recognised these individuals within wider narratives,

but they have yet to be the focus of memorialisation efforts. Family tracing measures exist primarily to enable former child migrants to be reunited with their relatives, rather than facilitating overseas travel for family members, including second and third generation relatives. When spoken about in a collective sense, apologies, memorials, and family tracing efforts have failed to adequately address the fact that child migrant programmes represented a form of overt class discrimination against former child migrants themselves and racial discrimination against First Nation Australians, with these programmes also being an attempt to galvanise British influence over its imperial outposts. Both of the apologies addressed within this thesis did not outline the racial and imperial undertones of child migrant programmes, and while these speeches accepted that the children implicated in these programmes were raised within the care system, the fact that former child migrants were derived from primarily working-class backgrounds was not given meaningful attention. Although museum and library projects outlined some of the class, racial, and imperial undertones of child migrant programmes, these themes were all but absent from permanent memorials dedicated to the subject matter. Lastly, the fact that the majority of former child migrants who were deported from the UK to Australia came from socially and economically disadvantaged backgrounds was not reflected in the financial support offered in helping reunite families, with many of these measures being time sensitive, subject to means testing, and of limited financial value.

Although significant progress has been made by both the UK and Australian Federal Governments in reconciling their involvement in the mass deportation of British children to Australia throughout much of the twentieth century, the measures came too late for significant numbers of former child migrants. A vast proportion of

British-born former wards of the Australian state did not live to see the commencement of national inquiries, the creation of heritage installations, the issuing of national apologies, nor to have the opportunity to reunite with their biological families. For those who remained alive, these measures came too late to have a meaningful impact on their quality of life, as the significant delay between the termination of child migrant schemes and the commencement of state-funded reunions meant that members of biological families had passed away, and many attempts at re-establishing familial bonds were unsuccessful. The UKHSC's Third Report offered seventeen recommendations for the betterment of the lives of former child migrants. Two further Australian Senate inquiries, namely *Lost Innocents* (2001) and *Lost Innocents and Forgotten Australians Revisited* (2009) proposed additional measures designed to reconcile the injustices endured by British-born former wards of the Australian state. The two national apologies, offered at least in part to former child migrants, by the Australian Federal Government on 16 November 2009, and the UK Government on 24 February 2010, came about as recommendations from these national inquiries and, in turn, generated their own series of proposed reparative measures. Having reflected upon the successes and limitations of both government's attempts to apologise to former child migrants, to publicly represent their stories, and to reunite families torn apart by historic child deportation from the UK to Australia, this thesis concludes by offering a new series of reparative measures that would be of benefit to British-born former wards of the Australian state and their families.

Beginning within the realm of apologies, it is important to note that both of the speeches offered by Kevin Rudd and Gordon Brown in the years 2009 and 2010 respectively occurred outside of a formal truth-telling process. At the time of writing,

there has yet to be a forum, similar to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission that was established after the ending of racial apartheid in South Africa, where national governments and other agencies involved in the deportation of British children to overseas imperial outposts, have been directly answerable to the victims and their advocates. While national inquiries and apologies concerning the maltreatment of former child migrants represented an important moment for the UK and Australian Federal Governments in coming to terms with their own role in this shameful historic episode, these measures were designed and implemented by the very governments who sanctioned these deportations in the first instance. There is still a need for an impartial forum to be established where these governments can be held accountable for their actions, and where the terms of engagement can be set by the victims rather than the perpetrators. The first recommendation of this thesis proposes that both the UK Government and the Australian Federal Government partake in a full, independent, judicial inquiry into child migrant schemes alongside charities, local authorities, and religious orders involved in the process of deporting or caring for British-born wards of state.

The apologies that have been issued, at least in part, to British-born former wards of the Australian state, represented significant turning points for the process of reconciliation, but were not without their limitations. The Australian Federal Government's apology to the Forgotten Australians and former child migrants, which was issued on 16 November 2009, sought to address the negative experiences of all non-indigenous former state wards, at the expense of the British-born victims among this cohort. Out of the approximate 900 attendees of Kevin Rudd's speech, only forty were former child migrants. Additionally, despite the speech briefly addressing the dual familial separation suffered by British-born former state wards, while also

exploring the lived experiences of a former child migrant called Gus, this speech amalgamated their stories into wider histories of non-indigenous experiences of the Australian institutional care system. former child migrants, including Michael Harvey, have demanded that British-born former wards of the Australian state ought to receive their own apology, separate from the Forgotten Australians. The decision by the Australian Federal Government to offer a joint apology to all non-indigenous former state wards looks more questionable in the light of the UK Government's issuing of an apology just to former child migrants. The second recommendation of this thesis is thus that the Australian Federal Government issue a separate apology to former child migrants, outlining how their suffering differed from other former wards of state, in addition to the class, racial, and imperial motivations behind child migrant programmes.

