

**“Silent Citizens”: Citizenship Education, Disability and d/Deafness at the  
Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf, 1870-1914**

Alessandra Iozzo

Thesis submitted to the  
Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the Doctorate in Philosophy degree in Education

Faculty of Education

University of Ottawa

## Acknowledgements

The writing of this thesis was, in the truest sense of the word, collaborative. In conducting the research and writing this thesis, I was fortunate enough to be encouraged and supported by a network of people.

I benefited from the knowledge and guidance of Clifton Carbin in helping me obtain access to some sources and pointing me in the direction of how to gain access to others. Clifton's willingness to work with me and his interest in my project was helpful in ways that go beyond the regular duties of an archivist. I am truly grateful to him for his assistance.

The work of thesis writing is made immeasurably more enjoyable when surrounded by friends. The *Critical Research Collective*, a group of graduate students (and our "leader" Dr. Lorna McLean) who met regularly to share ideas, encouragement and, perhaps most importantly, delicious snacks, played an important role in keeping me connected to the broader community during the solitary period of thesis writing. My dearest friend, Patti Davis, supported me intellectually and practically, quite often on a daily basis. I am indebted to her for helping me see this through.

I am deeply appreciative of the support of my supervisor, Lorna McLean, who, over multiple cups of tea and digestive cookies, patiently walked me through revisions and helped me grapple with new ideas. Lorna is, first and foremost, a teacher and her gentle guidance and immense knowledge shaped this research in important ways. Her enthusiasm for my academic and personal endeavours played an integral role in keeping me motivated. My excellent thesis committee, Sharon Anne Cook, Timothy J. Stanley and Joel Westheimer demonstrated patience with my research and writing as it was interrupted three

separate times by pregnancies and maternity leaves. Rather than simply tolerating the situation, they wholeheartedly supported the process of juggling parenthood with thesis writing and often shared tips from their own similar experiences. My thanks, too, to Amy von Heyking for agreeing to take on the task of acting as external examiner.

I would like to point out the important role that mentors play in shaping a graduate school experience. I am fortunate to have had three remarkable women enter my academic life at particularly important periods. I would like to take the opportunity to thank them in print, for demonstrating to me how to encourage a scholar by sharing not only their wisdom but doing so with genuine kindness. A heartfelt debt of gratitude to Lorna McLean, Sharon Anne Cook and Cynthia Comacchio.

My last set of thanks are reserved for my family. My siblings and their partner's Marisa, Kurt, Renato and Jennifer have also been keen supporters of me as I engaged in this work and were kind enough to never ask when it would *finally* be finished! My parents, Giuseppe Iozzo and Janna Versloot Iozzo, played a larger role in this thesis than they would ever take credit for. Their enthusiasm and encouragement for my work spurred me on during periods when I felt my motivation waning. In different ways their own life experiences shaped some of the questions I grapple with in this thesis. My father, in particular, shaped the way I think about citizenship and ideas around who does and does not belong. My mother and I have engaged in multiple discussions around gender, disability and power that have pushed me to think harder about my own ideas and how these impacted the "real" lives of those in the past I chose to study. Their influence on me is apparent in every page.

Finally, to my own little family. My children, Avery, Annalia and Jonah, were all born during my PhD and have, up to this point, shared their childhood with this work. Their patience with me has been astounding as too often I have had to forgo the fun and work on this research. I thank them deeply for their unconditional love and positive outlook on life – they are, quite simply, a delight. My husband, Shawn, perhaps deserves the greatest thanks. His genuine love and support for me and my goals has made it possible to juggle parenthood and graduate school. Not everyone is lucky enough to fulfill two important goals simultaneously and I am confident that it would not have been possible without his assistance. Although my name appears on this thesis, it is an achievement I happily share with him.

## **Abstract**

This thesis focuses on citizenship education, disability and d/Deafness at the Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf (OIED), 1870-1914. It employs a critical reading of school related documents, including the school newspaper, *The Canadian Mute*, to examine how citizenship education evolved at the OIED and contributed to a (re)construction of the d/Deaf citizenship ideal. This (re)construction took place over two distinct periods: 1870 to 1906, the “new” d/Deaf citizenship; and, 1907 to 1914, the “spoken” d/Deaf citizenship. During this timeframe, the OIED undertook a deliberate, structured program to rescue the educated d/Deaf student out from under an expansive disability label that characterized “disabled” persons as lazy, immoral, criminal, insane, unintelligent, and financial burdens. Through the OIED’s three pronged education program – d/Deaf pedagogy (teaching communication), academic and vocational curricula – the “good” d/Deaf citizen evolved as an intelligent, active, financially independent person who was cognisant of how her/his d/Deafness reflected on the broader d/Deaf community.

## Table of Contents

Acknowledgements .....	iii
Abstract .....	v
List of Figures .....	vi
Introduction .....	1
Chapter 1 – Literature Review & Methodology .....	18
Chapter 2 – The Institution .....	58
Chapter 3 - “It were easier to keep a duck from swimming than a deaf child from signing”: The Evolving d/Deaf pedagogy at the OIED .....	81
Chapter 4 - “I love Canada because I am happy”: The Academic Curriculum and Citizenship Education in the Reconstruction of d/Deafness .....	115
Chapter 5 - “Prepared to make a living by their needle”: Trades Curriculum, Deaf-workers and Citizenship .....	153
Conclusion - “Are you proud to be a Canadian? Say why.” .....	193
Appendix A. OIED Attendance 1870-1914.....	202
Appendix B. Single Handed Alphabet .....	204
Notes .....	205
Bibliography .....	241

## List of Figures

- Figure 1. “Little Deaf-Mute Girls Signing ‘Now I Lay Me Down to Sleep,’ at the Institution.” *Thirty-Second Annual Report upon the Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, being for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September. 1902*, 27.
- Figure 2. “Deaf-Mute Girls Signing ‘Nearer My God to Thee’ at the Institution.” *Thirty-Second Annual Report upon the Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, being for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September. 1902*, 23.
- Figure 3. “Pupils Dining-Room.” *Report of the Ministry of Education of Ontario for the year 1907*, 539.
- Figure 4. “Raising the Flag.” *Report of the Ministry of Education of Ontario for the year 1907*, 496.
- Figure 5. “A School Room – One of Fourteen.” *Twenty-Fifth Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, Being for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September 1895*,” 15.
- Figure 6. “First Graduating Class of the OIED.” *Report of the Ministry of Education of Ontario for the year 1914*,
- Figure 7. “Class of Small Boys in Sewing.” *Thirty-third Annual Report upon the Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb being for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September 1903*, 28.
- Figure 8. “Domestic Science Kitchen.” *Thirty-third Annual Report upon the Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb being for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September 1903*, 26.
- Figure 9. “Manual Training Workshop.” *Thirty-third Annual Report upon the Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb being for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September 1903*, 29.

## Introduction

Amongst the educational systems which are so well carried out in the city of Toronto, it appears that there is no provision made for the deaf and dumb [sic]...Some are quite young, while others are approaching manhood; and without something can be done [sic], for then they will continue in a state worse than the Heathen, who in all his darkness has nevertheless some idea of the existence of a Deity...Being myself the parent of a deaf and dumb [child], now arrived at the age of 13, I feel most anxious that the above should be noticed.<sup>1</sup>

*The Globe* May 12, 1858 Letter from Andrew Andrews, parent of a d/Deaf child

AN UNFORTUNATE – Catherine O’Meara, a deaf and dumb mute [sic], was found by an artilleryman lying drunk on the Garrison commons...Heartless must have been the wretch who could sell liquor to such a poor creature, and still more heartless the one who could turn her out of doors, to wander about without shelter in her drunken condition. There is a law to prevent the sale of intoxicating liquor to Indians, and surely there should be some provision made for the punishment of persons who sell liquor to such unfortunates as the deaf mute [sic] that was found on the Garrison Commons last night.<sup>2</sup>

*The Globe*, January 18, 1870

The above two quotes appeared in the pages of *The Globe* newspaper in 1857 and 1870, respectively, and highlight the general feeling towards d/Deaf people, specifically – and disability, generally - during the period leading up to the establishment of the Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf (OIED) in the fall of 1870. The d/Deaf were - and remained, for the better part of the next century and half - a “troubling” sector of the population in that they did not “fit,” nor were they clearly “outside” the boundary, of the category of “citizen”. As the above two quotations indicate, the d/Deaf, as a class, were at once infantilized, pitied and feared both for their perceived inability to reap the “rights” of citizenship, such as education, and for the moral and civic failings that were attached to illiteracy.

Officially opened in 1870, the OIED was the first provincially funded residential d/Deaf school in the province of Ontario, Canada.<sup>3</sup> As a residential institution, the students lived on site for the entire school year returning home only for the summer months.<sup>4</sup> Although non-

denominational, as with many other schools, a strong Christian presence prevailed with the integration of prayers and religious services throughout the week alongside the practice of allowing students to attend church services on Sundays.<sup>5</sup> The residential aspect of the school meant that the children were a captive audience. Without the disruption of the children going home and risking dominant citizenship messages being watered down, the OIED exerted considerable influence over ideas about what constituted a “good” citizen, particularly a “good” d/Deaf citizen.

This thesis asserts that the rationale for establishing an education system for the d/Deaf during the mid to late nineteenth century was rooted less in questions of equality and a “right” to state funded education than in the belief that this “unfortunate” portion of the population could be monitored and shaped to assume broad citizenship ideals such as loyalty, morality, and a shared set of social and political values. In so doing, the d/Deaf child-citizen was reconstructed as intelligent, moral, law abiding, hardworking and as self sufficient as hearing children – if, and only if, the state provided the regulated educational opportunities.

Complicating this assumption was the perception that an inability to communicate in spoken English marked the d/Deaf students as “disabled”. As such, the OIED students could never quite attain the same level of “sameness” as their hearing counterparts and consequently continued to remain on the “outside” of “normal” child-citizens. With regard to their perceived “disability” there was an additional incentive for the state to establish a system of education that would instil – both practically and theoretically – a desire to work on the part of the d/Deaf students to provide for themselves to alleviate the potential of becoming a burden on their families, friends and, perhaps most importantly, society and the government. Notions of work were rooted in ableist ideas of gender and “productive” labour.

d/Deaf children were not the only group to be “reconstructed” during this period but their experience reflects a broad move by “experts” to remake Canadian childhood for all children who were deemed “needy” or “abnormal”. This “reconstruction” included the emergence, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, of a series of state regulated, funded and organized institutions meant to “protect” this newly vulnerable group including the establishment of the Children’s Aid Society<sup>6</sup>, developing a separate system of juvenile justice<sup>7</sup> and compulsory education.<sup>8</sup> In a period where systematic sorting such as, “good” versus “bad” and “normal” versus “abnormal” soothed middle class anxieties regarding the perceived upheaval and messiness brought on by rapid industrialization and urbanization, the establishment of d/Deaf education was but one more “saving” effort directed at children.

As Neil Sutherland’s germinal work has demonstrated, education, in all its forms, was at the core of reconstructing childhood.<sup>9</sup> Canadian scholars have identified that public education was more than the 3Rs. It also constituted an ongoing citizenship process particularly as it related to instilling a common sense of identity rooted in social values that favoured loyalty, self-sufficiency and a respect for the existing social order.<sup>10</sup> Citizenship, as Stuart Hall reminds us, is about belonging.<sup>11</sup> In what ways, then, did the d/Deaf “belong” to imaginings of “citizenship” in Ontario during the years 1870-1914 - a time identified by contemporary scholars as raising questions of identity, disability, and citizenship. Subjects such as history and geography were particularly suited to instilling citizenship messages about the greatness of Canada and Britain and one’s civic duty in the nation’s struggle to maintain “greatness”.<sup>12</sup> School routines and general messages about social values also worked to supplement early renderings of citizenship education.

What the Canadian secondary literature lacks is an understanding of how citizenship interacted with ideas about disability. Studies of d/Deaf history and d/Deaf education have deep roots in the American scholarly literature whereby, d/Deaf residential education has been flagged as a key institution in the creation of d/Deaf identity.<sup>13</sup> d/Deaf cultural history scholar Douglas Baynton, for example, has identified two turning points in d/Deaf history in the United States. The first began in 1817 with the creation of the first school for the d/Deaf in Hartford, Connecticut.<sup>14</sup> The second occurred when the mode of communication, namely the use of sign language in the classroom, underwent a shift in the 1860s when oralist strategies emerged.<sup>15</sup>

Although other work will be discussed, the work of scholars such as Neil Sutherland on Canadian children and childhood and Douglas Baynton on d/Deaf culture and education have particularly shaped my own ideas about the OIED. I argue that in a similar way to Sutherland's reconstructed or "new" childhood, there existed a reconstructed d/Deaf childhood in which ideas about citizenship figured prominently. I suggest that while many of the themes of the "new" childhood were applied to d/Deaf childhood, some attributes, particularly ideas around work force preparedness and citizenship were amplified by d/Deaf reformers, educators and many d/Deaf adults in response to the negative connotations surrounding dependence on the state by disabled persons. I also take up Baynton's idea of two phases of citizenship that are largely identified by pedagogy (sign language versus oral articulation and lip reading) and I apply these insights to ideas of d/Deaf child citizenship in the OIED. I situate the two reconstructed phases as follows: the "new" d/Deaf citizenship from 1870 to 1906, and the "spoken" d/Deaf citizen from 1907 to the end of my study period in 1914 when the prevailing pedagogy at the school took on an oralist slant. I do not argue that this was the case for the all of Canadian d/Deaf children. Rather, I assert that on two occasions when the OIED reacted to new opportunities

related to citizenship and work, these shifts were largely driven by d/Deaf pedagogical directives.

When the school opened in 1870, the common citizenship themes that were prevalent in the provincial public schools formed the basis of the “new” d/Deaf citizenship education at the OIED. Citizenship attributes of: morality, intelligence, loyalty to the Crown and the existing social order - including gender norms- and self-sufficiency were particularly emphasized as ways to be “good” citizens.<sup>16</sup> With the introduction of an oralist pedagogy, “spoken” d/Deaf citizenship education emerged at the OIED. During this second phase, “language” primarily spoken English and/or the ability to lip read spoken English, figured prominently. Whereas sign language was part of what made the first phase of d/Deaf citizenship work, in that it gave the d/Deaf a means to communicate and become “educated”, under the second phase of citizenship education, language became central and was perceived less as a vehicle of citizenship ideals and more as a tenet of citizenship itself. While I acknowledge the importance of the “language debates” to d/Deaf history and d/Deaf history, I structure the research beyond this debate and probe ideas about the relationship between “work” and d/Deaf citizenship.

Citizenship education has been identified as an important aspect of Canadian education by historians and educationalists alike. In particular, education historians during the 1970s began to identify the role of schooling in citizenship formation. The education of “good” citizens included the inculcation of a set of shared values and ideals as listed above. Shortly after the identification of schools as vehicles for the dissemination of citizenship ideals, scholars deepened the analysis regarding the relationship between citizenship formation and nation building. By the late 1980s international scholarship increasingly influenced Canadian scholars.

Phillip Corrigan and Derek Sayer's (1985) examination of the English state through its activities, rituals, and regulations posited that the state rendered "natural" certain behaviours, family forms and sexual practices while marginalizing less desirable behaviours. According to Corrigan and Sayer, capitalism relied on moral workers, willing to participate in unequal partnerships with their bosses, families, peers and the state.<sup>17</sup> Canadian sociological historian Bruce Curtis (1988) influenced by Corrigan and Sayer, applied moral regulation as a lens to understand the development of the school system in Canada West. Refuting that educational reform was a mechanism of upper and middle class "control", Curtis argued, in this important piece of scholarship, that the goal of public education was self-governance, pointing to a negotiated rather than oppressive relationship between classes and the state.<sup>18</sup> Scholars that followed began to closely examine the explicit and implicit role of citizenship expectations as reflected in public schooling.

The discussion of how citizenship education, as a curricular objective, manifested itself through the public school curricula has been an important theme in the literature. Scholars such as Penney Clark, Rosa Bruno-Jofré, Alan Sears and Stéphane Lévesque, to name but a few, point to the important ways in which citizenship found itself into varied curricula, typically history curricula and what is now called social studies, as a dominant theme.<sup>19</sup> Amy Von Heyking's work in *Creating Citizens* (2006), for example, examines citizenship education as a complex process of curriculum design and implementation that was spurred by public sentiment and desire for a national identity within the political and socio-economic climate of Alberta from 1905-1980. Given the common curricular threads between Ontario and Alberta,<sup>20</sup> there is much to be learned from her study when applied to the OIED. Von Heyking notes that understanding the context of schooling and how this changed over time provides insights into how school

children were, "...inculcated with evolving understandings of who they ought to be."<sup>21</sup> This rings true for the OIED. In this thesis I apply Von Heyking's insight regarding the importance of understanding how changes over time at the OIED also affected the d/Deaf students' notions of who they were, which was complicated, of course, by their identity as a d/Deaf person and a Canadian. Historically, scholars of citizenship point to the important and ever shifting relationship of national ideals, reconstructed identities and citizenship education in Canadian schools.

For the purposes of this research, I am aware that the social climate, academic and trades curricula and general rhetoric surrounding d/Deaf education and citizenship at the OIED was focussed heavily on producing compliant "good" citizens. Scholars Robert Adamoski, Dorothy Chunn and Robert Menzies inform us that during this period "good" citizens were, "...found primarily among those who lived in or emulated 'white' nuclear families based on a gendered/sexualized division of labour and responsibilities."<sup>22</sup> Students were encouraged to follow prescriptive advice about what made "good" citizens and while intelligence was a key tenant of citizenship formation, it took the form of being able to understand political ideas rather than resisting ableist, gendered, racialized or classed based ideologies. In this sense, the citizenship education disseminated through daily life, activities and varied curricula at the OIED, took the form of traditional citizenship. I am not suggesting, however, that the students were passive. Indeed, many students continued on to be politically active in their own lives, to take one example, as members of the Ontario Association for the Deaf.

Questions about how students learn to be "good" citizens outside of the formal school curricula also inform larger questions about citizenship education in school related activities. Kenneth Osborne has identified that participation in clubs and associations allowed students to

practice democratic skills and shaped an important part of practical citizenship education.<sup>23</sup> Influenced by Osborne's work, Lorna McLean identifies the important roles that teacher and student participation played in clubs, associations and other extra-curricular activities during 1940s and 1950 Ontario. McLean demonstrates that, "...national, regional, and local organizations and associations, informal and formal, evolved alongside provincial governments to produce institutional variations and "identities" in the experience of citizenship and education."<sup>24</sup> As we shall see, the students at OIED had multiple opportunities to engage in democratic activities. Much like the students that McLean studied, groups and associations at the OIED emerged in line with provincial curricular themes, demonstrating that one's citizenship lessons often took outside the classroom.

The role of patriotism and citizenship education is another important theme of the literature. Part of the question remains, is a patriotic citizen a "good" one? Can patriotism be taught? At the OIED, patriotic skills such as raising the flag, participating in the national anthem, and honouring the British Crown had a dominant role. These, at first glance, appear to be obvious signs of patriotism. As Joel Westheimer reminds us, "patriotism" is a contested ideal and one that is as difficult to define in contemporary society as it was historically.<sup>25</sup> I introduce the idea of patriotism here, in the historical context, because so much of what the OIED put on display, was the kind of unquestioned patriotic performance that Westheimer refers to in his work on American patriotism in schools. While critical thinking is a relatively "new" pedagogical theme and not a common element of school curricula more than 100 years ago, the manner in which patriotism played out within the classrooms and on the playgrounds at the OIED speaks to the nationalistic push of the citizenship education. The irony, as we shall see, is that so often this patriotism was communicated via a key marker of d/Deaf cultural identity – sign language.

Thus, a key element to bear in mind as this research unfolds is the manner in which Canadian patriotism was inextricably linked to d/Deaf identity.

What form did citizenship education take at the OIED? I turn to Kenneth Osborne's 1997 essay, "Citizenship Education and Social Studies", in which he identified four citizenship-related themes used in contemporary social studies curricula, as way to help organize my analysis of the school's history. I utilize Osborne's themes because I intended to focus my analysis of the academic curricula at the OIED on "citizenship" related subjects such as history and geography. As I continued to work with Osborne's four themes, it became apparent to me that the addition of a fifth theme related to work and self-sufficiency in relation to d/Deaf education would advance my argument further. These four themes offer insights about citizenship education at the OIED and I make particular use of them in chapter four.<sup>26</sup> Osborne's conceptual framework, when applied to the OIED, offers a useful approach to understanding the school's multilayered citizenship curriculum. The first theme, identity, is wrapped up in the idea of nation(al) building and was typically represented in history lessons highlighting key events in the school's history as moments of "greatness" carried out by "great" men,<sup>27</sup> a practice that was evident in lessons both at the public school and the OIED. As we shall see, assumptions of identity, particularly national identity, played an important role in d/Deaf education and the pedagogical debates about the best approach to teaching the d/Deaf to communicate.

The second theme, political efficacy, sought to instil a sense of duty and zeal for organized life both in political contexts (such as voting) and social contexts (such as clubs and associations), where people demonstrated democratic skills such as organization and managing multiple perspectives and dissenting opinions. In this way, political efficacy was intended to teach not only the process of democracy but to encourage citizens to practice these skills in

political and non-political spaces.<sup>28</sup> We can see evidence of this trend in the establishment of academic clubs, such as the Dufferin Society at the OIED, as well as multiple d/Deaf organizations outside of the OIED.

The third theme identifies how the rights and protections associated with citizenship are balanced with duties such as voting and obedience of the law.<sup>29</sup> At the school, this can be seen in the practice of obeying rules, maintaining a cheerful attitude – particularly for the girls- and expressing gratitude to the state for the education they had received. Osborne points out that schools themselves often reflect a balance of rights and duties through their emphasis on discipline and conformity.<sup>30</sup> The OIED was a highly regulated institution not only during school hours but in recreation as well.