This is not to say that the UK Government's apology to former child migrants was without its own flaws. Prior to the commencement of IICSA in the year 2017, Gordon Brown explained that the apology he gave on behalf of the UK Government did not address the maltreatment of former child migrants in British institutions prior to their deportation.⁷²⁶ This apology instead served as a recognition of the UK Government allowing the abuse of its own former state wards to occur in its overseas imperial outposts, including Australia. Although the apology noted all of the former British colonies to which former child migrants were deported and stated that many of these deported Britons fought for the UK during both the First and Second World Wars, Katja Uusihakala has argued that the apology did not adequately address the imperial and racial underpinnings of child migrant schemes.⁷²⁷ These

⁷²⁶ Brown, 'In 2010 I made an official apology'.

⁷²⁷ Uusihakala, 'Revising and Re-Voicing a Silenced Past', 53-54.

programmes were, after all, a consequence of Britain having a series of white settler colonies which they sought to retain influence over using a series of racialised deportations, while Australia was seeking to increase its own ethnically white British population. Lastly, while the apology, which framed the issue of allowing British children to be sent to, and later maltreated in, Australian institutions, was framed as a failure of social welfare, the fact that these children were from deprived economic backgrounds was also not meaningfully addressed during the speech. The third recommendation of this thesis, outlining the need for the UK Government to update a speech which former-Prime Minister Gordon Brown himself described as being incomplete, is that the UK Government issue an amended national apology acknowledging the maltreatment of former child migrants in their country of birth prior to their deportation, in addition to the class, racial, and imperial motivations behind child migrant programmes.

Turning to the subject of memorialisation, there are several ways in which the public recognition of the child migrant scandal can be enhanced. The memorials found in both Australia and the UK that were installed during the first decade of the new millennium were all created on a provincial level, and were designed to celebrate the achievements of former child migrants and their advocates in the face of a series of adversities and challenges, many of which were not specified by the memorials themselves. These memorials did little to challenge the celebratory narrative of child-saving philanthropy that were evident in memorials found in both nations that were installed during the twentieth century. Since national apologies, there have been no further permanent memorials to former child migrants installed in the UK, while the three memorials that emerged in Australia are all dedicated to the apology itself and thus continue to merge the histories of former child migrants into

wider narratives. There has yet to be a national memorial dedicated to British-born former wards of the Australian state to be found in either nation, and none of the memorials that have been created thus far have adequately succeeded in the dual aims of understanding former child migrants as a distinct group of care leavers while also addressing the ways in which these children were unjustly treated. Although there are some challenging discussions to be had about where these memorials should be located within these respective nations, the fourth recommendation of this thesis is that national memorials to former child migrants be created in both Australia and the UK, in order to situate the narratives of these former state wards in a more prominent place within the histories of both nations.

Significantly, all of the museum projects referenced in the fourth chapter of this thesis that were dedicated, at least in part, to former child migrants, were temporary installations. *On Their Own* was the only one of the three exhibitions to operate in both nations, touring multiple venues in Australia between the years 2010 and 2014, and appearing in two British museums in 2015 and 2016. This exhibition remains the only museum project dedicated solely to British-born former wards of the Australian state, and is further the only publicly funded example of a reparation offered to former child migrants that has involved both the UK and Australian Federal Governments. It provided a fascinating insight into the lived experiences of former child migrants at all stages of their lives and offered visitors a thought-provoking experience regarding historic childcare practices. *On Their Own* is, however, no longer in operation, nor are the two other museum projects dedicated partially to British-born former wards of the Australian state, namely *Inside* and *Departures*. These two later projects also saw the histories of former child migrants merge into other historical narratives. Therefore, the fifth recommendation of this thesis is that

permanent museum installations dedicated to former child migrants be created in both nations.

Furthermore, the burden of memorialising the histories of former child migrants, either as an independent group of care-leavers or within wider historical narratives of experiences of the institutional care system, has overwhelmingly rested with Australia. While the Australian Federal Government sanctioned the creation of six state memorials dedicated to former child migrants after the turn of the new millennium, with three additional memorials and library projects from the NLA and NMA appearing as a direct result of the joint apology offered to all non-indigenous former state wards, Britain has done comparatively little to publicly recognise the plight of former child migrants outside of its apology. An area of heritage in which the UK has, as yet, declined to participate has been the collection of oral histories from former child migrants, as well as their relatives and advocates. While the Australian equivalent policy, namely the *Forgotten Australians and Former Child Migrants Oral History Project*, was dedicated to all non-indigenous former state wards, this endeavour has represented a vital forum for truth-telling for over thirty former child migrants and their advocates, especially given the current lack of a truth-telling commission regarding British child deportation to Australia. The sixth recommendation of this thesis is that an oral history programme commence in the UK documenting the experiences of repatriated child migrants, in addition to later generations of family members impacted by the policy of child deportation during the twentieth century.