Osborne's fourth and final citizenship education theme is social values. He argues that it was not enough for students to learn about what it meant to be a "good" citizen but that they had to demonstrate "good" citizenship through an inherent understanding that "good" behaviour included obeying the law, loyalty to the state and existing social hierarchy, and being involved in their communities.<sup>31</sup> Again, evidence of this can be seen in the students being assigned chores, succeeding in their classes and being obedient at all times. The fourth theme supports the "best interest of the child" – particularly the d/Deaf child rhetoric that ran through citizenship education at OIED. Taken collectively, Osborne's four themes demonstrate the role that schooling played - and continues to play - in shaping Canada's child-citizens.

In addition to Osborne's four themes, I advance an argument that work force preparedness be added as a fifth theme of citizenship education at the OIED. This fifth category has particular significance for d/Deaf citizenship as it directly challenges perceptions of economic dependency that underlie, in part, the danger and instability associated with the

“disability” label. As Dustin Galer notes in his work on disabled bodies and fraternal societies in nineteenth century Ontario,

According to the industrial capitalist logic that emerged in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, one’s value to society diminished coincident with the loss of productivity resulting from a crippling injury or being unable to find work. The status of a worker’s physicality, that is their projected identity, generally represented the totality of their value.<sup>32</sup>

Self sufficiency, according to the school’s administration from 1870 to 1914 was an important theme of the overall “good” citizenship rhetoric. When applied to questions of disability it took on specific importance. In an effort to move the d/Deaf out from under the umbrella of a disability label the OIED administration insisted that the students could work and contribute to society in a number of ways. Therefore, the notion of working ability was directly linked, and often emphasized, with the reconstruction of the d/Deaf as closer to “normal” than “disabled” on the continuum. Reconstruction constituted an important part of the OIED discourse on “good” citizenship. According to the OIED administration, if the d/Deaf were not educated at a specialized institution such as the OIED, they would eventually succumb to immoral and criminal behaviour and some a danger not only to themselves but to society at large.

The selected time frame of this case study speaks to the idea of a pedagogical transition, from the use of sign language to the introduction of oralism. On a practical level, this time frame allows me to examine how changing pedagogies affected the organization of the school, driving multiple changes in administration and implementation of a new school organization. This decade is also important because it precedes a period of major change at OIED when the school was disrupted by the war effort. In the years after the war, day schools employing oral pedagogies appeared in large cities giving parents the opportunity to keep their d/Deaf children at home while they were educated. Therefore, the period of time between 1870 and 1914

represents one of the last decades in which residential public d/Deaf education was the only option for d/Deaf children and their parents. Finally, my temporal focus allows me to examine a unique period when the two systems of pedagogy, the combined system and oralism, worked in tandem to reinforce, to sustain and ultimately to create new constructions of the “good” d/Deaf citizen.

This thesis is organized around interconnected themes of gender, disability and citizenship. These themes will emerge, at various points, through the chapters that follow to inform the broad topics of the school’s organization, d/Deaf pedagogy, the academic curriculum and trades education. This thesis addresses the following research questions:

1. What role did the OIED administration, “experts”, teachers, parents and students play in creating, promoting and sustaining the ideal of “good” d/Deaf citizenship?
2. How did notions around language – written and spoken English, sign language and oralism (as a pedagogy) – contribute to constructing and subsequently reconstructing, a d/Deaf citizenship ideal? In what way did the visual and textual material produced and consumed by the OIED community reinforce or reject this ideal?
3. In what ways did the academic and trades curriculum reinforce or reject a d/Deaf citizenship ideal?

As a way to situate this thesis within the existing secondary literature and to inform the analysis that follows, chapter two deals with the literature review, conceptual framework and methodology. This chapter seeks to set out the context to examine my case study of the OIED from 1870 to 1914.

To understand how the OIED developed, it is necessary to understand early d/Deaf education in the province of Ontario. Early educational models influenced the development of

the OIED and the subsequent setting up of the school. Since my research is organized thematically, it is important to introduce the reader to key themes, ideas and people. As such, an introduction to the three administrators of OIED for the period studied here will be covered in Chapter Two.

Once the idea regarding the necessity of d/Deaf education was solidified, the institution's leaders then turned to pedagogy – specifically, what was the “best” way to teach the d/Deaf to communicate? Chapter Three is focussed on the pedagogical transition from sign language to oralism at the OIED and examines both the ideological and the pragmatic efforts of shifting d/Deaf pedagogies. Since I organize the citizenship argument in terms of two phases, the “new” d/Deaf citizen and “spoken” d/Deaf citizenship, it is important to explain the pedagogical transition at the school in terms of the North American context and in regard to the OIED. The discussion of the two phases of citizenship education at the OIED serves to organize the components of pedagogy. The analysis that follows is revisited in later chapters where I argue that this pedagogical shift affected ideas about disability, d/Deafness, gender and citizenship. This thesis demonstrates how citizenship education acted as a driving force in shaping the pedagogy at the OIED during this formative period.

Chapter Four turns to the academic portion of the OIED. Here, I draw upon Osborne's four citizenship themes and identify the ways in which the OIED sought to prepare their students for work and civic life during and after their school years. This chapter describes the academic component of the OIED curriculum including the process of aligning the academic curriculum with the public schools, the transfer of institutional jurisdiction from the Superintendent of Prisons and Asylums to the Ministry of Education, the first graduating class in June of 1914, and the organization of the first high school class in the fall of the same year. This chapter sets the

stage for a discussion of how “work” emerges as a fifth theme when discussing citizenship education at the OIED.

In Chapter Five I advance the argument that a fifth theme of “work” extends Osborne’s four themes when examining d/Deaf education at the OIED. A key tenet of the d/Deaf citizenship framework is the idea of “work”. Training d/Deaf children in trades and general work discipline was seen to mitigate the potential of financial dependence on family, friends or the state. Chapter Five examines the trade curriculum and the impact it had on citizenship. In addition to discussing how this program was unique to anything else that existed in the public school system in the province, I discuss how the implementation of this program acted as a counter force to the prevailing idea that to be “disabled” meant that one was at higher risk of being financially dependent in adulthood than a “normal” child.

The lives of the children educated at the OIED were gendered and racialized in a number of ways. As the subsequent chapters will demonstrate, gender specific expectations around behaviour and specialized education existed here as it did in the provincial public schools. The discussion of d/Deaf pedagogy, for example, demonstrates that the signing of hymns became a performative act with gendered implications for late nineteenth century and early twentieth century notions of femininity. Similarly, particular vocational instruction such as domestic science and clerical work were geared towards female students while traditional male trades such as agriculture, carpentry and shoe making were offered to male students. Gender, remains an important and emergent theme of this research as the citizenship potential of the children’s lives was dictated not only by perceptions of their “disability” but also by their gender.

Although not all children who attended the OIED were “white” I believe that the vast majority of the student body was made up of the dominant race. School related documents took

on the peculiar practice of identifying those children who were not “white” by prefacing any mention of them with identifying their race. As a case in point, during the fall of 1903, the school experienced several cases of diphtheria, two of which were fatal. The death of both of these little girls was reported in *The Canadian Mute* – with no mention of their background. In a related article titled, “The Superintendent to Parents and Friends” Mathison sought to reassure parents that their children were safe noting that prior to this experience with diphtheria only one death had occurred in the previous five years when “...our good and gentle Indian maiden Fidela Goose”<sup>33</sup> succumbed to pneumonia. Other examples of racialized assumptions about individuals or groups of individuals also emerge in the school related documents. In the spring of 1903, for example, the pupils locals inform us that “Willie writes: ‘I was amused to read about a crafty Indian Chief whom a missionary succeeded in taming. He was christened with the name of Paul, and his squaw with of Madeline. As a reward for being good he was given a gun’.”<sup>34</sup> Likewise, in January of 1904, the locals again shed light on the racialized views that guided the school: “The young lady who wrote to her mother that she was very fond of Ping-Pong, received word in reply to have nothing to do with a Chinaman.”<sup>35</sup> Ideas about who did and did not fit within racialized notions of “good” citizenship were guided not only by the school, but also by parental expectations – a particularly significant point in the years prior to compulsory d/Deaf education in 1913.

Finally, a word about the context and terminology used in this thesis, particularly, the designation of “deaf”, “Deaf”, and “d/Deaf. Identity politics is often fraught with issues about naming and terminology. Disability studies and Deaf studies are no different. Deaf cultural scholar, Brenda Jo Brueggemann has encouraged scholars to examine the “betweenity” that is the conceptual space between terms that seek to name and to differentiate d/Deaf identities as

sources for new and exciting areas of research rather than continuing to focus on debates about terminology.<sup>36</sup> While Brueggemann's call is important in terms of academic discussions regarding identity politics and d/Deafness, the use of terms in this thesis about d/Deaf citizenship education demands further explanation.

The differentiation between “small d” and “big D” in relation to “deaf” stems from the work of James Woodward (1972). The term “deaf” generally refers to individuals who lack the ability to hear.<sup>37</sup> Typically this designation includes those who lost their hearing later in life, or were born into hearing families and educated in mainstream schools. “Deaf”, on the other hand, generally refers to those individuals who identify as culturally Deaf and use sign language as their primary source of communication and their first language.<sup>38</sup> This does not mean, however, that these are the only two terms discussed, or contested, in relation to d/Deaf lives. Terms such as “culturally deaf”, “hard of hearing” and “signer”, amongst others, also contribute to the scholarly discussion about labels and the “proper” way to refer to individual groups.<sup>39</sup> Many of these debates emerged out of broad academic discussions asking does this topic or issue fall under the umbrella of Disability Studies or Deaf Studies?<sup>40</sup>

For the purposes of this thesis, I use the term “d/Deaf” when referring to the students, graduates and d/Deaf staff at the OIED. I do this for multiple reasons. The first reason is that I do not know how each of the students, graduates or staff self identified. As a way to ensure that I represent both groups, I use the d/D distinction to cover both identities. In addition, I also discuss pedagogies such as sign language and lip reading that are linked and overlap with both the “d” and “D” categories. The final reason is more complicated and refers to what I see as the competing identity formation processes that occurred within the complex citizenship education program at the OIED. Although the students were educated to be “good” Canadian citizens in a

dominant hearing society, their “deafness” was identified as a “disability”. At the same time, the standardization of sign language and transmission of cultural linguistic norms specific to d/Deaf culture meant that the OIED sought to teach “good” Canadian citizenship based on ableist ideas around employment and language, thus participating in the transmission and cultivation of d/Deaf cultural identity.<sup>41</sup>

## **CHAPTER ONE** **Literature Review and Methodology**

### **Literature Review**

Although this research focuses on d/Deaf education in Ontario it cannot be examined in isolation from larger questions of public schooling and changes in perceptions of “childhood”. Understanding the social and political context in which publically funded d/Deaf education emerged is required to fully understand the similarities and differences regarding approaches to education among the provinces’ hearing and d/Deaf children. Equally important is the way in which children and childhood has emerged in the historical literature as a field of inquiry intersected with gender, race, class and disability perspectives. This brief literature review will conclude with a brief examination of the emerging fields of disability studies and d/Deaf history.

Historical approaches and methodology have changed considerably over the past five decades following the emergence of the “new” social history in the 1960s. During this period, a new generation of scholars informed by the new Left began asking questions about themselves and their own past, facilitated a study of the past “from the bottom up”, about “ordinary” people, rather than Whiggish interpretations of “great men”.<sup>1</sup> Influenced by American and European scholarship, post 1970s historical studies of education highlighted the “other” side of education, that of the community, family and child, expanding notions of “education” outside the realm of formal schooling and including job training and social discourses around gender, race, health, welfare and morality.

Although not a “new” category, “age”, as a demographic category, was put to greater use following the emergence of social history as new computer technology facilitated the analysis of large amounts of quantitative data, usually culled from census data.<sup>2</sup> “Children”, as a biologically determined category, were a key group of study, particularly in relation to child

centred processes, such as the public school, juvenile justice and child welfare systems that developed or were formalized as a consequence of industrialization. The emphasis, however, was on children as passive students in a larger centralized process rather than as active participants in their own life strategies.<sup>3</sup> This period of historical inquiry was inspired by the changes of the late 1960s and the 1970s as scholars busied themselves with investigating the seemingly endless preoccupations of the industrializing period. Although not exclusively so, the literature questioning gender and age typically focussed on “adding” women, particularly white, heterosexual, able bodied, middle class women, and children to the historical record through studies examining the institutional effects of the industrializing and interwar period. Children were especially passive in the literature and while we learned a great deal about the social expectations and adult anxieties surrounding childhood, we learned little of how children experienced the varied educations they received in the classroom, shop floor or home. The “new” childhood, as Sutherland has argued, were deeply engaged with questions of education<sup>4</sup> for those who lived it and for those scholars, generations later, who sought to understand how educational processes unfolded in an emerging Canadian state.

The late 1980s and early 1990s witnessed a new generation of scholars interested in not only understanding history from the “bottom up”, but in the creation of social categories which relegated people to “the bottom” in the first place. Categories such as class, gender, race and age became increasingly intermeshed as scholars began to study the various levels of interpretations of historical events, processes or experiences. Post-structuralism and scholars such as Michel Foucault, Antonio Gramsci and Judith Butler - to name but a few - increasingly influenced Canadian scholars calling attention to the importance of understanding how social categories came to be “constructed” and “reconstructed” through changing historical processes. Central to

notions of constructed social categories was the idea of moral regulation inspired, in part, by the work of Foucault. Where previous social control scholars of the 1960s and 1970s tended to grant absolute power and consequently focus on those who regulated others, moral regulation scholars expanded the scope to view the contestation of different definitions of morality and the process of preserving and shaping identities rather than suppressing them.<sup>5</sup> Mariana Valverde's work, for example, on social reform movements and moral regulation introduced discourse analysis to English Canadian historiography using a careful reading of the "sources" in all forms to identify the nation building rhetoric that paralleled childhood rhetoric, emphasizing such virtues as health, purity and innocence in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.<sup>6</sup>

### Childhood

"Childhood" was also recognized as a social historical construct during the late 1980s and 1990s in Canadian scholarship.<sup>7</sup> In *The Century of the Child* (1989) Theresa Richardson argued that infancy, childhood and adolescence were social constructions and she used the reconstruction of childhood to critically discuss the mental hygiene movement and the role it played in defining the "new" childhood.<sup>8</sup> The power dimensions associated with age, especially from the perspective of a child, meant that adults became the dominant force in their lives regardless of their own class, gender or race. The construction of a childhood ideal, resistance to the ideal, and the consequences of challenging the status quo, point to the ways in which children were active rather than passive players in their own lives.<sup>9</sup> This "childhood" paradigm reflected larger changes in the historiography that began to see "age", especially notions of "under aged", "of age" and "aged" as a category of social analysis rather than only a demographic category.<sup>10</sup>

Understanding constructions of childhood required a shift from examining structure to experience. Children's "voice," became a crucial component of this change. Canadian scholars such as Norah Lewis utilized written words as one means to unlock the child's voice. Using letters written by Canadian children to letter writing clubs, Lewis highlighted the pleasure taken in childhood pets and past times as well as the hardships faced such as prairie fires, fathers enlisting in wars, childhood sickness, injury and death.<sup>11</sup> Although useful, the letters are not without interpretive problems as children had to meet the "editorial standards of neatness, penmanship and content" thereby granting the power of publication to adult editors, not the children.<sup>12</sup> Any mention of less desirable childhood realities such as abuse or poverty were not present. Brian Low's work, examining the films of the National Film Board of Canada, from 1939-1989 demonstrates a different approach. Low sought to examine "movement" to understand how childhood has changed over the fifty-five period as reflected in films about "ordinary" Canadians.<sup>13</sup>

The use of oral testimonies is also an important way to glean the child's voice. Stemming from the Childhood History Project at the University of British Columbia, Sutherland's second monograph, *Growing Up* (1997), uses adult memories of children experience between 1910 and 1950 to reconstruct what he terms the "scripts" of childhood, or commonalities across childhood experience that are found within the larger communities of the child such as family, classrooms and playgrounds.<sup>14</sup> The use of adult memories, however, is not without problems. Jean Barman found that men and women tend to differ in their recounting of the past proving that not only are childhoods gendered but so too are its memories.<sup>15</sup> Men are more likely to place themselves at the centre of the narrative focussing on achievements and activities than women who tend to talk about themselves within a broad network of

relationships.<sup>16</sup> Another limitation of adult memories, as Mona Gleason asserts, "...adults' writing about their childhood is not the same as children writing about their own childhood."<sup>17</sup>

Adult perceptions about the past are shaped by what they understand in our adult world.

The study of children and childhood remains an exciting and developing field in Canada. What follows is a brief overview of how the field of children and childhood, particularly those works focussed on citizenship education and schooling, intersect with studies on gender, race and more recently, disability.

### Gender

Historical research has shown that children and youth citizenship are gendered.<sup>18</sup> As previously noted, early social historians concentrated on "adding" women to the literature in what Gerda Lerner famously termed the "add and stir" approach to writing history.<sup>19</sup> Later scholars such as Canadian scholar Joy Parr, deconstructed the male/female binary identifying that femininity and masculinity were social historical constructs.<sup>20</sup> Gender, scholars argued, broadened the analytical scope beyond adding women to the historical record to understanding how social realities constructed notions of femininity and masculinity. Understandings of identities as constructs were applied to studies examining, for example, education, children and childhood and later, questions surrounding disability.

During the 1990s gendered understandings of education, both in the formal school setting and through informal groups emerged. The cultivating of ideal standards of femininity and masculinity was a project facilitated through formal schooling,<sup>21</sup> most noticeably in the implementation of domestic science for girls and manual labour for boys. Practical learning for boys focussed on their breadwinning roles which are exemplified in the creation of woodworking

and basic mechanical industrial skills.<sup>22</sup> Not only could practical skills prepare boys for the paid labour force, they also instilled a sense of discipline and morality as boys learned to “control” themselves.<sup>23</sup> Likewise, we see the notion of workforce preparedness as important for hearing students.

Regarding girls, Marta Danlewycz argued that the inclusion of domestic science in the Ontario public school curriculum in 1904 served the needs of middle class reformers to ensure a compliant and capable workforce, entrenching gender and class inequalities, particularly around motherhood to protect the male prerogative in the economic, social and political sphere.<sup>24</sup> She further argued that it was hoped by educators and reformers that immigrant children would bring the “scientific” techniques to running a house and family back to their own homes and eventually supplant their own domestic customs with the “modern” Canadian way.<sup>25</sup> The teaching of domestic science was legitimized as it became further professionalized. Mary Wilson’s work on the domestic science teacher certification program at the Macdonald Institute for Domestic Science in Guelph, Ontario demonstrates the increasingly important role these “professional” women played in disseminating “good” domestic skills.<sup>26</sup>

Sharon Anne Cook (1995) examines the moral aspect of gendered education through her work on the Ontario Woman’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). Cook demonstrates how through the use of evangelical techniques the WCTU attempted to stem the tide of moral, physical, and social dangers presented by alcohol through educating children in “scientific temperance”. While all children were encouraged to abstain from drink, tobacco and other “vice”, boys were approached as future male heads of the family and hence potential “abusers”,<sup>27</sup> whereas, girls were recruited into junior leagues as future “protectors” of the family.<sup>28</sup> Cook’s later work on tobacco again points to the implied gendering of morality and vice issues. Tobacco

use, heavily focussed on boys rather than girls, was also problematized along evangelical lines as a moral issue of personal choice that remains with us today.<sup>29</sup>

Questions of gender and citizenship were particularly acute when discussions of juvenile delinquency arose. Early work by Paul Bennett and Susan Houston in the 1970s and 1980s identified institutions such as the Industrial Schools as geared toward the working class and acting as ‘schools of citizenship’ through education based on discipline, efficiency and practical class “appropriate” instruction.<sup>30</sup> Male delinquency tended to focus on property offences and engagement in social vices such as drinking, smoking and swearing which contradicted their future roles as Christian leaders of their families and breadwinners.<sup>31</sup> Female delinquency centred on morality offences, usually linked to sexuality which compromised girls’ future as “good” mothers and virtuous wives.<sup>32</sup> Training or education within the industrial and later training schools for “delinquent” girls and boys placed a heavy focus on re-introducing children to the gendered realities of their lives.<sup>33</sup> Joan Sangster identified the citizenship discourse guiding childhood from 1920-1965 as, “...boys needed a firm, guiding hand and an understanding of democracy, law and social order to develop into honest workers and social citizens. Girls, however, needed protection, discipline, and self-control to develop into moral citizens.”<sup>34</sup> Although Sangster’s argument refers to a later period than the one studied here, the roots of such beliefs regarding gender specific citizenship roles held sway in the province.

The industrial schools movement bears strong resemblance to the d/Deaf residential school experience in two key ways. First, the idea that children, be they “delinquent”, “incorrigible” or “deaf”, could be educated to be “good” citizens places a heavy emphasis on correcting behaviours<sup>35</sup> and inculcating habits. Much like the OIED to be studied here, the industrial schools for boys and for girls placed a heavy emphasis on labour and moral training.<sup>36</sup>

Vocational education, particularly for boys, and a strong Christian based structure, which supported the inculcation of “good” citizen attributes such as obedience, diligence and morality, prevailed. Second, the industrial schools movement depended, to some degree, on the compliance of parents. d/Deaf children were brought to the school to be educated out of parental fear of what would happen to their “disabled” children after their deaths lest they learn how to live in a hearing world. Equally desperate parents brought their “incorrigible” sons and daughters to the industrial schools sometimes for punitive reasons but often, also, believing it would provide some kind of education for their children that their working class reality would not be able to provide.

Ideas around “healthy” childhoods played an important role in eugenic ideas of normalcy and supported the role of first-wave feminists as “mothers of the race” and quasi “experts” on childhood health and well-being. Sheila Gibbon’s (2014) recent work points to the idea that children, or the protection of children by their mothers, played an important role in the rhetoric surrounding first-wave feminism and eugenic ideologies<sup>37</sup> including Alberta’s sterilization program (1929-1978).<sup>38</sup> Not surprisingly, girls and women were heavily targeted by the sterilization board, although boys too were sterilized. Jana Grekul’s (2008) work highlights that the sterilization project operated on gendered terms. Boys and men deemed “mentally” defective and/or criminal were targeted for sterilization whereas girls and women who were deemed morally defective were often identified as “good” candidates.<sup>39</sup> The sterilization program and eugenics generally, were closely tied to ideas around nationhood and citizenship. A strong healthy nation depended on the physical and ideological strength of the “stock”.

### Race, Ethnicity & Language

Like gender, understandings of racializations and how categories have been constructed have influenced the secondary literature. For my research, understanding how racializations informed ideas about citizenship are particularly important. As a case in point, Ronald Beiner argues that nationalism is a reaction to feelings of a threatened identity.<sup>40</sup> Those deemed “different” who threatened the dominant race, such as aboriginal or other ethnic minorities, received specialised “care” to mitigate their “dangerous” influence on the larger society. Likewise, increased immigration to Canada was a source of anxiety for those middle class reformers who sought to maintain a particular Anglo-Saxon kind of order to society. Beiner asserts that with increased immigration, particularly from those areas that were not of British origin, came a multitude of “alien” languages and customs rooted in cultures that were not immediately understood or accepted. Schools, in this regard, were also promoted to “normalize” the children of new immigrants with the added bonus that they could then take these lessons home and in turn, normalize their parents and other family members.<sup>41</sup> Kristen McLaren’s (2004) work uses critical theory to deconstruct the popular myth that mid-nineteenth century Canada West was a tolerant society. Instead McLaren demonstrates that the social climate in the mid-nineteenth century was not one of tolerance or acceptance as the “myth” and prior historiographical evidence suggest, but rather one of deliberate racial segregation.<sup>42</sup> The acquisition of the English language - both spoken and written - was paramount to combatting fears of immigration. Lorna McLean (2002) demonstrates that through the frontier camps of Northern Ontario, frontiersman largely made up of recent immigrants, were taught English and literacy skills through moral, Christian literature which simultaneously sculpted their masculine identities and notions of citizenship thereby, “...assimilating the “foreigner” through

education”.<sup>43</sup> The importance placed on the English language creates an interesting context when examining questions surrounding language – specifically sign language – and the d/Deaf citizen. It highlights the emphasis on spoken English as a “national” language in Ontario during this period.

The existing literature has often positioned the school language debate as a French-English struggle.<sup>44</sup> The limiting of any language, other than English, being taught in Ontario schools became a contentious issue for many Franco-Ontarians, who wanted their children to receive an education in French. Regulation 17, passed in 1912, ensured the supremacy of the English language by limiting the teaching of French, or other languages, to the first two years of primary school. While the literature has examined this issue along French-English lines, recent work has begun to consider how other languages and cultures experienced these language “problems” and what this ultimately says about a “national” language. Benjamin Bryce’s (2013) work, for example, examines the role of German in Ontario education from the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century. Bryce’s work expands the debate beyond French and English and sheds new light on state power and the authority of the provincial educational bureaucracy in citizenship formation as it was rooted in ideas around dominant language.<sup>45</sup> My thesis research will take this debate one step further and encourage scholars to examine sign language as a cultural and linguistic identity but also to focus on drawing critical disability studies into educational questions beyond “special education”.

The historical literature on racializations and education also informs my understanding of disability within an ableist structure. Racializations, like physical disability, are often “difficult” to hide in the public sphere, especially in public systems which operate on notions of “whiteness” and “able bodies” such as the public school.<sup>46</sup> Adopting an anti-racist approach<sup>47</sup>

that stems from postcolonial theory and questioning “traditional” national frameworks and “myths”, Tim Stanley examines the Chinese student strike of 1922-23, a highly organized public resistance against forced segregation.<sup>48</sup> Stanley’s anti-racist approach is important because it focuses not on the differences between “white” and “Asian” students but on the similarities among the groups such as the construction of racial categories.<sup>49</sup> In this vein, I am interested to understand the similarities between the construction of categories based on “able bodiness” and “disability” and “race. Scholars of disability David Mitchell and Sharon Snyder, have demonstrated in their work that examining how social categories of “disability” and “race” are jointly constructed within nationalistic frameworks will enrich the field and shed light on the citizenship frameworks under which marginalized groups existed.<sup>50</sup>

The dismal history of the Aboriginal residential school experience in Canada is yet another example of how constructions of racializations intersect with questions of citizenship – particularly who belongs, and who does not. Early work on the residential school system focussed on the structure and assimilationist nature of the schools,<sup>51</sup> which segregated aboriginal children from the cultural and linguistic influences of their community.<sup>52</sup> Jean Barman (1985) argues that federal assimilationist policy “failed” because federal policy, working under a banner of sameness, neglected to account for the wide diversity among tribes and bands, providing Aboriginal students with less classroom time than their more adequately funded public school counterparts who ‘learned’ from certified teachers rather than Christian missionaries.<sup>53</sup> J.R. Miller (1996), reflecting the 1990s historiographic turn to experience rather than structure made use of, for example, adult memories to reconstruct the daily life in these schools. Miller integrates students “voice” into his narrative shedding light on the physical and ideological impact these schools had on generations of aboriginal children. Miller identifies the goals of

aboriginal communities, religious organizations and the federal government in establishing a system of education for aboriginal children that eventually, through a strategy of cultural assimilation based on a balance of coercion and consent,<sup>54</sup> resulted in the colonization of generations of aboriginal children.<sup>55</sup> Mary-Ellen Kelm's (1998) use of colonial theory identifies the colonizing effect the state had on Aboriginal bodies, evidenced in the abysmal health treatment of students, too many sent home to die from disease and maltreatment suffered within the residential school.<sup>56</sup>

The links to the residential school experience by generations of Aboriginal children and the OIED is also a strong one. Like the industrial schools experience, Aboriginal children also faced the struggles of residential care. Jean Barman has demonstrated that during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, parents of Aboriginal girls brought their daughters to “white” schools to be educated, again, believing that they were equipping their daughters with the best opportunity to move forward in the future.<sup>57</sup> The idea of parental compliance, at least during the early years, reflects a similar theme in regards to the industrial schools and the OIED. Similarly, the residential school experience for Aboriginal children in Canada was also structured to reflect ideas about the role of labour, obedience and morality in terms of creating “good” Canadians.

Most striking, however, is the preoccupation of language among the staff at both types of institutions. For the OIED, the preoccupation during the early years focussed on teaching the students to communicate so that the staff could impart not only an understanding of language but also important citizenship ideals. It was not until oralist pedagogies began to take hold, around 1907, that the school began to differentiate between oralism as the “preferred” method of communication and sign language as something “different”. Much like the Aboriginal students

at the residential schools, the use of language – specifically the use of language *other than* English or French – became a contentious issue.

Categories of age, gender, race and class have enhanced the scholarly literature of the history of Canadian education over the years. Disability history, an emerging field, builds upon past studies and sheds new perspectives on questions of education about what it means to be “disabled” and “abled bodied” in a broad citizenship framework.

### Disability Studies

Disability studies emerged during the 1980s as a consequence of the disability civil rights movement.<sup>58</sup> Building upon literature focussed on race, class and gender, disability studies allows scholars to ask questions about issues of identity via a “new” analytic tool – the disability perspective. A disability perspective does not necessarily mean that one must focus on a topic about disabled people, rather, according to Catherine Kudlick, disability studies, “...builds on scholarship in gender, class, race and sexuality to offer a full interrogation of how societies understand difference and define progress”.<sup>59</sup> By approaching disability as a social category on par with gender, class and race, the field challenges scholars to look beyond traditional “disability topics” such as special education and medical histories.<sup>60</sup>

Prior to the 1980s, the majority of historical work on disability stemmed from educators, the medical profession and policy makers, who sought to understand questions of disability from the “outside”.<sup>61</sup> This approach is termed the medical model of disability and views disability as an individual problem that if “cured” will also “cure” the accompanying social problems.<sup>62</sup> This approach puts the disabled person in a position of reliance on the medical profession to “fix” them. Similarly, the rehabilitative model suggests that the issues surrounding disability could be

mitigated by professional rehabilitative help.<sup>63</sup> At their core, both paradigms ignore the lived experience of the disabled person and obfuscate the broader relationship that a disabled person has with economic, political and social obstacles.<sup>64</sup>

The social model identifies disability as the consequence of social barriers that restrict the activities of people with impairments<sup>65</sup> and is premised upon three binaries: medical/individual, impairment/disability and disabled/abled.<sup>66</sup> The first binary, medical/individual, relates to the two different constructions of disability at work in society. Under the social model, “disability” is a social creation, whereas the medical model views “disability” in terms of individual physical deficit. While the social model seeks to remove physical and ideological barriers the medical model seeks to count, label, cure and reduce the amount of those deemed “disabled”.<sup>67</sup> Impairment/disability refers to the distinction between “disability” as a social construction resulting in social barriers and “impairment” referring to one’s physical state of lacking, for example, a leg or hearing. American scholar, Lennard Davis provides us with an excellent example: wheelchair users have “impairments”; they lack the use of their legs, which limits their ability to move around. They are not “disabled” unless they are in an environment absent of ramps, lifts and automatic door openers.<sup>68</sup> Therefore “impairment” is individual and private while “disability” is structural and public.<sup>69</sup> The third binary, disabled/abled, relates to the empowerment of “disabled” people to control services, organizations and other aspects of their lives. Tom Shakespeare indicates that “disabled” people are often most oppressed by those seeking to “help” such as professionals and charities. Active involvement in the control and organization of services for “disabled” people by “disabled” people is needed.<sup>70</sup>

As previously noted, disability studies builds upon the work of other categories of social analysis such as gender, race and class. Advances in these fields have demonstrated that social

categories are constructed.<sup>71</sup> The social model of disability argues that, "...disability is often less about physical or mental impairments than it is about how society responds to impairments."<sup>72</sup> Furthermore, the social model rejects that a disabled body is "defective" and instead views the disabled body as a common factor in life.<sup>73</sup> The social model examines how the concept of disability and normalcy has been constructed and evolved over time which leads to questions about why and in what circumstances these constructions and reconstructions have occurred.<sup>74</sup>

Davis situates disability studies in its second wave as disabled activists and scholars are seeking to further identify "disability" rather than remain part of a collective whole.<sup>75</sup> Disability studies follow a familiar pattern to other second waves of identity struggles such as feminism's conflict between first wave essentialist notions based on biological difference that acted as a force to draw all women together under the same constellation of issues and second wave feminists who argued for a more complex notion of understanding difference based on social constructionism and performativity.<sup>76</sup> Therefore much recent theorizing centres on the developing of, for example, feminist, "white" and Queer theories of disability.<sup>77</sup>

### *Disability history*

One area of disability studies which has experienced exciting growth is disability history.<sup>78</sup> An understanding of the past, as Will Kymlicka reminds us, is necessary because "...it defines the shared context and framework within which we debate our differing values and priorities...It becomes the implicit background for our thinking, providing symbols, precedents, and reference points by which we make sense of issues."<sup>79</sup> Disability history allows scholars to examine how disability has been defined in the past, changed over time and how we continue to engage with questions of disability today. Susan Burch and Ian Sutherland argue, "Disability

history represents the next – and necessary – dimension of historical scholarship.”<sup>80</sup> Scholars of disability ask questions about identity, citizenship and normalcy from a cultural perspective<sup>81</sup> making it particularly useful when examining questions of d/Deaf education and the manner in which this shaped d/Deaf culture in Ontario from 1870 to 1914. Calling for disability history to be reclaimed from the periphery of scholarly interest, Kudlick argues, “...disability should sit squarely at the centre of historical inquiry, both as a subject worth studying in its own right and as one that will provide scholars with a new analytic tool for exploring power itself.”<sup>82</sup>

Douglas Baynton’s germinal essay, “Disability and the Justification for Inequality in American History” demonstrates that the concept of disability has long been used as a rationale for discrimination. Baynton shows how in the United States those opposed to women’s suffrage, minority rights and immigration aligned these groups with notions of being “disabled” or not as “normal” as white, Anglo-Saxon men to discredit any claims on equal citizenship. At the same time, those groups aligned with questions of disability deeply resented the implication and sought to distance themselves from any question of disability.<sup>83</sup>

Disability is a social construction and its meanings and definitions are contingent on history. Thus, it is crucial to understand the social, political and economic context from which d/Deaf education emerged and the ways in which d/Deafness was defined and redefined so that it would either fit or distance itself from the disability label. Historical studies in disability are often closely linked to questions of citizenship. Burch and Sutherland, for example, argue: “...citizenship is predicated on the idea of rights and duties, but if Disabled people cannot serve in the army, perhaps not pay taxes or contribute [equally] to the economic output of the nation, and perhaps cannot engage fully in the political discourse of the nation, does this alter our view of their status, or our assumptions about full citizenship?”<sup>84</sup> Similarly, questions of education

and citizenship are closely linked. Histories of education and disability have formed a particular body of emerging literature. These studies question traditional histories and ask important questions about the purpose of education including its link to future employment and “full” citizenship of d/Deaf students.<sup>85</sup>

As Baynton observed, “Disability is everywhere in history once you begin looking for it, but conspicuously absent in the histories we write”.<sup>86</sup> In the case of the Canadian literature, this statement is particularly astute. Disability scholar Geoffrey Reaume identifies the history of disabled Canadians as a field that requires increased scrutiny from critical disability scholars to examine the lived experience of the “disabled” as well as the social, political and economic contexts in which they lived.<sup>87</sup> Recent work has begun to examine questions regarding the care and education of the intellectually “handicapped” child<sup>88</sup> although there remains little depth to the Canadian historiography on childhood physical “disability” and education. In a recent essay, Veronica Strong-Boag argued that Canada’s “disabled” youth represent a group that have disappeared from the literature more so than any other group of marginalized children.<sup>89</sup> Stephane Perrault’s article on Québec Deaf schools and Joanna Pearce’s recent article on Nova Scotia’s quest for funding blind education are steps in the right direction to furthering this research.<sup>90</sup>

Although histories of Canadian children with disabilities are scarce, there has been considerably more work completed on children’s health than studies focused on disability and childhood. Early twentieth century Canadian education was actively engaged in constructing a national identity based on a core of common citizenship values, in which “good” health figured prominently, resulting in what theorist Benedict Anderson has termed an “imagined community” based, in part, on “healthy” citizens.<sup>91</sup> Health and hygiene curricula encouraged children to keep

their home environment tidy and seek clean habits mirroring “official” improvements to the province’s schools to facilitate bright light, better air ventilation, clean drinking water and proper sewage.<sup>92</sup>

Mona Gleason has made a substantial contribution to the historiography, especially through her investigation of the child’s “body” and the public school.<sup>93</sup> The child’s body, Gleason argues, is “...an unexplored site upon which the sometime competing interests of adults and children were negotiated and mediated.”<sup>94</sup> Health discourses acted as a disciplining force, inscribing on the bodies of children notions of “healthy” according to white, middle class notions, as such those who did not “fit”; particularly those of racial and ethnic difference were pathologized.<sup>95</sup> In her work on the child welfare system Veronica Strong-Boag notes that not all children were valued equally, those with disabilities were often rejected in favour of perceived “healthy” and therefore more worthy children.<sup>96</sup> I build upon the existing literature and ask how disability and d/Deafness fit into the larger health ideal.

### d/Deaf Studies

Although often related to disability studies, the relationship between disability studies and d/Deaf studies is, at times, strained.<sup>97</sup> Canadian scholar, Tanis Doe, does an excellent job of identifying this “difficult” relationship and makes a plea for the d/Deaf community to acknowledge that some links to the disability culture and a disability studies perspective may yield fruitful results. She argues that d/Deaf culture seeks to distance itself from broader disability labels primarily because the d/Deaf do not see themselves as “disabled” but as a linguistic and cultural minority. She argues that the d/Deaf distance themselves from disability labels because of the negative connotations of dependence, illness, neediness and disorder.<sup>98</sup>

However, given my interest in historical understandings of educational processes and, in this case, questions of citizenship, disability and education, it is imperative that I discuss d/Deafness in light of understandings of disability, primarily because educators, legislators, reformers and some parents characterized “d/Deafness” within this framework.<sup>99</sup> I seek to understand how the OIED’s move to oralism contributed to the reconstruction of the “deaf” child from invalid (meaning a potentially “dangerous” dependant) to that of a model citizen who was intelligent, hard working and law abiding.

That does not mean, however, that I privilege English, as a language, over sign language. I accept that sign language is an intricate linguistic system<sup>100</sup> and a corner stone of d/Deaf culture. Another important feature of d/Deaf Studies is the idea of “phonocentrism” a concept articulated by French philosopher Jacques Derrida in his popular essay, “The Violence of the Letter,” in his book *Of Grammatology*.<sup>101</sup> Here, Derrida argued against the popularly held idea that societies evolved, from crude actions and signs to “civilized” phonetic alphabets.<sup>102</sup> He went on to distinguish between “phonetic” and “ideogrammatic” qualities of language. Derrida’s ideas around phonocentrism means, “that the primacy of speech and phonetic writing in language is not a “natural” human attribute, but the result of a metaphysical and historical prejudice.”<sup>103</sup> Derrida’s critique is aimed at structuralism, namely the idea that meaning is gained only by contrasting it with something else, such as female/male, hearing/d/Deaf or abled bodied/disabled.<sup>104</sup> Because Derrida identified that one term is always privileged and the binary is never neutral, he called for a deconstruction of such binaries to decenter privilege.<sup>105</sup> As Hannah Anglin-Jaffe notes,

...Derrida’s critique of the hegemony of the voice allows a questioning of the way Sign is considered, both historically and in contemporary criticism. In addition, the questioning of assumptions about the voice as ‘truth’ and ‘origin’ facilitates a critique of the power relations between deaf and hearing peoples.<sup>106</sup>

Notions about the unequal status that d/Deaf people have felt in the past and continue to feel today, are often aligned with notions problematizing one's inability to "speak" rather than one's lack of hearing.<sup>107</sup> Ideas around "speaking" shaped d/Deaf education and also informed my decision to call the second identified phase of citizenship "spoken" citizenship.

Within the historiography on d/Deaf culture, the role of education, particularly the debates surrounding sign language and oralism, have formed a key component of the literature. The American literature on d/Deaf education has significantly more depth than the Canadian field. However, given the fluidity of ideas, pedagogies and approaches to d/Deaf education across "national" boundaries the two sets of literature do not need to be held as exclusive. There is a great deal to be learned from the American literature since so many of the pedagogies employed at the OIED, stemmed from American educational institutions and educators. So much so, in fact, that it we can think of the literature as "North American". Baynton's work, for example, focuses on the rise and fall of the popularity of sign language, especially as it was played out in the schools for the d/Deaf, pointing to the changing cultural constructions of d/Deafness in early nineteenth century America and the importance of the residential schools for cultural transmission.<sup>108</sup> While this thesis does not deal with a survey of the Canadian experience with sign language it does point to the rise and fall of sign language at the OIED and is influenced greatly by the work of Baynton, particularly his ideas around the school as an important vehicle for cultural transmission.

The existing American scholarship also influences this thesis in other areas. Robert Buchanan's work uses d/Deaf newspapers, many published at d/Deaf schools, to capture the perspective of the adult d/Deaf worker. As with my study, Buchanan's work points to the

richness of these papers as a source.<sup>109</sup> I also build upon Buchanan's focus on the importance of "work" to d/Deaf identity. Susan Burch's approach takes a different turn examining how the d/Deaf resisted associations with other "disabilities" in larger eugenic movements. In an effort to hold off undesirable labels and to fight discrimination, Burch shows that the American d/Deaf culture emerged strongly during the first fifty years of the twentieth century due in part to these struggles.<sup>110</sup>

Harlan Lane's contribution to the historiography merges historical process and constructions of d/Deafness with contemporary issues in part by concentrating on the preservation of the residential school programs.<sup>111</sup> Lane notes that early d/Deaf educators and reformers in the USA during the early to mid-nineteenth century sought to convince society that the "problem" of d/Deafness was a social and not a medical problem and in this regard could, to a certain degree, be "fixed".<sup>112</sup> The first American d/Deaf schools were established as a result of the Evangelical Protestant reformers who were intent on "saving" the d/Deaf from a life of spiritual solitude. The first American school, the American Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb [sic], at Hartford, Connecticut was founded in 1817 and influenced d/Deaf pedagogy and educational reform for schools across North America.<sup>113</sup> These early schools championed the combination of finger spelling and sign language – termed the combined system - to teach the d/Deaf to communicate. This "North American" model was distinct from European schools, which were heavily influenced by the resolutions passed by the Congress of Milan of 1880, during which a purely oral pedagogy – lip reading and speech - was strongly supported.<sup>114</sup> However, by the 1860s the exclusive use of sign language had begun to weaken as the favoured pedagogy of d/Deaf reformers as its exclusive use was seen as a foreign language and detrimental to the notion of a unified national American identity.<sup>115</sup> As we shall see, by the

1890s, the general move towards an increasingly oral pedagogy in North America was gaining ground.<sup>116</sup> Calls for an increased use of oralism, in conjunction with sign language, sparked debates among d/Deaf reformers, educators and the d/Deaf community. As previously noted, Canadian d/Deaf education and culture was closely linked to the American pedagogical, cultural trends, and perspectives by d/Deaf reformers and the d/Deaf students who travelled with great fluidity across the border to create a North American experience.

Among these studies, the OIED is represented in the historiography through some theses,<sup>117</sup> yet, none of them examine disability, education and citizenship. Clifton Carbin's contribution, *Deaf Culture in Canada*, includes a lengthy chapter on education in which the OIED is discussed, along with other Canadian d/Deaf schools, but this work is largely uncritical and provides a historical overview of the school and its leaders rather than a critical examination of the school within a citizenship framework. Carbin's work is based on extensive archival work and is valuable as a place to begin my research. It is useful because it chronicles d/Deaf heritage, not just education, and remains the only work to document d/Deaf culture in Canada in both historical and contemporary terms. Carbin's more recent biography of celebrated d/Deaf teacher Samuel Greene<sup>118</sup> is helpful in that it sheds light on the impact that Greene had on the OIED students and curriculum. Greene has long been heralded as a "legend" of the d/Deaf community actively setting up the d/Deaf clubs and associations and was considered a favourite of the students at the school.<sup>119</sup> Carbin argues, from a "great man" perspective, that Greene's legacy as an excellent teacher and "hero" and crusader for the d/Deaf continues today. Robert Stamp's brief essay on Greene, is also important for understanding the role d/Deaf teachers played in d/Deaf education but without larger work on the school, the reader is left without a context.<sup>120</sup>

As well, Stamp's article focuses on the achievements of one adult and the child's perspective and experience is absent.