Turning lastly to the theme of family tracing and reunions, a significant degree of uncertainty remains concerning the longevity of post-apology measures offered by both the UK and Australian Federal Governments, namely the Family Restoration

Fund and the *Find and Connect* programme. With the emphasis of post-apology family restoration programmes shifting from first-time family reunions to rebuilding relationships with previously separated relatives, coupled with the advancing age of former child migrants, it is imperative that British-born former wards of the Australian state continue to receive financial support in their efforts to reunite with their biological families. At the time of writing, neither the UK nor Australian Federal Governments have offered any firm guarantees about the longevity of their respective programmes, nor has either government outlined whether these schemes will remain in operation for later generations of former child migrants in their own pursuits of personal identity. This thesis' seventh recommendation is therefore that the UK Government maintain the Family Restoration Fund to support first and later generations of former child migrants to locate their families for as long as necessary, and that the Australian Federal Government offer the same guarantee for its *Find and Connect* service.

Margaret Humphreys and the CMT have been at the vanguard of reuniting families torn apart by historic child migrant programmes, while also helping to uncover the full extent of the harms suffered by former child migrants. However, as outlined in the fifth chapter of this thesis, the CMT remains a small charity with one British base in Nottingham, and two further Australian offices in Perth, WA, and Melbourne, VIC. While the vital work of the CMT in seeking to reunite former child migrants with their families, in addition to providing auxiliary services including counselling, was recognised in both national apologies offered by the UK and Australian Federal Governments, the charity has noted in official reports that the funding they have received from national governments has not been proportionate to the work they undertake. Their struggles in meeting the needs of all British-born

former wards of the Australian state was made more acute by the implementation of the Australian Travel Fund in the year 2002, which saw their caseload approximately double while receiving only a marginal increase in funding from the Australian Federal Government. Not only must the CMT continue to receive governmental capital, but they should also be given sufficient funds to continue delivering their services indefinitely while also being able to hire additional staff, and establish bases in alternative areas of the UK and Australia. Recommendation eight thus states that both the UK Government and the Australian Federal Government continue providing funding for the CMT indefinitely and at a sufficient rate to ensure that they can expand their operations.

Lastly, while many former child migrants have encountered significant difficulties in their attempts to gain citizenship of either their country of birth or Australia, neither of the national apologies offered, at least in part, to these former Australian state wards offered any guarantees about facilitating this process. An offer to cover citizenship application fees for former child migrants wishing to become Australian nationals was provided during the operation of the Australian Travel Fund between the years 2002 and 2005, but the UK Government has yet to offer any explicit policies seeking to remedy the lack of British citizenship held by British-born former wards of the Australian state. Additionally, a lack of citizenship offered to their parents has impacted the lives of second and third generation former child migrants, many of whom have also encountered challenges in accessing the personal records of their relatives, and thus fully reconciling their own personal identities. A desire to ensure that the barriers that obstructed many former child migrants from obtaining either UK or Australian citizenship are removed for their descendants represents the ninth and final recommendation of this thesis, namely that second and third

generation former child migrants have the legal right to obtain citizenship in the UK and/or Australia.

This thesis has addressed national efforts to come to terms with a repugnant and cruel episode in the histories of both Australia and the UK. While British child migrant programmes concluded in the year 1970 after nearly six decades, we must not lose sight of the contemporary effects of these deportation schemes. The maltreatment endured by many former child migrants has had a detrimental psychological, familial, and social impact on their adult lives, and significant uncertainty remains concerning the endurance and impact of reconciliation for British-born former wards of the Australian state, as well as their descendants. As UK Prime Minister Gordon Brown stated at the end of the UK Government's apology to former child migrants on 24 February 2010, 'You are with friends. We will support you all your lives.'⁷²⁸ More than five decades after the conclusion of these inhumane migration programmes which saw approximately 7,000 people deported principally from the UK to Australia as children, many of whom were subjected to violent and inhumane treatment by those who were meant to be caring for them, it must be ensured that this support does indeed remain in place for former child migrants and their descendants for the remainder of their lives.

⁷²⁸ Government of the United Kingdom. *Apology to Former Child Migrants*.

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