This thesis, through the research questions outlined in the introduction, seeks to contribute to the history of education scholarship by examining ideas around the "best" method to employ when teaching d/Deaf to communicate (sign language, finger spelling, oral articulation) and how these pedagogical considerations impacted the students' academic education and their understandings of citizenship. My research will also contribute to the secondary literature on children and childhood by examining d/Deaf childhood, particularly as it intersects with gender, disability and citizenship. To date, there remains little academic work focussed on d/Deaf history and culture in Canada and while institutional histories of schools like the OIED are more common in popular history, the experience of the children who attended these institutions remain silent.

## **Methodology**

My thesis is historical in nature and as such I rely heavily on sources from the period I studied. As many historians before me, I actively read these selected sources and critically interpreted them in terms of the social context in which they emerged and within the academic context, or conceptual framework, in which I exist. I am aware, for example, that the school related material I used did not view the students as culturally distinct but as "disabled" through their lack of hearing and made assumptions and decisions based on how this perceived "deficiency" would impact the Canadian citizenry as a whole. It was ideas around "disability",

“deafness” and “citizenship” that I paid particular attention to, despite the fact that the school files are rich deposits that could inform Canadian education history in multiple ways.

My research employed a critical reading of school related documents and I relied heavily on written and visual texts. Although I did not undertake a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), I have been influenced by the work of several scholars, particularly around ideas of discourse, power and representation. For my work, so heavily reliant on textual documents, CDA as a methodological approach, prompted me to consider, how discourses worked to produce, reproduce and challenge dominant ideas and practices.<sup>121</sup> When I applied an analysis around discourse and power to d/Deaf education and citizenship, I examined the dominant messages about how the elite - including OIED administration, legislators, d/Deaf educators and “experts”- constructed ideas about d/Deaf citizenship and how they, in turn, imparted these beliefs onto the d/Deaf students at the OIED, their parents, alumni and society. CDA posits that the social elite hold power over the dominant discourse because they are the groups that have access to creating political and institutional texts.<sup>122</sup> Therefore, the dominant messages about what constituted “good” d/Deaf citizenship was sustained and reinforced by those in power - those who had control over the dominant texts. Discourse involves concepts such as meaning, interpretation and understanding – my reading of the sources meant that I was aware of the creation of social categories.<sup>123</sup>

James Paul Gee’s (2005) use of CDA as a way to understand the political undertones of language was also an important realization for my work. The idea that language is constantly in use and is always political<sup>124</sup> prompted me to read all of my records with a critical or questioning stance. Gee’s approach to discourse and language requires researchers to question, “...how *social goods* are thought about, argued over, and distributed in society. “Social goods” are

anything that a group of people believe to be a source of power, status, value, or worth...”<sup>125</sup>

The “social goods” of citizenship, as we shall see, were contested concepts and the language that accompanied them were politically rooted.

Implicit in my study of disability, d/Deafness and citizenship education is the notion of power. Who had the power to create and recreate the idea of “good” d/Deaf citizenship? This type of question about the connection between power, meaning and knowledge, builds upon the work of Foucault and formed an important aspect of this study.<sup>126</sup> Nelson Phillips and Cynthia Hardy remind us how, “Foucauldian-informed work often focuses on unmasking the privileges inherent in particular discourses and emphasizes its constraining effects, often leading to studies of how grand or ‘mega’ discourses shape social reality and constrain actors.”<sup>127</sup> My interest in understanding the construction of OIED students as “good” workers outside the broad disability label was, at its core, about the production and reproduction of power relationships that privileged the OIED “experts” and administration’s opinions above those of the d/Deaf students and their parents. “Experts” associated with the OIED proclaimed that the uneducated d/Deaf were a “problem” and, they offered the remedy – an OIED education. If left uneducated, the d/Deaf were vulnerable to moral, civic and legal failings that shaped the pervasive image of the d/Deaf as “unstable” or “dangerous”. At the same time, the OIED sought to re-imagine the d/Deaf from the “dangerous” disability label to that of a “good” citizen. By simultaneously identifying the problem and offering the “cure” for “bad” citizenship, the OIED legitimized their own expertise and justified the need for an institution such as the OIED.

My research questions elicit a framework for thinking about the connections between citizenship, work, disability, d/Deafness and gender. I employed a disability studies interpretative lens which, at its core, identified “disability” as a social construction and

problematized the social norms that placed the abled body as a requirement for ideal citizenship.<sup>128</sup> I was also influenced by scholars who employed a feminist perspective in their work. As a case in point, Rosemarie Garland-Thompson's research weaves questions of gender and disability and made me aware of how the two "others" – gender and disability - are more alike than they are different.<sup>129</sup> I engaged with the literature on performance theory drawn from Judith Butler's germinal work on gender and performativity<sup>130</sup> to understand the performative aspects of d/Deafness and the tensions between the ideal of "good" d/Deaf citizenship and the elusive, if not impossible task, to separate d/Deafness from the disability label. Work by Canadian scholars such as McLean, Cook and Gleason provided insight into the nuances of Canadian formal and informal education particularly around issues of childhood, health, gender and citizenship.<sup>131</sup>

Discourse can be defined as, "...an interrelated set of texts, and the practices of their production, dissemination, and reception, that brings an object into being."<sup>132</sup> If a critical examination of texts can inform scholars about the consumption, reproduction and even rejection of dominant discourses such as those surrounding disability, d/Deafness and citizenship education – a variety of texts enrich this understanding. As Nelson and Hardy explain,

Texts are not meaningful individually; it is only through their interconnection with other texts, the different discourses on which they draw, and the nature of their production, dissemination and consumption that they are made meaningful. Discourse analysis explores how texts are *made* meaningful through these processes and also how they contribute to the constitution of social reality by *making* meaning.<sup>133</sup>

In this way, it is important to look at the texts I selected to examine how they are connected to each other, the manner in which they were produced and the way in which they were consumed. Take the school newspaper, as an example. The newspaper grew out of the school and was based on particular ideals. It was produced by the students who were guided by an adult hired by

the school. It was integrated into the school curriculum and was consumed primarily by the students, their parents and OIED alumni. We can identify the intended audience, and with that in mind, question what the particular discourses were meant to convey in terms of “good” d/Deaf citizenship. In her work on the American publication the *Silent Worker*, Easton argues that, “...the power of education and newsprint, two central ideological apparatuses in the lives of the deaf, worked in tandem to create truths that produced and reproduced labour deaf bodies.”<sup>134</sup> When applied to ideas about citizenship, which relied heavily on ideas about work and the labouring d/Deaf body, these two ideological apparatuses sustained and reinforced dominant discourses about “good” d/Deaf citizenship.

Nelson and Hardy point to three dimensions as integral components of critical discourse analysis. “Our approach to the study of discourse is therefore ‘three-dimensional’ in the sense that it connects texts to discourses, locating them in a historical and social context, by which we refer to the particular actors, relationships, and practices that characterize the situation under study.”<sup>135</sup> In this way, discourses are explicitly connected to the varied contexts that surround them. To understand how the discourses surrounding d/Deafness were (re)constructed I probed how discourses around disability and citizenship served to make sense of the concept of d/Deafness. To understand how these discourses emerged, I studied contemporary texts and placed these texts within the social context – such as the economic and political realities and the gendered and able-bodied norms of the period. The interplay between text, discourse and context allowed me to explore ideas about what it meant to be d/Deaf during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Ontario and how these ideologies contributed to the construction of “d/Deafness”.<sup>136</sup>

**SOURCES:**

I drew from a variety of visual and textual documents including, but not limited to, “official” school photographs of the students and staff at the OIED, contemporary newspapers such as *The Globe & Mail*, the school newspaper *The Canadian Mute/The Canadian*, the annual report of the OIED to the government of Ontario, the 1907 Royal Commission report and contemporary articles and journals about d/Deaf education during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Among these resources, the perspectives of the parents and students were the most muted, with the loudest “voices” being those of administrators, reformers, perceived experts and government officials. When I began this research, I turned to the Archives of Ontario and was informed that the files associated with the school were in storage for an indeterminate period of time while construction was underway. In consultation with archivist, Clifton Carbin, who was in charge of these records, I realized that I could not wait until these records became available, and decided to move on with the sources that I could obtain. The focus I have taken to study the OIED and the interplay of discourses regarding disability, d/Deafness, work and citizenship between 1870 and 1914 is fuelled by my knowledge that texts change over time as social and political contexts change. I identified changing discourses and the ways in which these discourses evolved according to the social contexts and pedagogical strategies that influenced them.

<b>SOURCE</b>	<b>DATES</b>	<b>AUTHORSHIP</b>	<b>AUDIENCE</b>
Annual Reports	1870-1915	1870- 1904 - Superintendent of Prisons and Asylums  1904-1915 -Minister of Education	Excerpts from the annual report were reprinted in the school newspaper. Parents, the d/Deaf community would have read these experts.

SOURCE	DATES	AUTHORSHIP	AUDIENCE
		In each report the Inspector, Principal/Superintendent, literary (academic) examiner and physician submitted a report.	Government officials, legislators, OIED administration and social elite associated with d/Deaf reform.  Possibly other d/Deaf educators in Canada & the United States.
School Photographs	1894-1914	The photographs are found within the Annual Reports. While some of the portrait photographs are identified as being taken by the photographer in Belleville, these too appear in the annual reports or the pages of the school newspaper. There are also a series of school room photos and other photos taken on the school grounds that appear to have been taken to supplement the information in the annual reports. I am working under the assumption that these were taken by a government official.	Parents, students, hearing society at large.  See above.
<i>The Canadian Mute</i>	1892-1914	Print office at the OIED including the Editor, teaching staff and the pupils	Parents, students, and the d/Deaf community were the largest consumers of this source.
<i>In the Matter of an Investigation into the Workings of the Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville</i>	1907	A.J. Russell Snow, Commissioner	Administrators connected with the school administration and provincial authorities.  Possibly some interested parents but I have not found evidence that it was freely distributed to the parents of students.
<i>Handbook of Information: Ontario School for the Deaf, Belleville, Ontario</i>	1912	OIED print shop teacher and <i>Canadian Mute</i> editor G.F. Stewart.  Likely approved by superintendent	Distributed to schools, parents, churches and educational organizations as an information guide for parents and families of potential students.  Meant as a promotional tool to recruit other d/Deaf students.
<i>City Newspapers</i>	1858-1914	<i>The Globe, The Toronto Daily Star, The Belleville Intelligencer, The Ontario</i>	Community and general public.

Annual Reports:

The annual reports represented the perspective of the state and the school administration. These reports are important for several reasons. First, they provided insights into how the school was organized and allowed me to track changes to administrative staff and policies, the academic and trades curriculum and approaches to d/Deaf pedagogy. Second, these annual reports informed the research to analyze what the government and administration of the OIED articulated as the goal of d/Deaf education in relation to citizenship and work.

The annual reports changed in form, content and provincial jurisdiction over the years. From 1870 to 1875 the OIED fell under the jurisdiction of the office of the Inspector of Asylums, Prisons and Charities. In 1875 the name changed slightly to the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities under whose jurisdiction the OIED would fall until 1904. For ease and continuity I refer, in each chapter, to reports from the office of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities for the years between 1870 and 1904. From June 1904 to the end of the study period in 1914, the OIED fell under the jurisdiction of the Minister of Education for the province of Ontario.

Between 1870 and 1904, the years preceding the shift of jurisdiction to the Ministry of Education, the OIED was subject to an average of four inspections each year by the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities.<sup>137</sup> The annual reports for the period of 1870 to 1905 were rich in background information and often included histories of particularly “influential” people in d/Deaf education, the history of d/Deaf education in Ontario, detailed explanations about pedagogical approaches and daily life at the institution. Each year an annual report was written and submitted by the Principal/Superintendent to the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities and then published in the *Ontario Sessional Papers* by the government of Ontario.

The most substantial section of the annual reports from 1870-1904 and the one that informed this research was the “Report of the Principal/Superintendent” of the OIED. Understanding the “official” word regarding d/Deaf citizenship education from an institutionalized source laid the groundwork for understanding the dominant discourse regarding d/Deafness and citizenship. This particular section of the annual report also dealt with pedagogical issues regarding the trades program, academic curriculum and d/Deaf pedagogy. The Principal/Superintendent’s report was valuable because it provided insights into how the administration viewed key contemporary issues regarding d/Deaf education, citizenship and work including outlining the curriculum and textbooks used. Similarly, they provided information on the evolution of the trades curriculum that continued to reinvent itself over the years. Understanding how the “official” record treated the trades curriculum shed light on the role of “work” in the “disabled” students future from the perspective of the administration.

From 1905 to the end of my study period in 1914, the OIED fell under the jurisdiction of the provincial Minister of Education. Where the previous reports had been detailed, the reports under the Ministry of Education appeared as an appendix to the main education reports. Much of the “extras” such as the notes on d/Deaf history and debates about the best approach to teach the d/Deaf to communicate were no longer included. The loss of this supplementary material resulted in a report that was less contextualized than previous reports and largely devoid of information regarding pedagogical, vocational and other changes at the OIED. It is apparent that this streamlined approach was a result of the OIED no longer being the beacon of hope for a jurisdiction that focussed on crime, punishment and asylums, but simply a “special” school, in the massive organization of the Department of Education.

The OIED Annual Reports, under the Minister of Education, included a general overview by the Superintendent in which he would identify key changes, issues or events that had occurred at the school in the last year. A short report of the Public School Examiner was also included. This Report identified each class and teacher and provided a very brief synopsis of the Superintendent's finding. This synopsis could be as long as a paragraph or two or as short as a sentence. The Public School examiner also provided comments on the trades curriculum that were generally brief.

Not surprisingly, the Annual Reports were self congratulatory in regards to the achievements of the state and the school for providing the “unfortunate” d/Deaf children of the province with an education. As we shall see, the underlying implication was that an OIED education provided moral guidance as well as the ability to engage in civic life that included providing for themselves and their families after graduation. A strong citizenship theme ran through the reports to the government reflecting the general notion of the period that educating children was integral to creating future “good” citizens. In particular, educating d/Deaf children was seen as a cost effective measure with the initial expense of educating being offset by the promise of a group of self-supporting adults.

### *The Canadian Mute* newspaper

*The Canadian Mute*<sup>1</sup> was first published February 15, 1892. The school print shop opened the previous fall in 1891 and the school newspaper was the primary “product” of the print shop. Residential d/Deaf schools often had their own print shops and ran newspapers out of

---

<sup>1</sup> In 1913 the school dropped the term “mute” from its own title and the newspaper followed suit. When I am speaking about the newspaper in a particular time period I will refer to it under the title which it bore during that particular period. When I am discussing the newspaper generally I will refer to it as *The Canadian Mute*, the name it bore for the majority of the time periods under discussion in this research.

these shops to provide practical knowledge of the trade and to keep the d/Deaf community connected to each other.<sup>138</sup> *The Canadian Mute* was distributed through subscriptions among the d/Deaf community in addition to those most closely associated with the OIED – the students, parents and alumni. Subscriptions to the newspaper were paid to the school print department and readers were encouraged to keep their subscriptions active after they left the school. Although an in depth examination of the connection between *The Canadian Mute* and the Ontario d/Deaf community is beyond the scope of this thesis, the significant role that d/Deaf school newspapers played in regards to the d/Deaf in and outside of the school cannot be overlooked and forms a part of the social context in which the OIED existed.<sup>139</sup>

The newspaper holds an interesting inherent “work” element in that it was produced at the school through student labour and the content, largely consumed by d/Deaf readers, emphasized a citizenship discourse which emphasized “work” as a key “good” citizenship tenet. Easton’s work on the New Jersey School for the Deaf and the school newspaper, the *Silent Worker*, argues that the newspaper “...paid particular attention to the role of work in the students’ activities, the school helped ensure the students’ employability after graduation.”<sup>140</sup> An added benefit of d/Deaf newspapers, according to Beth Haller, is that they also worked to educate the hearing about the d/Deaf.<sup>141</sup> My contribution to this literature documents how *The Canadian Mute* was one vehicle to disseminate the “good” worker citizenship messages to the OIED students, alumni, parents and reformers and equally important to the hearing society. I argue that the newspaper was an essential component in d/Deaf citizenship formation, disseminating citizenship messages and ultimately working to reconstruct d/Deafness. *The Canadian Mute* was a particularly powerful source. It was a periodical that was produced by the OIED and consumed by those associated with the OIED, disseminating the sanctioned

citizenship messages to students, parents, d/Deaf alumni and the broader d/Deaf and hearing community.

A critical reading of the school newspaper formed a unique component of this research. While the government reports informed an important piece of the story, the top-down perspective was obvious. Although, Easton, Buchanan and Burch have used the American d/Deaf publication *The Silent Worker* as a key source in their work, no one has taken a systematic approach to studying the newspaper. In the Canadian literature, no one used *The Canadian Mute* as a key source of critical analysis. I focussed on three sections of the paper that appeared routinely from 1892 to 1914: the Editorial, the Pupils' Locals and the Home News column. These three columns were deliberately selected to provide three perspectives on OIED citizenship education: administrator, teacher and student.

#### Editorial:

The editorial appeared in every edition of the newspaper from February 1892 to December 1914. At no time during this period was the Superintendent solely in charge of the editorial although I speculate that he had a hand in its content and certainly approved it as alluded to in the newspaper in March of 1901, “ Mr. Mathison is the managing editor and supplies a little copy occasionally...”.<sup>142</sup> Under the period of study, the editors of the newspaper were J.B. Ashley and G.F. Stewart. Both men were d/Deaf, active in the Ontario Association of the Deaf and teachers at the school in charge of the printing office. Ashley died suddenly in the spring of 1884 and Stewart took over soon after and held the position for the remainder of the period under study.<sup>143</sup>

The editorial content was diverse. It was typical for the newspaper to reprint large portions of the school's annual report. It was also typical for the editorial to discuss key events at the school, such as carnivals, visiting dignitaries and groups. The editorial also engaged frequently with larger pedagogical issues including those specifically related to d/Deaf education and the Ontario educational system as a whole. This uniquely Canadian perspective provided insights into how the OIED worked through the inherent tension of creating well educated d/Deaf citizens who would, in the end, be members of a d/Deaf community and a broad Canadian citizenry. It provided the social and political context required to examine the school's discourses. As the "official" word, however, the editorial often lacked insight into the daily operation of the school as both a place of education but also as a residential institution for hundreds of d/Deaf children. For this perspective I turned to the Home News column.

#### Home News:

The Home News column was written by William Nurse, a d/Deaf man who was on the staff at the OIED, first as the store man and then as the shoe making instructor. The column was a regular feature in the newspaper. Nurse provided, in point form notes, the daily goings on at the school such as, who helped in the orchard with the apple harvest, who won a recent contest or game, what the children did for entertainment the previous Saturday evening, and which church leader had come to visit the school. The Home News provided an adult observation of the daily life at the OIED. The adult perspective, however, meant that the Home News echoed the ideological values that the OIED wished to instill. Pupils "work" was a common topic and Nurse both praised those who had helped, identified those by name or by group (i.e., the senior boys, the small girls etc.,) who were now doing specific chores and chastised those whom he felt

had shirked responsibility. It remained less formal than the editorial and had a “cozier” feeling to it.

#### Pupils’ Locals:

As previously noted, scholars of children and childhood have found it difficult to find firsthand accounts of childhood experience - particularly of those children who were most relegated to the “outside” – the poor, the racially marginalized, and the “disabled”. The newspaper, while certainly not a free forum for the OIED students to express themselves offers the opportunity to gain insight into the school experience, in part, through the students’ contributions. These contributions took the form of small point form notes, similar to the style of the Home News. During the early years, the Pupils’ Locals were separated into two columns, one from the Girls and the other from the Boys side of the Institution although they eventually merged into a single column. In both cases, the Locals were written by senior students whose names were clearly identified. By the early 1900s the individual authorship of the Locals was unknown. Instead they were grouped together simply as written from Mr. Denys’ class and Mr. Coleman’s class. The final form of the locals, from 1906 onward, were written by several of the classes and although they were separated by class and identified by each teacher’s name the individual “notes” were identified by student name.

In all their forms, the Locals were brief glimpses into student life. They often echoed the “official” philosophy of education at the period in which loyalty, Christianity, morality and good work habits were held in high regard. The children praised the school and wrote about their gratitude for the education they were receiving. Certainly, the children were eager to please their teachers and since it appears that the Locals became part of classroom assignments they were

aware of what they were expected to write. However, the Locals also provided endearing and heartbreaking glimpses into life at the OIED. Presents, photographs, cards and letters from home were eagerly reported. Family births and marriages or good fortune such as a bountiful harvest or a new job for a family member were part of the “sweeter” side of childhood. The sadder side of life was also reported. Students wrote about missing their families, they expressed their grief when learning about the sickness or death of a family member – particularly a parent or sibling, and on occasion, expressed their fears about a future in which they would be faced with fending for themselves in a largely hearing world. In all its forms the Locals were the “voice” of the students at the OIED and despite the many cautions that one must take when examining these Locals as “fact”, it remains a significant aspect of the newspaper and provides the student perspective.

As the information gleaned from the newspaper was at times overwhelming, I developed a system whereby I identified seven main themes: d/Deaf pedagogy, citizenship, OIED generally/school life, work/trades, academic, disability & d/Deafness, d/Deaf culture. These seven themes reflect what Carl Auerback and Louise Silverstein identify as “repeating ideas”.<sup>144</sup> I assigned each of these themes a colour and I used the appropriate colour to highlight areas of the newspaper and my notes. I subsequently constructed a series of seven different tables, one for each theme, and proceeded to keep my notes in this manner.<sup>145</sup> This approach allowed me to cross reference overlapping themes and keep track of main ideas, events and people. More importantly, for my research, each chart included a column devoted to “notes” in which I recorded my impressions and thoughts about the research and identified linking ideas.<sup>146</sup> This approach evolved into an important aspect of my research. I had not intended to keep a research

journal when I began this research but the importance of such a tool was made evident to me as I attempted to keep track of a vast amount of material.

### *Photographs*

While this thesis does not seek to undertake an exhaustive reading of visual texts related to the OIED, the inclusion of selected photographs requires some explanation. In her work on school photographs and rural Nova Scotia during the early twentieth century, Sara Spike argues that school photographs shed significant light on community identities. While old school photographs often shed light on what students wore, how they were positioned or school and classroom function and furniture, we are now discovering that school photographs can also speak to broader political, social and cultural ideas. As Spike argues,

Like other kinds of historical sources, photographs are the products of innumerable choices, interpretations, technological processes, and circumstances of chance. But it is also important to note that photographs were themselves historical actors, circulating and signifying in the time under discussion. Rather than focussing on what they *show*, it is more importantly the work of historians to consider what photographs have *meant* and how they have produced those meanings.<sup>147</sup>

The selected school photographs chosen for this thesis reflect ableist ideas around normalcy in terms of intelligence, work force preparedness and morality. The photographs typically depicted the children in scholarly settings, at work in the shops or engaged in religious or moral practices such as prayers. While these images are visually interesting and intriguing based on their historical style, it was the underlying cultural meaning that reinforced the overall argument of this thesis: d/Deaf students at the OIED were constructed and put on display to the d/Deaf and hearing Ontarians and Canadians as potentially “good” citizens. If their intellectual, moral and practical work potential could be harnessed, then they too could

contribute to nation building goals that included self-sufficient, compliant and self-regulating citizens.

I was also influenced by Sharon Anne Cook's (2012) work on visual culture of smoking and women from 1880-2000, in her *Sex, Lies and Cigarettes*. Here, Cook discusses the performative nature of women's smoking in various types of textual media, including a heavy focus on the visual culture of smoking. It occurred to me that d/Deafness was being deliberately performed and orchestrated in many of the visual images of d/Deaf students that were incorporated into "official" OIED literature. On the one hand, there were photographic examples of students signing hymns that clearly highlighted their "difference" as d/Deaf. There were also a number of instances where the students were assembled in various classroom or playground poses where the "disability" of d/Deafness was not immediately obvious, that is, they were not signing. I began to question what these poses meant and the role they played in promoting an ableist agenda of constructing these students as "normal" – engaged in "normal" pursuits as hearing children would be. As Cook reminds us, the observer of the visual text needs to be aware of a pattern or repetition of poses, props and formations as this creates part of the overall performative nature of the subject and contributes to the broader narrative.<sup>148</sup> For this research, these photographs were important because of the repetition and the more obvious poses.

The results of the thesis were informed by an absence of a critical investigation of d/Deaf education in Ontario from 1870 to 1914, in the secondary literature. In an effort to "fill the gap", I actively read a variety of carefully selected primary and secondary sources that seek to understand the dominant discourse regarding d/Deaf child citizenship and to use the child's "voice" when possible. Throughout my reading, I was aware that my primary sources were less

“fact” and more cultural artifacts of a particular historical period that was shaped by social, political and economic forces. These sources became multi-dimensional and alive in the sense that they were representations of how social categories come to be constructed, reconstructed and consumed.

My research informs not only studies of d/Deaf Canadians but also education, citizenship and childhood within the Canadian context. Specifically, my research fills three significant gaps in the literature. First, it extends the discussion of d/Deaf education beyond ideas around “special education” to larger questions of citizenship education, childhood experience, gender and disability. Second, this research identifies “disability” as a cultural and linguistic identity rather than as a plight to overcome. The role of sign language, for example, plays a large role in this research but not solely as a marker of “difference”, a term often constructed as “less than”. Instead, this research contributes to the literature on Canadian education by adding another layer to the already rich landscape. Third, this research makes use of a unique source, *The Canadian Mute*, and highlights the use of school newspapers as potential sources of information for scholars of education and children and childhood.

## CHAPTER TWO

### The Institution

This chapter introduces the reader to the OIED. It is divided into three main sections. I begin with a brief history of events leading up to the development of the OIED in 1870 and point to the roots of the social and political forces that shaped ideas about disability, d/Deafness and citizenship. Then I introduce the reader to the three administrators whose backgrounds and pedagogical beliefs shaped the school during the period under study. Finally, I take the reader through the OIED's struggle for compulsory schooling which again, sheds light on the overall citizenship theme.

#### Establishing d/Deaf Education in Ontario

Education has a long history in the province of Ontario and, as scholars such as Alison Prentice, Susan Houston and Bruce Curtis have demonstrated - "education" in Ontario did not emerge solely as a consequence of the *Compulsory Schools Act, 1871*, but as a process of private and partially state funded initiatives.<sup>1</sup> By the time the 1871 act was put in place, education formed an important role in the process of normalizing and shaping future citizens in which loyalty to the British monarchy and Christianity was celebrated and a respect for the existing social order and self-sufficiency in a true pioneering style was encouraged.<sup>2</sup>

Compulsory public schooling in Ontario has, at its roots, citizenship ideals. Historian Bruce Curtis has argued that Canadian educators from the 1840s onward were deeply concerned about American influences, particularly around questions of political dissent, impacting an emerging Canadian ideology. If political dissenters, such as those involved in the Upper and Lower Canada rebellions during 1837, could be constructed as disloyal and unsettling to the

social, political and economic atmosphere then the Canadian state would continue to gain more strength, effectively side-lining those who opposed it.<sup>3</sup> School promoters, such as Egerton Ryerson, believed that state education would ultimately bridge the gap between the poor and the elite and although it did not act as an equalizer, it would ensure that both groups embraced the same values and ideologies.<sup>4</sup> Susan Houston has demonstrated that similar citizenship links were made in regard to juvenile delinquency as it was believed by social reformers that educating poor children would make them loyal and likely to follow the rules of the state and society, thereby increasing public safety by lowering incidences of juvenile crime.<sup>5</sup> Without doubt, education was seen as a powerful tool in shaping the country's future citizens. Over time, citizenship messages and the means to convey such messages evolved and became fully integrated into the curriculum.<sup>6</sup>

One thread of the citizenship messages focussed on "good" health and the importance of inculcating "healthy" habits of both the physical body and the students home and school environment.<sup>7</sup> "Disability" was inferred as the antithesis of a "healthy" body. This description was less explicitly stated than the use of the word "disability" might imply when questions of "good" health as a duty became the pedagogical focus. One way this tendency manifested itself was through a health and hygiene curriculum, and the physical education curriculum. By 1892 physical education became a mandatory part of the curriculum, underlying the presumed "protective" nature against impending mental, moral and physical disease with the added benefit of instilling discipline, self-control and patriotism.<sup>8</sup> "Good" health was important for all students, yet it was achieved in particularly gendered ways. Nancy Francis and Anna Lathrop have argue that the first wave of physical education was, "characterized by a sex-specific physical education curriculum characterized by drill and calisthenics for the purpose of

discipline, disease prevention and military preparedness.”<sup>9</sup> In particular, boys were to achieve masculine traits such as sportsmanship and self-reliance through a physical education program. The girl’s curriculum focused on light calisthenics, games, songs and exercises to improve posture and grace- distinctly feminine traits.<sup>10</sup>

Questions of “good” health were closely tied to ideas about work. In a rapidly industrializing age questions of disability were particularly acute as citizens moved from agricultural and individual employments to industrialized work. Those who were deemed “disabled” were perceived to be unproductive and unable to work in an industrialized setting.<sup>11</sup> In his examination of industrial workers and fraternal societies in Ontario, Dustin Galer notes that the able body was apt to become disabled at any moment given the precarious and often dangerous nature of industrial work. In an effort to protect themselves working class men sought to establish fraternal societies to insure against the potential of accidents that would leave them disabled. However, Galer notes that those with pre-existing disabilities, including the d/Deaf, were excluded from admission as they were considered a “drain on resources” due to their inability to find employment.<sup>12</sup> Galer goes on to argue,

...the presumption that people with physical impairments were unproductive and a drain on resources derived from broader social attitudes and responses to disability that excluded disabled bodies from paid employment and substantive participation in social institutions.<sup>13</sup>

Again we see how the notion of disability was inextricably tied to one’s ability to be self sufficient. Countering this perception required increased effort by those associated with the OIED, to “protect” against this perception by educating future workers and proving to a hearing society the d/Deaf adult’s worth as capable workers.

The d/Deaf, according to reformers of the period, were made up of two groups: those who were born congenitally d/Deaf and those who lost their hearing later in life. During the late

nineteenth and early twentieth century it was not uncommon for people to lose their hearing due to complications from an illness. Many nineteenth century parents watched their children lose their hearing, sight or even life to complications from what we today consider simple childhood illnesses such as measles, mumps or influenza. Beginning with the OIED's *Eleventh Annual Report* for the 1880-1881 school year, records were kept identifying each student's cause of d/Deafness. While some were born congenitally d/Deaf a larger number were reported as rendered d/Deaf after suffering childhood illnesses such as: colds, cholera, fever, inflammation of the brain, shocks, teething, and whooping cough.<sup>14</sup>

The OIED, the first publically and organized funded d/Deaf institution in Ontario, had deep roots in the province and a lengthy interest in the possibility of establishing state funded and regulated institutions of education for the d/Deaf students. In 1793, an Act of the Upper Canada Legislature authorized town wardens to collect statistics on those "which were thought to be associated with dependency."<sup>15</sup> That d/Deaf citizens were included in this grouping reinforces early perceptions of d/Deafness as falling under the umbrella of disability at a time when disability was equated with dependency on one's family, friends or the state and ran counter to ideas about "good" citizenship.<sup>16</sup>

On January 10, 1838 in response to a petition from 300 Upper Canadian residents of the Eastern District, a Select Committee of the Upper Canadian Legislature was appointed to take into consideration the establishment of an asylum to care and educate the d/Deaf.<sup>17</sup> A second petition from 107 citizens of the same district was read in the Upper Canadian House of Assembly on December 19, 1839, but was defeated a few months later.<sup>18</sup>

According to the 1851 census there were 478 d/Deaf people in Upper Canada.<sup>19</sup> Because there was no system of d/Deaf education in Upper Canada, it was common for wealthy families

during first half of the 1800s to send their d/Deaf children to be educated in the United States.<sup>20</sup> The September 16, 1854 edition of *The Daily Globe*, for instance, included a popular advertisement for the American Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb encouraging Canadian parents to inquire about their d/Deaf children's educational opportunities.<sup>21</sup> As previously noted, American Deaf schools had been operating and were highly organized by the mid-nineteenth century. These schools were Canadian parents' only avenues to secure an education for their d/Deaf children but the cost of such an education was out of the realm of possibility for most people.

Although a school did not exist at this time in Ontario there was significant interest in d/Deaf education particularly because it was recognized, by social reformers interested in the d/Deaf, that only a select few had the financial means to educate their d/Deaf children at established American schools. For example, a series of letters by concerned citizens appeared in *The Daily Globe*, as well as other newspapers of the time, calling for some attention to be paid to the education of the d/Deaf. On March 23, 1857 a letter was published admonishing the government for their neglect of setting up a system of care and education for what the writer called an "unfortunate class," suggesting that the legislature must be petitioned regarding this issue.<sup>22</sup> Similar letters and petitions appeared throughout the year and by 1858 the thrust for establishing a system of d/Deaf education was underway.

John B. McGann has been identified by government officials, d/Deaf reformers of the period, and contemporary d/Deaf historians, as the pioneer of d/Deaf education in the province.<sup>23</sup> McGann, a hearing man, emigrated from Ireland to New York in 1854 and worked briefly as a writing clerk at the New York Institution for the Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb.<sup>24</sup> A year later he moved to Toronto and he taught at the Toronto Grammar School. One day while

walking in Toronto he stopped a young d/Deaf boy from throwing a brick at a young girl. This experience led him to consider how d/Deaf children were educated, if at all, and “trained” in the province.<sup>25</sup> After learning that little in the way of education existed for these children, short of sending them south to the United States, McGann began to mobilize a system of education for the d/Deaf. Like J.J. Kelso, who has been credited with promoting the Children’s Aid Society in Ontario,<sup>26</sup> McGann was viewed, both by his contemporary social reformers and much of the historical literature as a crusader for the province’s d/Deaf children.<sup>27</sup>

In the spring of 1858, McGann gathered together a group of prominent Toronto citizens and established *The Society for the Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb and of the Blind*.<sup>28</sup> The society founded the Upper Canada Institution for the Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb [sic] which was better known as the Toronto Institution for the Deaf and Dumb [sic].<sup>29</sup> McGann was appointed headmaster and the first class opened June 22, 1858 in a spare classroom at the Phoebe Street public school in Toronto. Four students enrolled the first day and by October 1858 nineteen students were enrolled.<sup>30</sup> After two years, enrolment grew so rapidly that new space was needed and the school was moved to an old boys’ boarding school on Queen Street West on May 1, 1860.<sup>31</sup> A basic academic education was offered as well as instruction in communication skills such as manually spelling the alphabet on the fingers and sign language. McGann took private sign language lessons from a d/Deaf woman in Toronto, who had been educated at the New York School, so as to better communicate with his students. He did not, however, endorse the exclusive use of sign language in the school, preferring to focus on speech reading, finger spelling and written English, known as the Combined Method of Instruction, as many of the American Institutions of the time did.<sup>32</sup> This pedagogical approach would ultimately influence

the curriculum at the OIED. The Toronto school was eventually moved to Hamilton in 1864 where it continued until July 1870 and was replaced by the OIED at the Belleville site.<sup>33</sup>

To raise funds for the school and raise interest in d/Deaf education, the pupils' work and the students were exposed to public demonstrations of sign language and basic academic skills across the province.<sup>34</sup> Annual public examinations of public school students were common during the period reflecting the pedagogy that oral cultivation of skills and the written word were equally important for hearing students.<sup>35</sup> At these public examinations, d/Deaf students were on display as examples of how they benefited from an education. These visible and dramatic displays of the "good" that could be achieved with a group that was previously thought to be of low intelligence sought to prove to the public and the state that establishing a publicly funded school for the d/Deaf would be money well spent. The risks of not establishing such a school, as was argued by reformers and d/Deaf "experts", included the possibility of immorality, lawlessness and financial dependency on the state. Money was raised through these public exhibitions and accepted from a variety of groups including collections raised by various public schools.<sup>36</sup> That the hearing school children of the province were encouraged to collect money for their d/Deaf counterparts highlights the ongoing campaign to reinvent "deafness" as a salvageable "disability" as part of a broader citizenship project.

The ultimate success was ensured in 1867 when Rev. Dr. Egerton Ryerson, Minister of Education in Upper Canada, threw his support behind the establishment of a state-funded school for the d/Deaf. Ryerson had travelled to the United States and Europe and studied the differing pedagogical approaches upon which schools were structured and operated. His report detailed to the government how a d/Deaf school should be run and he enthusiastically supported the

establishment of such a school in Ontario.<sup>37</sup> Subsequent legislation put in motion the establishment of the OIED.

### The Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf

The OIED officially opened October 20, 1870, on eighty six acres of land outside of Belleville.<sup>38</sup> It was open to all Ontario children, free from contagious disease, between the ages of seven and nineteen.<sup>39</sup> The original course of study was not to exceed seven years and consisted of teaching the d/Deaf to communicate through finger spelling, sign language and oral articulation in conjunction with an academic and industrial training curriculum. The school operated as a residential institution where children generally remained on site from September to June. Although the OIED was a nondenominational institution, it observed a strong Christian structure similar to that of the public school.

Initially, the OIED did not fall under the jurisdiction of the provincial department of Education, but under the office of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities. This association is incongruent with the OIED administration's intention to be considered a school rather than asylum, hospital or charity. The negative connotations associated with "asylum" or "charity" ran counter to the reconstruction of d/Deafness which sought to highlight the d/Deaf person's intelligence, morality and self-sufficiency. This association is something school administrators fought against over the years in their effort to fashion the d/Deaf into "good" citizens.

From the outset, the attendance at the OIED remained high. Appendix A indicates that for the first three decades, boys made up the larger part of the population, but by 1904, a larger number of girls attended the school. Whether this fluctuation was due to the OIED falling under

the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education is unknown, however, I suspect that this new “title” further legitimized the OIED as an educational institution in the eyes of parents.

While it is not my intention to provide a “great man” approach to studying the administration of the OIED, those who led the school during this period had a significant impact on school initiatives. Throughout the research that follows, I refer to each of the three administrators who made both logistical and pedagogical decisions that ultimately impacted the d/Deaf student experience. What follows is a brief introduction to each of the administrators, term of administration, background experience and key initiatives achieved under their administration.

Wesley Palmer:

Despite Egerton Ryerson’s suggestion that Ontario look to the American system to set up and staff the new school,<sup>40</sup> the government offered J.B. McGann the Principalship who instead chose to join the teaching staff. He turned down the offer, citing his advancing age, and put forth one of the teachers at his school and his son-in-law, William Terrill. In a strange turn of events, on the very same day that Terrill’s job was confirmed he died.<sup>41</sup> Rather than accept McGann’s suggestion of another one of his teachers as leader of the new school, the government deferred to Ryerson’s suggestion to look south, to the United States, in setting up an administration to oversee provincially funded d/Deaf education in Ontario.

The school’s first Principal was Dr. Wesley Jones Palmer, an American doctor with experience in d/Deaf education.<sup>42</sup> Palmer had been a teacher, Vice-Principal and Principal of the North Carolina Institution for the Deaf, Dumb [sic] and the Blind before taking on the Principalship at the OIED.<sup>43</sup> Drawing on his experience in American schools, Palmer organized

the OIED according to American standards. This approach included replacing the two handed British model of the finger alphabet, used in McGann's school, with the one handed American version and introducing what is now known as American Sign Language (ASL) to the school.<sup>44</sup> In an effort to bring all teachers on board, he held weekly sign language meetings.<sup>45</sup> As attendance grew he also hired a number of new teachers, the majority of whom were American.

Modelling the OIED after the American d/Deaf school experience meant that Palmer encouraged the development of a trades program, beginning with carpentry and farming and eventually adding shoe making and baking.<sup>46</sup> Although the Inspector of Prisons and Charities, J.W. Langmuir, acknowledged that Palmer was tasked with the difficulty of setting up the organization, there was increasing concern from Langmuir and some public school examiners by the mid 1870s that the academic portion of the OIED program could be improved. In particular, classifying students for appropriate classes and bringing the existing OIED academic curriculum closer to that being used in the Public Schools of Ontario, were key concerns.<sup>47</sup>

Some secondary sources report that Palmer resigned due to a drinking problem.<sup>48</sup> Peter Cowden's 1990 doctoral thesis, however, points to a different reason. Cowden identifies that McGann and "his" teachers (including his son-in-law and daughter) disagreed with Palmer. In fact, the Palmer years for the teaching staff were ones of increased tension as McGann became resentful of the "American" approaches to teaching the d/Deaf which had replaced "his" method which had been aligned with the British approach, particularly in terms of the two handed finger alphabet. Allegations by McGann and his supporters of Palmer's drinking, and excessive force against a particular student prompted an investigation. Cowden demonstrates that the investigation into the claims included testimony by many of the teaching staff, who did not support the idea that he was "a drunk".<sup>49</sup>

Palmer served as an administrator of the OIED during the pivotal first seven years. As a general rule, the annual reports to the government by the Inspector of Prisons and Asylums, J. Langmuir, were favourable during his tenure. Palmer officially resigned on September 13, 1878.<sup>50</sup> His role as Principal was a difficult one as he sought to establish authority over the newly state run institution that had evolved, for the most part, from its deep roots as a private school.

### Robert Mathison

On the same day that Palmer resigned, Robert Mathison, a Canadian whose previous work included journalism and several administrative positions both at provincial prisons and insane asylums, was appointed as the head administrator of the OIED.<sup>51</sup> He was not experienced in working with the d/Deaf, education or children but had a reputation of “good” management of state institutions and became, according to the government, firmly committed to the OIED.<sup>52</sup> Rather than taking on the title of Principal, Mathison was conferred the title of Superintendent<sup>53</sup>- a reflection of his role as a manager and an interesting choice given the OIED’s desire to be viewed as an educational institution rather than as an asylum. The annual reports to the government indicate high praise for Mathison’s style of management. In 1880, Inspector Langmuir claimed that, “Under the direction and control of the new Superintendent, the management and discipline of the institution had been vastly improved, and every branch of work appeared to be carried on in a very systematic and methodical way.”<sup>54</sup> Mathison overhauled the structure of the literary department to make it resemble the public school model and sought to standardize the curriculum to include setting a list of textbooks that were used by all teachers.<sup>55</sup>

During Mathison's first year, from 1878 to 1879, he conducted a complete reorganization of the student classification procedure and implemented a standardized curriculum which fell closer in line with what was being taught in the province's public schools.<sup>56</sup> Although Palmer had made steps to implement a better classification system of student ability, Mathison believed it was his duty, as the incoming "leader" of the school, to overhaul the system.<sup>57</sup> His ability to manage the school earned him high praise as a good leader or manager. Recognizing that he did not have a background or expertise in d/Deaf education he consulted with the most experienced teachers at the OIED, as well as writing several letters to principals from American schools, to seek advice.<sup>58</sup> He used the last set of exam papers, from June 1878, as a way to classify the children and create classes consisting of one division for each teacher; in effect, he was patterning the classes after the graded system found in the public schools as well as d/Deaf institutions in the United States.<sup>59</sup> Mathison, in conjunction with the OIED teachers, succeeded in setting a curriculum that itemized outcomes for promotion and compiled a standardized list of textbooks from which to teach.<sup>60</sup>

Mathison remained steadfastly committed to the combined system during his tenure and carried on what Palmer had begun including the use of sign language. He was an active participant in associations regarding d/Deaf education, received an honorary Masters degree from National Deaf-Mute College in Washington in 1893<sup>61</sup> and was elected Vice-President of the Association of American Instructors of the Deaf and Dumb [sic] in 1898.<sup>62</sup>

Mathison's tenure is also marked by a continued extension of the trades curriculum, the establishment of a print shop in 1892 and the bimonthly publication of the school newspaper, *The Canadian Mute*.<sup>63</sup> Extending the academic and the trades curriculum culminated in the school being transferred from the jurisdiction of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities to

the Ministry of Education, in 1904.<sup>64</sup> Mathison's resignation, in November of 1906, came as a surprise to all associated with the institution and ended more than two decades at the helm of OIED administration.<sup>65</sup>

Dr. Coughlin:

The same day that Mathison left the OIED, his successor, Dr. Charles Bernard Coughlin, arrived to take over the superintendency.<sup>66</sup> A hearing medical doctor with no prior experience in d/Deaf education,<sup>67</sup> Coughlin's administration, from 1906 to 1914, was marked by several key events. Arriving in mid-November, the following January he had organized three oral classes.<sup>68</sup> By the following September, he had restructured the school into two departments: the oral (exclusive use of lip reading and spoken/written English) and the manual (sign language and written English).<sup>69</sup> He also began the practice of limiting the hiring of d/Deaf teachers in the academic classrooms as the school moved increasingly to an oralist agenda.<sup>70</sup>

Outside of the classrooms, Coughlin's administration successfully altered the image of d/Deaf students and alumni. The OIED was renamed the Ontario School for the Deaf in 1913<sup>71</sup> and finally, at least in name, represented itself as a school and not as an "asylum". Much as Palmer and Mathison had wanted to promote the school, Coughlin achieved greater success in gaining recognition among parents, churches and municipal leaders. In addition to other printed material, the *Handbook of Information* (1912) was widely distributed by Coughlin during this period and was the means by which most people of the province learned about the OIED.<sup>72</sup>

Although their backgrounds and leadership style differed, Palmer, Mathison and Coughlin were united in their goal to reconstruct the d/Deaf student body into “good” citizens which was exemplified, in part, by the students’ ability to earn a living.

### The Long Road to Compulsory d/Deaf Schooling

The *1871 School Act* required Ontario students to attend school between the ages of seven and twelve for at least four months of the year.<sup>73</sup> Similarly, “problem” populations such as juvenile delinquents or aboriginal students were also compelled to attend “educational” institutions through a series of paternalistic “best interest” policies and legislations. However, in the case of d/Deaf children, it was not mandatory to attend the OIED until several decades past the original compulsory schooling act in 1871. In fact, it was not until the *Truancy Act* was amended in 1913 that d/Deaf children, between 8 and 14, were required to be educated at school.<sup>74</sup> Thus, prior to 1913, the OIED administration was faced with the daunting task of convincing parents to send their children to a residential school, often very far from home, for the better part of the year. The “new” d/Deaf citizenship project which was aimed at the d/Deaf child population, became a crucial selling point for the administration to convince parents to relinquish their children to the care of the OIED. The d/Deaf, as the newly proclaimed “experts” argued, were in need of protection due in great part to their natural ignorance of moral and civic rules.<sup>75</sup> Arguing for the idea of compulsory schooling in his first report to the government as the inspector overseeing the OIED, Langmuir claims,

If the principle [compulsory education] holds good in respect to ordinary speaking and hearing children, as the Legislature by its Act of last Session has decided that it does, with how much greater force does it apply to deaf mutes who, in their normal condition of ignorance, are not only unable to communicate with the world at large, but are both morally and civilly irresponsible beings?<sup>76</sup>

Langmuir makes clear that without a specialized education, like that at the OIED, society at large would be at risk from an “uneducated” and therefore dangerous and risky constituency of society.

In the absence of compulsory school legislation for the d/Deaf population, the school faced obstacles in compelling parents to send their children. Once at the OIED, the administration often struggled against parental prerogative to remove their child during the school year or to not allow a child to complete his/her full term of study.

From the beginning, the OIED sought out new students by launching public relations campaigns which extolled the benefits of an OIED education. An undercurrent of fear both morally and financially, for the d/Deaf and larger society of d/Deaf children reminded parents of the risks and formed an important aspect of the first phase of d/Deaf citizenship, the “new” d/Deaf citizen.

Within the first year of his mandate, Palmer composed a circular letter encouraging ministers of several religious denominations, editors of newspapers, members of the Provincial Legislature, wardens and clerks of counties and other persons he believed would be concerned to forward to him the name of d/Deaf children who would benefit from an OIED education:<sup>77</sup>

Having been appointed Principal, I desire to inform myself, fully, as to the number of this unfortunate class in the Province, of a suitable age to enter school, that the necessary steps may be taken to secure their admission into the Institution...In remote sections of the Province many deaf and dumb persons grow up in total ignorance, simply because their parents or friends are either unaware of the advantages of instruction, or because they are unwilling to dispense with their labour during the period in which they could acquire an education. Sometimes they are influenced by a foolish and prevalent notion that their unfortunate offspring will not be properly cared for if sent to the Institution. Many of the parents, also, of this class are poor, and know little or nothing of the provision which has been made for the instruction of their children. It is, therefore, important that special effort be made to secure the admission into the Institution of every one of these unfortunate persons.<sup>78</sup>

This letter was copied by a number of editors of main newspapers and received wide readership.<sup>79</sup> The writing campaign sought to educate parents about the opportunity available at the OIED and urged families to “surrender” their children. Much like parents of “delinquents” were encouraged to enrol their children to the industrial schools for the good of the child, and the nation, d/Deaf parents were asked to think beyond their parental desire to keep their children at home. Palmer’s campaign also worked on another level to communicate with the general public about d/Deafness generally and to dispel ideas about d/Deaf people as unintelligent and unable to contribute to society. The idea that education was a legitimizing force in normalizing citizens was critical for the school to maintain funding and played an important role in both phases of (re)constructed d/Deaf citizenship.

Although the letter writing shaped public perceptions of the abilities of d/Deaf children, public displays of the students’ accomplishments served a more dramatic function. During this time, public performances in which a students’ knowledge was showcased, was common.<sup>80</sup> Like the public examinations put on by *The Society for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb* in previous years, the OIED saw the opportunity to publicly display the “achievements” of d/Deaf education. As a case in point, during the 1871 to 1872 session, Palmer invited “...all organizations composed of delegates from various parts of the Province, who have held their annual meetings in Belleville, to visit the Institution and witness our method of instruction.”<sup>81</sup> Every year the annual report to the government published the names of those “prominent citizens” who visited the institution. While a portion of this carefully orchestrated “display” included classes in sign language, these “performances” were especially interesting to those who had no previous knowledge of d/Deaf education. The value of the “performances” was for the public to witness the benefit of an education. It had the added benefit of highlighting these

children as “normal”, but for a lack of hearing, when dealing with questions of disability, difference is a key component. Perhaps viewing d/Deaf children’s ability to answer the same types of questions that public school students answered made the OIED students appear less “disabled”.

Disability scholar Rosemarie Garland-Thomson argues that the, “...history of disabled people in the world is in part the history of being on display. Of being visually conspicuous while being politically and socially erased.”<sup>82</sup> The notion of being “on display” and performing both their d/Deafness, gender and citizenship is a theme that will be taken up in subsequent chapters. As we can see, performances of many kinds, had deep roots for the d/Deaf of the province. In addition to inviting people to the school to see the students’ progress, the students travelled across the province visiting other schools to perform.<sup>83</sup> Again, the goal was to convince Ontario tax payers to demand compulsory education or at least agree to support students’ education via municipal funds.

Visitations by members of the OIED administration was also an approach taken to recruiting potential students. By the 1878 to 1879 school year Palmer and the school’s Bursar, Mr. Christie, at the request of Inspector Langmuir,<sup>84</sup> spent their summer visiting counties across the province, “...for the purpose of discovering deaf-mutes [sic] who had hitherto been neglected, and also visiting former pupils who had left the Institution before the completion of their course.”<sup>85</sup> Rounds of visitations proved to be useful because they spoke with families and discussed any problems and arrived at solutions. This speaking tour also allowed them to identify, track and follow up with d/Deaf Ontarians. In his notes, for example, Palmer observed that there were some families who had not enrolled their children in the institution because they believed it to be a Protestant school.<sup>86</sup> These visitations also allowed for a pre-screening of

potential students, as indicated by Mr. Christie in describing a d/Deaf girl whom he deemed too “idiotic” to enrol and another d/Deaf person who exceeded the age of admission. Finally, these visits, it was believed by the administration, conquered the “ignorance” in outlying districts regarding the benefits of d/Deaf education.<sup>87</sup> Christie also noted that during their travels they had learned about another d/Deaf person whom they could not “find”. They left the paper and applications with the family’s neighbours and contacted the municipality to let them know of his existence or location.<sup>88</sup> The notion that perhaps this d/Deaf person did not want to be “found” was not questioned and serves to remind us about the degree to which the d/Deaf were tracked before, during, and after their OIED education.

Throughout the campaign for compulsory schooling, the administration had to walk a fine line between espousing their best interest policy entrenching themselves as “experts” while not offending parental privilege or interfering into the “private” sphere. As Coughlin noted, in his annual report in 1908,

While not wishing to belittle the strength and fervour of parental affection, or to invade the proper sphere of parental authority, yet I respectfully submit that... these considerations [compulsory education] should give place to that which is conducive to the welfare of the child and to the best interests of the community.<sup>89</sup>

Until d/Deaf parents were compelled to educate their children, the OIED administration’s (re)construction of d/Deafness was, at the core, dependent on parental decisions about sending their child to the OIED, or not.

The OIED often pointed to what they perceived as the moral failings of parents when they did not comply with the school’s wishes in regards to children’s attendance. Much like parents of “delinquent” children were perceived to be a large part of the problem, the child saving “best interest” philosophy of the cast the net wide.<sup>90</sup> In the third annual report Inspector Langmuir observes, “...it is sad to think that any of those children for whose special benefit this

Institution was established, should be deprived of the education so generously provided by the Government, and by cruel neglect of parents who do not appreciate the advantages offered”.<sup>91</sup> In this respect, not sending one’s children to the OIED was an act of “bad” citizenship as alluded to by Palmer in the fourth annual report:

Now, this is unjust, first, to the Government which has made such ample provision for their education, secondly, to the Institution, as they leave before their education has been fairly commenced, and thirdly, to the pupils themselves, who are unjustly denied their only means of obtaining an education.<sup>92</sup>

The OIED asked families to relinquish control for the “best interests” of their children and the country, thereby casting itself in a benevolent paternal role. Parents who did not comply, were seen as selfish and unpatriotic. Veronica Strong-Boag notes that not all parents shared the view of medical and social experts who viewed d/Deaf children as a burden and a risk arguing these disabilities may have been, “...incorporated within domestic economies on farms or in homes.”<sup>93</sup> The notion that some parents were cast as selfish or ignorant as to their own child’s “best interests” must have been offensive to many. Chastising parents also expanded the disability stigma casting a shadow of “good” versus “bad” citizenship onto broader familial arrangements. The role of the state in ensuring that all d/Deaf children in the province received an education was a constant theme in the school annual reports. In the first annual report to the government, Inspector Langmuir states, “...from all I can learn there are certainly no less than 250 deaf mutes in the Province, who should now be under instruction in this Institution which has been established for that purpose.”<sup>94</sup> While the OIED administration and provincial government adopted a paternalistic “for the best” approach parents who did not wish to enrol their children in school were depicted as selfish. The desire of the provincial government to shape and educate a

d/Deaf population in an image of “good” citizenship constantly confronted the reality of parental control their children’s education and future.

Tracking d/Deaf children and parents who refused to accept the offer of education at the OIED became an important theme in the rhetoric surrounding d/Deaf education during the late nineteenth century. Not only could the OIED administration and d/Deaf reformers not legally compel parents to send their children to the OIED, but parents of d/Deaf students routinely removed their children mid-term or, worse according to the OIED administration, they did not enrol their children for the full seven year period of study.<sup>95</sup> The “problem” became one of how to monitor d/Deaf citizens outside the reach of the OIED. Palmer, in the 1871 to 1872 annual report opined, “...after the close of the present term pupils be admitted only at the commencement and middle of the term; and that pupils who are absent will lose their place in their class. Such regulation will, I think, insure greater regularity”.<sup>96</sup> The presumption was that parents would value the OIED education as much as the OIED administrators did and would not risk losing their child’s place – this turned out not to be the case as most years the reports lament the lack of control over parents who withdrew their children midterm. The annual reports allude to the fact that the majority of the students in attendance were from rural farming areas.<sup>97</sup> For children from rural areas, who attended the OIED, this decision created difficulties, given that their labour was needed at home. John Bullen’s work demonstrates that the family economy in Ontario has demonstrated the degree to which families relied on the labour of family members – on and off the farm.<sup>98</sup> By limiting the periods when children could begin an education, the OIED may have shut out children in the process, particularly older boys whose work was essential to family farming operations.

When parents chose to keep their children home from the OIED, the students' absence was routinely referred to on the school register as absent for "unsatisfactory reasons".<sup>99</sup> This response suggests that the school believed they were in a better position to decide what was a "good" reason rather than the parent. The presumption that parents kept their children at home to help with labour or because of their own perceived ignorance of the institution's benefits,<sup>100</sup> suggests that these mostly rural families lacked an unawareness of the benefits of "scientific" modern childhood. Given the difficulty and expense of long distance travel, visits with children from families were rare. Thus, while the school's position on child rearing may have been declared "scientific", it failed to be sympathetic to both the plight of children and their families. From a parental perspective, they may have seen the benefits of an education for their "disabled" children outweighing the struggle of leaving their children for the better part of 10 months.

The state's inability to compel all parents to send and keep their children at the OIED was a constant reminder of the lack of total control that the administration had over the d/Deaf population of students. As a case in point, when rumours of sickness at the OIED prevailed during the 1877 to 1878 school year, parents grew increasingly worried. When six pupils died of Typhoid, parents began to remove their children well before the OIED end of term and against the wishes of the OIED administration.<sup>101</sup> The administration was constantly reminded, prior to 1913, that it retained little control over a community it sought to shape. In the end, parental rights trumped school policy.

The amendments made to *The Truancy Act* in 1913 culminated decades of work on behalf of the administration to require all d/Deaf (and blind) children in the province be educated. The amendments, as Coughlin makes clear in his annual report, were more than simply legislating children to school, they were an important part of the reconstruction of d/Deafness: "The

Legislators of last session will not only more clearly define the character of the work of the school and the mental status of the deaf but will also make it impossible for us to have in our Province uneducated deaf people.”<sup>102</sup> As Coughlin opines, compelling d/Deaf children to attend school will dispel concerns about the mental capabilities of the d/Deaf, a significant component of the citizenship rhetoric under both phases of (re)constructed d/Deaf citizenship education at the OIED.

The act itself indicated that all children, eight to fourteen years of age, must attend his or her school in the district in which he/she resides unless he/she is unable to do so.<sup>103</sup> Section 4, subsection 2 states:

The fact that the child is blind or deaf and dumb shall not be deemed an unavoidable cause within the meaning of clause (b) of this section if the child is a fit subject for admission to the Ontario School for the Education and Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb, or the Ontario School for the Education and Instruction of the Blind.<sup>104</sup>

Clearly, the tide had turned: no longer were parents allowed to decide for themselves if their d/Deaf children would receive an education. If the OIED decided that the child was admissible, then he or she would be compelled to attend. In this way, the OIED ensured that Ontario’s d/Deaf children would become “good” citizens.

The OIED administration successfully carried out its campaign to inform parents, municipalities and the general public about the benefits of an OIED education on the students and society.<sup>105</sup> Through a consistent recruitment campaign rooted in a “best interests” philosophy that characterized “unwilling” parents as “selfish” and the municipal and provincial governments as generous and kind, a distinct notion of “good” d/Deaf citizenship began to emerge. This ideal constructed the “good” d/Deaf citizen as a moral, law abiding, intelligent,

hard working and self sufficient person. These citizenship qualities remained key under the “new” d/Deaf citizenship and “spoken” d/Deaf citizenship education at the OIED. Such citizenship qualities, however, were contingent on the child receiving an education as the OIED. Without it, both the d/Deaf person and society risked moral and social danger. “Unschooling” d/Deaf children would be laid at the parental doorstep.

### **CHAPTER THREE**

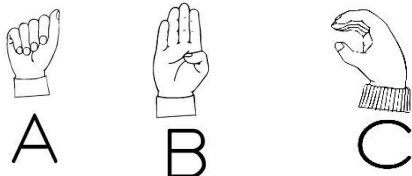
#### **“It were easier to keep a duck from swimming than a deaf child from signing”: The Evolving d/Deaf pedagogy at the OIED**

The above quotation was submitted by an OIED student to the “Pupils’ Locals” in November, 1899.<sup>1</sup> This child’s acknowledgement of the tensions surrounding his/her preference regarding the use of sign language signals the degree and complexity of the debate regarding the pedagogical approach to language acquisition and representation at the OIED. That someone was trying to limit a child’s use of sign language and that sign language was somehow “natural” to the d/Deaf were at the centre of this debate. These two important themes when coupled with ideas around citizenship, will be integrated throughout this chapter charting the pedagogical changes that took place at the OIED from 1870 to 1914. In addition, this chapter will highlight the role that language – particularly sign language and spoken English – played in contributing to the two phases of citizenship education at the OIED.

This chapter begins by briefly laying out the language debate as it appears in the secondary literature predominately in Canada and the United States. This overview is followed by an examination of how the combined system, as a pedagogical approach, was employed at the OIED from 1870 to 1906. In particular, this section will examine the role sign language played in school life at the OIED both within the classroom and in daily life. The third section begins with an examination of the implementation of oralism, the exclusive use of lip reading and written/spoken language from 1907 to 1914. The examination of oralism will also include an analysis of how, for a brief period, both systems of d/Deaf pedagogy – the combined system, specifically sign language, and oralism - worked in tandem. As we shall see, despite the introduction of oralism and the considerable forces called upon to endorse it as the sole method of teaching, sign language continued to act as a public representation or performance of d/Deaf

students at the OIED. The performances became a significant component in the second phase of citizenship education at the OIED – “spoken” d/Deaf citizenship – as a symbol of a shared national language. At the same time, these performances worked to identify the d/Deaf students as loyal, moral and intelligent as hearing children. In this chapter I argue that it was, in part, because of the school’s broader intentions to (re)construct an image of OIED students as “good” d/Deaf citizens with particular attributes of morality, intelligence, efficient work habits and therefore, as responsible future citizens, that the administration and the d/Deaf community fostered this dual pedagogical initiative. For this distinct slice of time the two phases of d/Deaf citizenship (re)construction - “new” d/Deaf citizenship and “spoken” d/Deaf citizenship, worked in tandem to prop up the traditional citizenship formula and pave the way for an extension of the “spoken” version of d/Deaf citizenship, in which spoken English became a central component.

Investigating changes to d/Deaf pedagogy involves a certain familiarity with terms that, in some cases, change depending on their historical context. Below is a chart with terms that will be used in this thesis when discussing d/Deaf pedagogy at the OIED.

Combined system	<p>Douglas Baynton notes that the definition of the combined system, “...varied widely and changed over time. In some cases it meant supplementing speech with fingerspelling but forbidding sign language; in others, speech alone was used in the classroom, with sign language permitted outside; in many cases it meant using speech with all young students and resorting later to sign language only with older ‘oral failures’.”<sup>2</sup></p> <p>For the OIED the combined system included finger spelling, sign language, oral articulation classes and written English.<sup>3</sup></p>
Manual alphabet	<p>The English language alphabet represented by positions of the hand. For example,<sup>4</sup></p> <div style="text-align: center;">  </div> <p>In North America, this was done on one hand. In Britain, it was called the “two-handed” alphabet as it was represented using both hands. The OIED employed the single handed North American method.</p>

Finger spelling	Spelling out of English Words using the manual alphabet to “spell” each individual letter of each word.
Sign language	This refers to American Sign Language (ASL). Baynton provides a definition that I find useful:  Sign language is, “...a language in which the shapes, positions, and movements of the hands are combined with complex uses of nonmanual signs, such as facial expressions and movements of the head and body, to create a variety of linguistic possibilities as diverse as the combinations of sounds used in oral languages. It is neither an invented nor a universal language but rather has evolved within a linguistic community, like any spoken language, over many years.” <sup>5</sup>
Oral articulation	This refers to speech training. At the OIED they encouraged oral articulation primarily for those students who had lost their hearing later in life and already knew how to speak. These students were classified as ‘semi-mutes’.
Manualism	A system supporting sign language. While the combined system was determined on an institutional basis and is a term used to describe a combination of approaches to teaching the d/Deaf to speak, manualism has specific political and ideological implications. Once oralism began to gain momentum manualism emerged as an oppositional movement and the essence of manualism supported sign language. <sup>6</sup> At the OIED, the school was divided in September of 1907 into two departments: the oral department and the manual department.

### **The “Debate”**

The combined system was contested by those who supported oralism primarily because of the use of sign language. Although originally seen as a gateway to reach the d/Deaf and a vehicle for disseminating the Christian faith, sign language, for some, became pathologized and deemed as “different”, “foreign” and therefore, “dangerous”.<sup>7</sup> During the winter of 1893, *The Canadian Mute* reprinted an article in which some of the associated body movements related to the use of sign language were criticized, “A good many deaf persons, who have a knowledge of signs, make extravagant and ridiculous use of their arms, hands and body to which they generally add facial grimaces that would frighten a Comache Indian.”<sup>8</sup> The “difference” associated with sign language was perceived as abnormal and frightening. While the struggles to maintain sign language in the classroom and even in daily life were an uphill battle, oralism continued to attract supporters and hence momentum in North America and abroad. As we shall see, the

OIED fell in line with the oralist turn early in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, although the transition was not as immediate as one might expect.

In the United States by the late 1860s, ideas about teaching students to speak - to supplant sign language - began to take hold. These oral-based ideas sparked what Baynton has identified as the second turning point in the history of the d/Deaf.<sup>9</sup> A tour of European schools by Horace Mann and Samuel Gridley, including Germany which used the oral method pioneered by Samuel Heinicke, demonstrated that some d/Deaf people could be taught to speak<sup>10</sup> and, therefore, the oral method was perceived as superior to the manual “signing” method.<sup>11</sup> Mann and Gridley promoted the benefits of the oral method alongside the perceived weakness of sign language. In addition, some hearing parents of d/Deaf children in the United States also lent their voices to the debate because they were concerned, “...that their deaf children acquire the graces and be able to speak and understand the speech of others in normal society, thinking it equally undesirable that they be able to converse with only other deaf individuals.”<sup>12</sup>

The combined system was heralded as reaching a greater number of students based on their varying needs than a “pure” system - such as a completely sign language-based pedagogy or a completely oral-based pedagogy. In this respect, citizenship messages were more readily available to reach the majority of students than in a “pure” system which would leave some students on the outskirts. The combined approach would allow each student to learn under the pedagogical approach most suited to their communication needs and capable of receiving the citizenship messages reinforcing intelligence, honesty, morality, a good work ethic and a Christian spirit.

### **“New” d/Deaf citizenship and the combined system, 1870-1906:**

The OIED opened under the combined system of instruction and remained under this pedagogical approach until oralism was introduced in 1907 under Dr. Coughlin. Superintendent Mathison was a vehement defender of the combined system, believing it served the greatest number of students because it could be altered to fit students’ individual needs.<sup>13</sup> While the ideas around language and pedagogy were increasingly scrutinized during the late nineteenth century at the OIED, the combined system remained heavily in use. *The Canadian Mute* editorial reported, in 1895, that the combined system of instruction was still dominant. Of the 82 schools in the United States, 61 were using the combined system.<sup>14</sup> A newspaper editorial from 1902 printed a tally of the d/Deaf schools in North America who employed the combined system of instruction; of the 64 schools, 54 were using the combined system.<sup>15</sup> The OIED pointed to examples such as these as a justification for their continued belief in this pedagogical approach. If success were being achieved at so many of these schools in Canada and the United States, the administration saw little reason to stray from the course.

### **English & Finger spelling at the OIED**

Despite the debates regarding the use of sign language over an oralist approach in the classroom, the cornerstone of d/Deaf education at the OIED was the English language. In a spring 1895 editorial entitled, “The Dominant Language”, English language was held up as the ultimate goal of d/Deaf education and the most important form of communication for the d/Deaf to learn. Sign language was acknowledged as playing a role in d/Deaf education and was considered the “natural” language of the d/Deaf. Thus, English language held the key to perceived d/Deaf “success” in joining the Canadian citizenry in the work force.<sup>16</sup>

To manually convey English words, the d/Deaf employed finger spelling using the manual alphabet, manually spelling each letter in a word on one's hand. From 1870 to 1906 using the manual alphabet was also called manualism at the OIED. The central role finger spelling played is reflected in the single handed alphabet reproduced in the first issue of *The Canadian Mute* and in many of the annual reports. The alphabet appears on a full page of the newspaper with each hand position visually depicted and identified with the corresponding letter (See Appendix B).<sup>17</sup> Unlike sign language, finger spelling was not questioned as a “good” classroom tool in the same way and continued to appear in the classroom, newspaper and annual reports well past the oralist turn.<sup>18</sup> A key reason for the longevity of the manual alphabet is likely because it was based on the English language alphabet. In addition to the alphabet being reprinted in related school documents, individual copies were printed in the print shop and distributed to visitors to the school among other interested parties as described in the Home News column during the winter of 1894:

Five thousand copies of the manual alphabet have been struck off in our printing office. It is printed on large sheets, and on the opposite side shows a cut of the Institution with a request from the Superintendent to forward the names of any deaf [sic] children in the receiver's locality. They will be widely scattered.<sup>19</sup>

The manual alphabet became a visual or printed representation of the d/Deaf person's relationship with English. With the manual alphabet on one side of the paper and an imposing visual of the OIED on the other, this visual calling card for d/Deaf education was a powerful recruitment tool. It highlighted the dual opportunities for d/Deaf children to receive an education and made the notion of “language” relatable to the hearing community. The presence of the manual alphabet was a linguistic link to the non-Deaf society. It was also a reminder that English was the dominant language. Had visual presentations of basic signs been included, the message would have been different. Printed representations of “English” connected the d/Deaf

to the “national” community. Signs would have served to highlight “foreignness” or “difference” isolating the d/Deaf from citizenship ideals on par with hearing and speaking citizens.<sup>20</sup> The manual alphabet, however, emphasized sameness in language and inferred sameness in ideology.

So important was the use of finger spelling that the d/Deaf as a group were given prescriptive instructions regarding the “proper” use of the manual alphabet. Frequent articles appeared in the school newspaper cautioning users to spell slowly and plainly.<sup>21</sup> Speed was a key technique to mastering the finger alphabet as demonstrated in the following excerpt from *The Canadian Mute*:

An exchange says that a good deaf-mute speller can spell words aggregating 260 letters in one minute, which is between 4 and 5 letters per second. We do not doubt that this can be done by an expert, but we do very much doubt if any one can read the fingers at that speed.<sup>22</sup>

Although it was clear that spelling too quickly, much like speaking too quickly, would detract from a clear train of thought, it gives weight to the idea that the d/Deaf were quick minded much like the changing technological workforce of the period. The idea that there was a proper way to finger spell lends credence to the notion that the manual alphabet was the link between the hearing and the d/Deaf. The OIED needed to ensure that their graduates could communicate with the hearing in society, particularly in the work force, if they were to be “good” self-sufficient citizens.

Finger spelling was an integral part of the d/Deaf language development and school life. In a piece of poetry by former student Mary Lynch she refers to finger spelling when remembering her school days, “How oft I spell with nimble fingers, The names of those the echoes wake.”<sup>23</sup> Similarly, the “Pupils’ Locals” during the winter of 1901 noted, “Little tots can spell,”<sup>24</sup> a comment, perhaps, that the acquisition of the manual alphabet was one of the first achievements

of d/Deaf education for the early years at school. A year later the “Locals” again highlighted the improvement of the youngest students characterized, in part, by their manual spelling: “Already the little tots show signs of improvement and content, spelling a few words and entering into all the joys as well as the duties of their new position.”<sup>25</sup> Citizenship skills began immediately at the OIED and were rooted in common language between the hearing and the d/Deaf.

The students’ use of the manual alphabet was important and integrated into each school day. The manual alphabet was typically used in reference to “official” work, particularly by the senior classes. The example below refers to Mr. Coleman’s senior class, during the spring of 1905, at the OIED,

The pupils in Mr. Coleman’s class have adopted a motto for the term, viz: “Stick to your work and finish it.” Each one spells it out every morning before the studies commence, so that it will be remembered through the day.<sup>26</sup>

The students of the class further explained this in the Pupils’ Locals as follows:

We frequently spell on our hands in our class, “Stick to your work and finish it.” This is what Mr. Mathison said a few months ago. This means the same as if you stick your stamps to your envelopes and they will not come off till they have carried the letter to its address.<sup>27</sup>

Dedication to studies was deemed “official” by spelling out a motto. It is interesting that the students did not write this motto but possibly the public recitation part was important motivation as well. Just as with the hearing children in the provinces’ public schools, it bears resemblance of a citizenship anthem that espoused their knowledge of the importance of diligence and hard work.

*The Canadian Mute* played an important role in linking the manual alphabet with those people closely linked to the d/Deaf students. The manual alphabet was reproduced to encourage others, particularly parents and siblings, to learn so they could converse with their d/Deaf family members. In addition to encouraging parents to use the manual alphabet to converse with d/Deaf

children while on summer vacation, the newspaper also provided advice to parents whose children had not yet entered school such as the following excerpt taken from the newspaper in March, 1892:

Teach the deaf child to use the hand alphabet. Let other members of the family learn to use it for the deaf child's sake. It will be a long step towards the beginning of an education if the child enters school at eight or nine years of age with his fingers practiced in the spelling of the simplest words.<sup>28</sup>

This excerpt again heightened the need for d/Deaf children to receive an education and also pointed to the notion of a shared common language – English. The idea of a common language meant that it was easier to import a citizenship-based education to the OIED and its students.

There was a strong desire on behalf of the OIED for the d/Deaf and the hearing to develop a relationship based on a common mode of communication – the manual alphabet. In an article in the school newspaper at the beginning of the 1902 school year, hearing people were encouraged to learn the manual alphabet to allow them to better communicate with the d/Deaf.<sup>29</sup>

Teacher Mary Bull commented on the hearing public's use of the manual alphabet that she observed during her summer holidays:

Miss Bull says that she was pleasingly surprised during the holidays to meet so many hearing people who could use the two-handed alphabet. This she thinks is an indication that the deaf are becoming better known and appreciated, and points to the time in the near future when the deaf and the hearing will be able to hold freer intercourse with each other.

It is interesting that the method that was most convenient for the hearing, the British two-handed alphabet, seemed to be acceptable in these situations. It was believed by d/Deaf reformers, educators and the d/Deaf elite that communication with the hearing and the d/Deaf was integral to the objective of creating “good” d/Deaf citizens. As a result, the most convenient method for

the hearing majority would work in any situation regardless of the fact that the OIED taught the American single-handed alphabet.

The best way to incorporate the manual alphabet into hearing society, the administration reasoned, was to have it printed in public school textbooks. A January 1, 1895 article in *The Canadian Mute* noted the hearing person's responsibility to communicate with the d/Deaf. If the government of Ontario went through the trouble to finance and promote a school for the d/Deaf, why would that same government not go one step further and ask the hearing to become familiar with the manual alphabet?<sup>30</sup> In the spring of 1900, *The Canadian Mute* reported that the state of Arkansas was seeking to have the manual alphabet in school textbooks. This initiative was praised and the paper lamented that the school was still trying to do the same in Ontario - but with little success.<sup>31</sup>

In the spring of 1897 the OIED was the recipient of a gift of cards with the manual alphabet printed on them, compliments of the Iowa School for the Deaf. Praise for this generous gift was high not only for their use in the classroom but also for the potential they held in "educating" the hearing, "...if widely distributed, will no doubt and very materially in bringing about that great desideratum – the acquisition of the manual alphabet by all hearing people."<sup>32</sup> An editorial from 1896 points to the practicality of the alphabet for the hearing, over and beyond communicating with the d/Deaf. It drew on the example of Robert Louis Stevens who, when he fell ill and temporarily lost the use of his voice, relied on the manual alphabet.<sup>33</sup>

The use of the manual alphabet and finger spelling was integrated at the OIED from the outset and persisted as a common feature of d/Deaf pedagogy well into the oral years. The notion that finger spelling was a literal translation of English words is an important one. English, despite the form it might take, was the dominant language. Finger spelling a word meant that

one had to “read” the individual letters, but these letters formed English language words. Signs, as we shall see, were not literal representations of English words but sought to express ideas. In this way, signs did not hold the English language as dominant, but the signs themselves became the language of communication – a language that the majority of the hearing world did not understand nor participate in. For the OIED, who sought to shape citizens as full participants in society, as “good” citizens, the idea that signs did not translate directly to English words was problematic. Citizenship under the OIED formula was based on a shared common language of English, not sign language.

#### Sign Language under the Combined System, 1870 to 1906

A key component of the combined system and the most contentious issue in d/Deaf pedagogical debates during the period was the use of sign language. Before an academic or trades curriculum could be considered, OIED teachers, both hearing and d/Deaf, first had to confront the communication “problem” and find a way to interact with students and teach the names of people and objects to develop a basis for learning reading and language. Sign language, was commonly used to ease this transition. Where finger spelling involved spelling out English words on one’s hand, such as D-O-G, the same word, “dog” would be represented by a sign. A key element of sign language was that it was quicker to use in conversation and less laborious than spelling out each letter of each word.

In regards to the combined system and sign language at the OIED I have identified three main themes that emerged from the school-related documents to justify the use of sign language during this early period. First was the insistence by Mathison’s administration that the combined system, including the use of sign language, was the best system for the greatest number of

students at the OIED. The second theme stems from the first and seeks to identify the ways in which sign language was used in the classrooms to elevate the intellectual potential of the students. The final theme underscores the OIED's point of view that sign language was the "natural" language of the d/Deaf and points to the performative nature of sign language and its role in contributing to the (re)construction of d/Deaf citizenship as "normal" healthy, intelligent children who would and could become reliable workers easily merging into a hearing workforce. These three themes point to the (re)construction of d/Deaf citizenship during the first phase, "new" d/Deaf citizenship. In this period, the d/Deaf were introduced as capable, via an OIED education, of "good" citizenship.

Perhaps because the combined system was an eclectic approach that encompassed several different methods, the discussion in related school documents was vigorous, pitting the combined system against any "pure" or exclusive system and marking the latter as folly and doomed to fail.<sup>34</sup> Early in the winter of 1894, an article in *The Canadian Mute* signals that, "...the institutions which attempt to use either the oral or manual system in all its purity, will soon be turned into lunatic asylums."<sup>35</sup> The reference to lunacy reflects the fine line that the OIED administration walked when constructing their version of the "good" d/Deaf citizen. Although the vision of the d/Deaf citizen that was being constructed was both sane and intelligent, the inference was clear – without an OIED's special training in the "best" pedagogical approach – lunacy was a threat. While d/Deafness was not deliberately linked to lunacy, ideas around disability were overshadowed by the threat nonetheless and certainly a "good" citizen was one who fully participated in civic life as an active citizen, who understood the laws and the intricacies of political exercises but who was self-sufficient and earned a wage. Linking a system based on one "pure" pedagogy, such as oralism with ideas of lunacy is significant. For a

school that sought to mitigate any association with ideas about mental inferiority and dangerousness, hinting at the idea that oralism was “dangerous” to the mental health of the d/Deaf would have made an impact on the citizenry as a whole. In this way, the OIED saw schools that championed a pedagogy based on sign language only, or an oral approach only, as inferior to the combined system.

The OIED’s position, during this period, was in keeping with the position of Edward M. Gallaudet, a leader in d/Deaf teaching and President of the National Deaf College in Washington (later Gallaudet College) who believed that any school adhering to one language to the exclusion of other methods would not be successful.<sup>36</sup> This belief, held by supporters of the combined system, was that it served the greatest number of pupils as it could be adapted to suit individual student needs. An 1895 editorial in the school newspaper protested against oralism and highlighted Gallaudet’s visit to the school board in which he spoke about the value of the combined system.<sup>37</sup> As the OIED inched toward the twentieth century, pressure mounted for the introduction of an oral approach. By 1897, the editorial, “President Gallaudet’s Mission,” surveyed the problems associated with promoting one pure approach. It echoed Gallaudet’s position that just because “speech” pleases parents does not mean it is the best method.<sup>38</sup> Having a hearing person, the President of a College no less, support the OIED’s stance against pure oralism granted legitimacy to the OIED’s administrative decision to stay the pedagogical course.

The school continued to identify the failings of oralism as a rationale to not implement it at the OIED. For example, a 1905 article, in the school newspaper, commented that it is odd that two teachers from a purely oral American school were recently called upon to interpret for a d/Deaf prisoner during his trial. The article first asks why these two hearing oral teachers were proficient in signs if sign language was not used at an oral school. The article then questioned

why the prisoner would need interpretation since he was a graduate of this particular oral school. They concluded that the oral system must not work well if he could only understand sign language.<sup>39</sup> The inference that he was poorly educated and turned to crime is also significant casting this person in a “bad” citizenship identity. In this way, the combined system was not only the “best” option for the OIED but also for d/Deaf citizenship and indeed, the country as a whole.

By rejecting pure oralism, prior to 1907, the OIED was explicitly defending the use of sign language. The OIED did not condone an exclusive use of sign language in the classroom where they believed that the acquisition of the English language was paramount. However, it was acknowledged by the administration and teachers that signs did have a place in d/Deaf education particularly in the younger grades.<sup>40</sup> Sign language, characterized by its ability to convey emotion, was thought necessary to teach the basic elements of language in a way that was not thought possible with finger spelling alone.<sup>41</sup> Therefore, sign language was often added to finger spelling in the classroom. Despite the desire for the English language to be the dominant language form, there was the very practical reason that finger spelling was time consuming, both for the “speller” and the “reader”.

Because the OIED was a residential school, sign language among teachers and students seeped into all aspects of the day particularly because a number of d/Deaf teachers, monitors and other staff interacted with the children daily. Part of the teaching duties at OIED included the task of taking a turn to entertain the students on Saturday evenings through lectures, stories, spelling contests and other games and amusements. These entertainments were most often given in signs because that was the language that most of the students understood and most easily and quickly conveyed. For example, in November of 1893 the paper reported that Miss Ada James

“gave” the girls a story about St. Elmo in sign language and she had made the signs “plain” and “elegant” so that even the smallest of the girls had understood it.<sup>42</sup> When Miss James took a leave for health reasons in 1895, the girls expressed their sadness, indicating that they would miss her and the beautiful stories she performed using sign language.<sup>43</sup> Teachers also often acted as interpreters for the students, translating the spoken word into sign language during speeches, church sermons or other special events.<sup>44</sup> Sign language, then, was the link in many ways to the hearing world. This was particularly important when imparting moral and patriotic themes. *The Canadian Mute* frequently reported that teachers provided entertainment in the chapel, typically with a strong moral or patriotic theme.<sup>45</sup> It was important that the teachers understood sign language and its pervasive use indicates how deeply rooted it was in developing d/Deaf culture.

Teachers who were not proficient in sign language were required to attend sign classes after regular school hours, as *The Canadian Mute* describes:

The sign class for teachers who are not proficient, meets three afternoons in the week after school under the charge of Mr. Balis. We are not yet ripe to obliterate the sign language from our school. We believe that judiciously used it is a power at the right time and place.<sup>46</sup>

Proficiency in sign language was necessary for teaching basic academic skills but also for supervising the students. As indicated in the Home News column of the school paper early in the winter of 1898, a teacher who had come from Britain, and used a different form of sign language, was starting to take his turn in the boys’ study hall. Although he was not yet proficient in Canadian signs, he was certainly improving and would soon be able to do chapel duty.<sup>47</sup> Similarly, several years later, the Pupils Locals’ reported that the new Matron, Miss Ross, could now sign.<sup>48</sup> Teachers were also judged by the students and reported in the Pupils’ Locals where students often expressed their approval that a particular teacher or attendant was improving in their use of sign language.<sup>49</sup> Students had become experts on their own language. Sign language

was so central to the smooth functioning of the school that even sign language-proficient domestic staff were sought as evident in the following “help wanted” advertisement appearing in a 1904 edition of *The Canadian Mute*,

There are one or two places vacant at the Institution here for good female attendants and help in the household work. The wages vary from \$11.00 to \$14.00 per month, according to the position. Preference will be given to relatives of deaf children – those who are able to communicate with the deaf. Send letters to our Matron.<sup>50</sup>

Sign language was deeply rooted in OIED life and the d/Deaf community beyond it. It was intertwined into every aspect of daily student life and in many ways respected, by students and staff, as the preferred mode of communication among the d/Deaf.

Sign Language as the “natural” language of the d/Deaf:

Another theme that reinforced the idea that the combined system was indeed the best pedagogical tool for the OIED was the idea that sign language was the “natural” language of the d/Deaf. Even before children attended residential schools and learned a more standardized form of sign language now known as American Sign Language (ASL), they frequently developed their own “gestures” to communicate with family members. Thus, sign language came to be understood as “natural” or even “God given”. The OIED administrations’ endorsement of this position is reflected in the following editorial from 1904, “The sign language is the natural language of the deaf, and absolutely essential if they are to get the greatest possible amount of happiness and satisfaction out of life.”<sup>51</sup> This excerpt, from a d/Deaf editor, draws attention to the idea of “happiness” and “satisfaction of life” as a civic right; it is a requirement for better-engaged citizens and dutiful workers.

Another important dimension of signing was spiritual. Although the purpose of education was evolving during this time, the Christian element of d/Deaf education remained strong. As reported in an editorial in 1904 from the school newspaper, “Through Education they [d/Deaf] learn about God, [an] important reason for sign language in the first place.”<sup>52</sup> In this regard, sign language was seen as a vital tool to provide the d/Deaf with a language that would introduce them to the “Glory of God”. When, in the fall of 1905, the Ontario Christian Endeavor conference was held in Belleville, a group of OIED girls provided a “beautiful” exhibition of sign language signing, hymns such as “Nearer my God to thee,” the “Coronation Hymn,” “Jesus, Tender Shepherd, Lead me” and the child’s evening prayer. The event was reported in an article in the school newspaper as follows:

The girls were all dressed in white, and, of course, all of them looked very sweet and attractive. Their rendition of the hymns was very graceful and expressive...Mr. Mathison spoke for a few minutes on the nature and scope of the work of educating the deaf, and closed by give [sic] everyone present a cordial invitation to visit the Institution...it is safe to say that no other feature of the Convention will remain so vividly in their memories as these hymns of praise and petition, ascending so silently yet so expressively to Him to whom the faintest motion is as acceptable and as audible as the spoken word.<sup>53</sup>

A common space or opportunity to perform was in church or church-related activities highlighting the girls’ commitment to Christianity and further reinforcing the citizenship ideal that OIED students were “good” child citizens. During this period, these performances frequently featured girls who were dressed in white – their “best” - as a visual symbol of femininity and purity, arranged in groups of “little” girls and “big” girls. The girls’ performance was, by no means a spontaneous one. Following rehearsals the “best” signers would have been picked to perform. Figure 1 provides an example of a group of “little” girls signing and reflects the idea of purity and sweetness that these performances were meant to convey. Not only are the little girls kneeling down with hands clasped in an obvious prayerful pose, but the accompanying

caption: “Little Deaf-Mute Girls Signing “Now I lay me Down to Sleep”, emphasizes the message – these are “good” Christian girls.



Figure 1. “Little Deaf-Mute Girls Signing ‘Now I Lay Me Down to Sleep,’ at the Institution.”  
*Thirty-Second Annual Report upon the Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, being for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September 1902, 27.*

d/Deaf cultural scholars have pointed to the inherent gendered implications associated with sign language. For female students, signing in a graceful manner was tied to their femininity, particularly through the signing of hymns. d/Deaf scholar, Jessica Lee, argues, “[g]irls earned praise for their dramatic and artistic expressions, efforts that emphasized physical beauty and form with signing ability.”<sup>54</sup> The idea that sign language had gendered implications, particularly for girls and women, inspired me to think about Judith Butler’s work on gender performativity. In her germinal work, she considers whether gender,

...operates as an interior essence that might be disclosed, an expectation that ends up producing the very phenomenon that it anticipates. In the first instance, then, the

performativity of gender revolves around this metalepsis, the way in which the anticipation of a gendered essence produces that which it posits as outside itself. Secondly, performativity is not a singular act, but a repetition and a ritual, which achieves its effects through its naturalization in the context of a body, understood, in part, as a culturally sustained temporal duration.<sup>55</sup>

Public performances of hymn signing “fit” the performance formula – the performances were repetitive events, the performances actively sought to highlight, through dress and action, feminine qualities of innocence, purity and morality, and the performances were put on for “others” but also worked to “naturalize” the body. These images relate to questions of gender but they also had distinct implications regarding the image of d/Deafness that the OIED sought to convey: innocence, gracefulness, morality – the constructed elements of “good” citizenship. In this way, sign language became a visual representation of one part of the construction of d/Deafness. Figure 2 reflects the notion of repetition well. These girls, signing “Nearer my God to Thee”, have been captured in the same moment of signing and the visual impact of this is both visually appealing and striking. This representation of femininity and Christianity both normalizes these d/Deaf students and emphasizes that they embodied the same goal as their hearing sisters – to be “good” Christian models in the home and society.



Figure 2. “Deaf-Mute Girls Signing ‘Nearer My God to Thee’ at the Institution”  
*Thirty-Second Annual Report upon the Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, being for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1902, 23.*

Understanding the role the combined system, specifically sign language, played at the OIED during this period was a useful way to explore ideas around language and citizenship in the early years of d/Deaf citizenship education at the OIED. During this period, sign language was not seen as a detractor from national citizenship but was used in the classroom and daily life, as a means to facilitate communication between the hearing and the d/Deaf and as a vehicle to engage in conversations about national citizenship. As we shall see, the role of sign language would take an increasingly diminished role in OIED life as the second phase of citizenship education, “spoken” citizenship began.

### **“Spoken” Citizenship and Oralism, 1907 to 1914**

The movement between sign language-based pedagogies and oralism has been characterized as a “battle”, “struggle” and “debate”, particularly in the secondary literature focussed on the development of d/Deaf education in the American context. Douglas Baynton’s

work, *Forbidden Signs*, identifies the implementation of oralism as a response to a fear of diversity and a misguided notion of progress, and the shift in pedagogies is characterized as a series of fights and struggles.<sup>56</sup> In the Canadian context, I do not disagree that there was a debate featuring struggle and strife among the competing groups. I assert that at the OIED the two systems, manualism and oralism, worked in tandem, from 1907 to the end of my study period in 1914, because they served two important functions within the school. Although the administration might not have envisioned these two systems working together forever, the “old” system of both d/Deaf pedagogy and d/Deaf citizenship remained to ease the transition and pave the way for oral language and lip reading to become a central citizenship tenet.

The arguments for a move towards oralism were reinforced by the way d/Deafness was problematized during the early period. Early hearing educators and administrators believed that to be d/Deaf was tragic, primarily because it isolated the individual from the broad Christian community.<sup>57</sup> According to those who supported the combined system, sign language was seen not only as a means to communicate with the hearing but also to engage with religion. While oralists argued that the d/Deaf could easily enjoy a religious sermon by lip reading, the majority of the d/Deaf and proponents of sign language argued that this was impossible. If sign language were not used in religious services, many proponents of sign language argued, then the d/Deaf would simply cease to attend and their moral integrity would be at stake. Since the citizenship framework relied heavily on the fear of losing the d/Deaf from religious services, this was deeply troubling. Mrs. Sylvia Balis, teacher at the OIED and a highly educated d/Deaf woman and lip reader, gave a speech in 1905, later reprinted in its entirety in the school newspaper. In her speech, she vehemently argued against the use of lip reading in chapel services.

I come here, not as a stranger, but as one who has lived thirty years among the deaf, and for more than thirty years I have been deaf. I wish to say that in all those years I

have seen but two men on a platform whom I could understand...I can sit and talk with Dr. Crouter or Mr. Thompson and enjoy the conversation, but when they come up here on the platform, I cannot understand a word: And those poor children! If I were compelled to go to church and watch a man on a platform open and shut his mouth, I should go crazy. Suppose you stop your ears and watch me go through the motions of speaking, how would you like to be compelled to do it? You, who can hear, cannot realize what it is.<sup>58</sup>

Mrs. Balis' remarks point to two crucial arguments in the school's overall approach to pedagogy.

First, those who were hearing were typically the ones who promoted the use of oralism to the exclusion of sign language. Second, if "natural" sign language were no longer to be used in religious services, then it would erode the Christian element of d/Deaf life, upon which constructions of "good" citizenship was built.

#### Oralism and Signing at OIED 1907 to 1914

AT OIED, after more than two decades at the helm, Mathison resigned on November 15, 1906 and was replaced by a physician, Dr. Coughlin, who gained respect, from government officials, as an "expert" through his medical qualifications despite having had no experience in education. Under his leadership, the school quickly moved towards an oralist agenda. It should be noted, however, that his appointment was not without protest. The President of the Ontario Deaf Mute Association, George W. Reeves, a former student at the school, expressed his concern over the appointment, as reported in *The Globe* in 1906:

I do not think it is a good appointment when we take all things concern the deaf into consideration. It think it is not a wise move on the part of the Whitney Government to place a man who has had no experience whatever in that line of work in charge of such an important public office....Surely we must take some action, and that at once, to wait on the Government to lay before them our grievances and to ask them to recognize our rights. This is a serious matter, as it will affect those of the deaf children attending the school and those who will attend in future years.<sup>59</sup>

What is significant is that the d/Deaf community, many of whom were educated at the OIED, mobilized an effort to protest his appointment – an act of citizenship and political “intelligence” that perhaps the school did not anticipate that the alumni would use against the administrative policies aimed at d/Deaf education.

Despite these objections, the appointment of Dr. Coughlin stood. The first oral classes were organized in January 1907 roughly six weeks after Coughlin took over administrative duties at the OIED.<sup>60</sup> In the fall of 1907 the new approach to d/Deaf education began with the school being divided into two departments: the oral and the manual. Students who began their education under the combined system continued in that “stream” while those who entered the school were evaluated and sorted into the manual (signing) stream or the oral stream.<sup>61</sup> Increasingly, the oral stream was reserved for the bright students, typically those who had lost their hearing in childhood rather than those who were born congenitally d/Deaf.

When Coughlin took over administrative duties in November of 1906, it was clear that he sought to integrate oralist pedagogies into the OIED curriculum. The spring of 1907 saw Coughlin visiting oral schools south of the border to learn about how these schools were structured, the equipment they used and ways to implement similar structures at the OIED.<sup>62</sup> In the fall of 1907, the school year began with a new structure. The school newspaper editor, George Stewart, proudly proclaimed:

Dr. Coughlin has gone very fully into the question of methods, and before school closed last term had resolved to introduce the oral system here to as large an extent as advisable in the best interests of the pupils. In the past there has been no oral teaching whatever done in this Institution. About thirty per cent of the pupils have been learning articulation, which means that they spent three-quarters of an hour every day in the articulation class and the rest of the time in the manual classes. By oral teaching is meant that pupils adapted to this kind of work are put in separate classes and taught entirely by means of speech and lip-reading, varied, of course, by writing. The first oral classes in this Institution was formed last January, and this session two more have been added, so that nearly forty pupils are now receiving their instruction in this way. Other

such classes will be formed as soon as possible in the future, so that, in due course, a majority of the pupils will be taught by this method. In the meantime the articulation work, as previously carried on, will be continued until such time as arrangements can be completed for entirely superseding it by true oral instruction.<sup>63</sup>

Despite the administrative shift, the move towards oralism was neither seamless nor immediate. Indeed, while Coughlin was determined to introduce oralism, signing did not disappear from the school classrooms or daily life. In this section, I focus on three themes to show how the two forms of pedagogy (signing and oralism) co-existed in separate spheres, serving different functions for learning. Underpinning these pedagogies I identify how the ideals of citizenship, particularly in regards to work, continued to be a driving force at the OIED.

Under Coughlin's administration, sign language, although not dismissed, was no longer featured in the newspaper and was no longer heralded as the "natural" language of the d/Deaf. Through dividing the academic department into two departments: the oral and the manual departments, Coughlin created two streams and by 1911, the Public School Examiner remarked that the school now operated as two schools under one management.<sup>64</sup> Under the oral system, all classroom instruction was delivered via speech and written English, with the students reading the teacher's lips and responding orally or with the written word.<sup>65</sup> The teachers were hearing in the oral classrooms. Conversely, in the manual departments where the teachers were d/Deaf, pupils were instructed via writing, fingerspelling and to a lesser extent, signs. The limitation on signs, according to Coughlin was that, "...signs stand for ideas and are of no aid to the pupils in learning the exact forms of language."<sup>66</sup> The English language was critical to citizenship during this second phase.

The school newspaper reflected the changing pedagogical approach by reporting on the introduction of new classroom aids and devices to assist in teaching the d/Deaf to read lips, practice speech and, in some cases, to improve their hearing. The newspaper informs us that

Coughlin secured a variety of new tools such as vocal charts, telephones, hearing tubes, and an audephone.<sup>67</sup> Early in 1907, approximately two and half months after Coughlin took over, it was reported in the Pupils' Locals that "Dr. Coughlin has arranged two telephones in Miss Gibson's articulation class-room. It is for the use of the Articulation pupils. We are all enjoying our turn on it. We thank Dr. Coughlin for his kindness in having arranged it for the pupils' use."<sup>68</sup> Two years later Evelyn Hazlitt, an oral student in Miss. Templeton's class, reported

Some girls and boys who can speak have a new audephone. They can hear a little with it but some girls do not like to hear with it because it makes their heads ache. Miss. Cross told us that Hon. Dr. Pyne sent the audephone to Dr. Coughlin. We want to hear well. I hope that we will improve our hearing.<sup>69</sup>

This excerpt also highlights how the Ministry of Education supported the implementation of an oralist strategy. The use of oral tools, supplied by government officials, emphasizes the government's support for "speaking" d/Deaf citizens.

After Coughlin's arrival, the students quickly adopted the philosophy that speaking was "best" and was what their teachers wanted to hear. The Pupils' Locals' increased comments about speaking. Specifically, I note that a number of visitors to the institution were treated to impromptu exhibitions of speech in the classrooms. In February of 1911, for example, Edward Payne, a student in Mr. Ingram's oral classroom, reported, "This morning a number of gentlemen visited the Institution. They came to Mr. Ingram's class room with Mr. Stewart just before recess. They stayed only a few minutes. We spoke to them and they answered us. They seemed surprised that we learn to speak at this school."<sup>70</sup> The visitors' surprise at the ability of the students to speak sheds light on the idea that the school was marching towards an oralist approach and that the administration was eager for the public to understand that the students could learn through this pedagogy. As a publically-funded institution, the OIED often had visitors to the classroom and demonstrating the "benefits" of oralism, primarily through

“speaking”, would pay dividends as visitors would share what they observed. In this way, the “speaking” d/Deaf citizen would build upon the previous construction of the d/Deaf as “good” citizens.

Curious tax payers were not the only visitors to the classroom. In the late fall of 1913 student Annie Steele reports, “[Dr. Coughlin]...intends to come into our class room and hear us speak and read the lips. He wants us to speak better”.<sup>71</sup> Coughlin had made it clear through his writings in the annual reports and observations about the school pedagogy that oralism was what he perceived to be the “best” policy. Many parents believed it was “best” too. In 1914 a student, Mary Maria McLaren, observed that a fellow classmate’s mother came for a visit. While she was visiting her son she took the opportunity to stop by his classroom and inform the teacher, Miss Templeton, that “...she wanted to hear us speak”<sup>72</sup> Certainly, a large number of parents, particularly those who were hearing and whose children had lost their hearing to childhood disease or accident, were eager for their children to regain their speech and, if possible, their hearing. Classroom exhibitions to visiting parents must have given some, like this mother, hope for her child’s future and, it is likely, increased pressure on the oral departments of the OIED to produce graduates who could “speak”. As we shall see, “spoken” citizenship was highly valued during this period.

As Mathison and other opponents of pure oralism long claimed, not all d/Deaf children could be taught to speak and it was a particularly difficult task for those who were congenitally d/Deaf. Although the annual reports of the school give increased prominence to oral techniques, the newspaper identifies that in many aspects of daily life outside the classrooms, sign language remained a part of student life, at least for this period. Student entertainment, lectures and stories, for example continued to be given in signs by teachers during the evenings. For

example, in the spring of 1908 the school newspaper reported that Mr. Nurse, a d/Deaf trades instructor, gave a lecture for the students' entertainment "The lecture was very good and interesting. I wish us, who *saw* Mr. Nurses' lecture, always to remember it [emphasis added]."73 The observation that the lecture was "viewed" coupled with the fact that Nurse was a d/Deaf man and excellent signer shows that signing was still used in the school during this period. The practice of teachers signing continued during this increasingly oral periods as was reported in the Home News of December of 1910, "Miss Hunter gave the pupils a nice lecture on a late Saturday evening. She is getting quite handy in the use of signs and we expect her to be much help to us in entertaining the pupils during the coming months."74 Thus, not only proficient teachers continued to sign, but new hearing teachers were also taught to sign. Other excerpts make this point more clearly. For example, during the Christmas holidays of 1908, it reported that Dr. Coughlin gave a "talk" in the chapel while two teachers "interpreted" – presumably in signs – for the children.75 Two years later, prior to another Christmas celebration, one pupil anticipated that Coughlin and other teachers would again sign about Christmas.76 Not only had the use of sign language prevailed over these two years but it appeared as though Coughlin himself began to sign. While it was clear that oralism was the desired future pedagogy of Education at the OIED, the practical use of sign language was not ignored, nor would it be easily removed from d/Deaf life at the OIED. That is not to say, however, that "speaking" citizens were not the ultimate goal.

Despite the continued use of sign language within the school the oralist strategy marched on. While the school was segregated into the manual and the oral department in the fall of 1907, there were also other areas of school life in which this separation was felt. Approximately two and half months after being appointed Superintendent, the Pupils' Locals reported that, "Dr.

Coughlin wishes all the teachers, officers and servants to speak to the articulation pupils so that they will improve in lip-reading and speech.”<sup>77</sup> The fact that adults who had previously communicated with students in sign language were now required to “speak” to them, indicates that oralism was here to stay. This policy stands in stark contrast to the previous period in which attendants and servants were considered more desirable if they were proficient in sign language.

In March of 1907, mere months after his arrival, Coughlin introduced a new procedure to the dining hall in which the oral students were segregated at different tables than those students who still used sign language. He further requested that the oral students only “speak” at the dining table. Although this reform must have been a significant change, the Pupils’ Locals reports it as follows: “Dr. Coughlin has arranged that the boys and girls who talk sit together in the dining-room. He thinks that they will learn more in lip-reading. We are glad to say that they are improving every day and they should feel proud.”<sup>78</sup> As figure 3 demonstrates, the dining hall was a highly regulated place and even here, “good” citizenship was performed through good manners and orderly service. The new regulations meant that “good” d/Deaf citizenship was now also being performed through an oralist agenda, in the presence of those who still signed and were clearly not meeting the mark. This new arrangement certainly provided the oral students more practice but it also ensured that they ceased to use sign language, at least at the dinner table, among their fellow oral classmates limiting their public interaction with their signing counterparts. Whether intended or not, the implication that speaking and lip reading was “better” than signing was paramount. However, the inference that those who could “speak” had reason to be proud is another indication that “speaking” students, and future citizens, were highly valued.

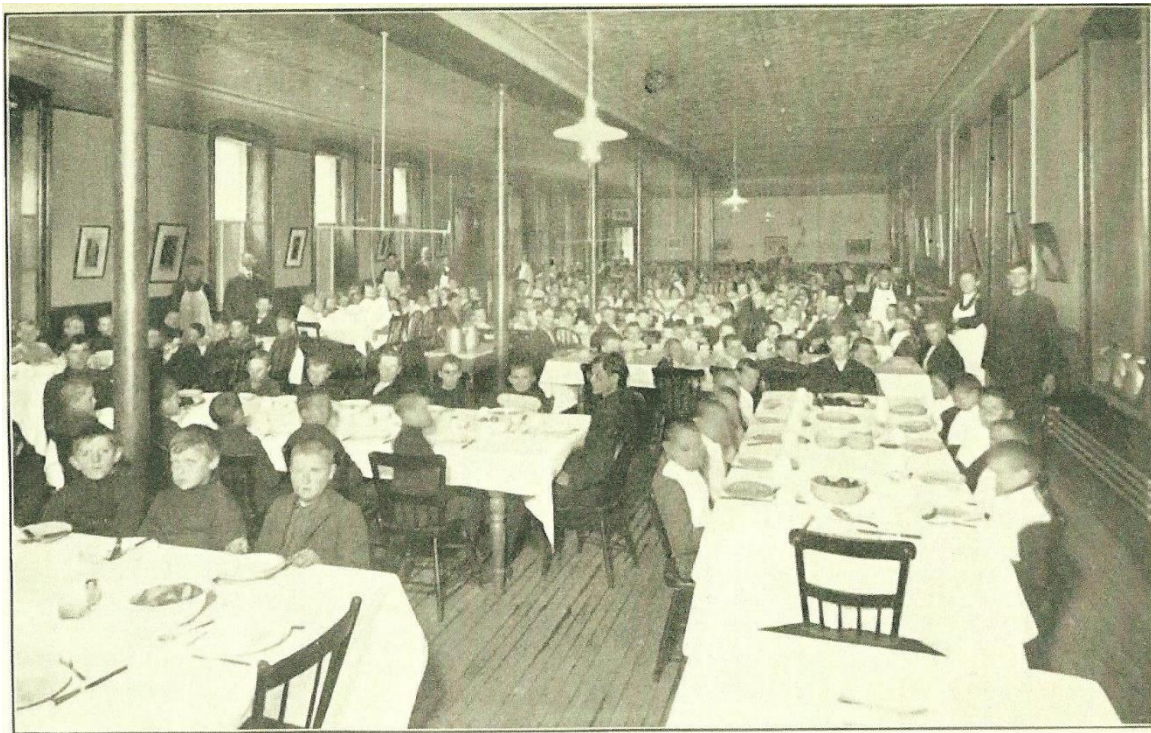


Figure 3. "Pupils' Dining-Room."  
*Report of the Ministry of Education of Ontario for the year 1907, 539.*

It remains significant for my study that sign language continued to be used in the school, despite efforts to segregate the two groups of students. I speculate that this outcome grew out of the reality that during these transition years there were a number of students who continued to work under the combined system. This period demonstrates that the school retained the practices that worked about the "old" system (i.e., signing in chapel and for "important" messages they wanted the students to take in) and did away with those practices that countered the oralist agenda (sign language in the classrooms of oral students, or having the children sign at dinner).

I further consider that the reasons for signing Christian themes in the years prior to 1907 applied during this time. Signing of hymns continued and the frequency of students who signed attended churches around Belleville also appeared to increase based on the reporting of such events in the newspaper.<sup>79</sup> Early in 1912, to take one example, one student reported,

Last Thursday about ten of us girls went to the Bridge St. Methodist church to sign hymns. We wore white dresses on the platform. The people said that we looked well and they waved their handkerchiefs instead of cheering with the voice or clapping hands. Waving the handkerchief is called, "the Chautauqua Salute," and the Deaf like it better. After hymns a gentleman came and gave a dollar to Miss James for us. I think she is going to spend it for candies.<sup>80</sup>

This excerpt makes clear that signing gracefully was still linked to femininity and religion and continued as a much sought after d/Deaf performance that was consumed by the hearing community. This expression of d/Deaf performance was, in fact, rewarded with money as girls continued to go to churches in Belleville and sign hymns. Pupil Clarice Ford recounts her performance in the Pupils' Locals in early December 1910, "I went to church on Sunday November 20<sup>th</sup>. I signed, 'Now I lay me down to sleep.' A man gave me candy. I said, 'thank you'."<sup>81</sup> The signing of hymns also continued in the school. For example, the Pupils' Locals in the spring of 1909, report, "Mr. Stewart lectured to us in the chapel on Sunday. Four girls signed a hymn...It was an Easter Hymn and the eggs were pretty."<sup>82</sup>

I also found examples of boys signing hymns in public during this oral period. It is unclear as to the frequency with which they signed prior to Coughlin taking over, due to a lack of sources. Certainly the boys themselves expressed their fear at signing in public for the first time,

Last Sunday Eddie Payne and I learned how to sign a hymn. Mr. Nurse lectured to us about Mother's Day. When he finished lecturing Eddie Payne and I signed 'Nearer my God to Thee.' It was the first time we ever signed and we were nervous. The other pupils said that we did well.<sup>83</sup>

If, as scholars have argued, girls signed in religious settings hymns and boys were encouraged to sign in more academic or patriotic settings, what accounts for the above performance by the boys? That a performance of children signing was a public spectacle or performance is made clear by the following contribution by a student early in 1912, "Six big girls will sign two hymns, and five little girls will sign two hymns, at the opera house or the Methodist church on

Bridge Street, for the Epworth League, because many people want to see them who have never saw deaf pupils sign.”<sup>84</sup> Signing in public was not only promoted by the school, it was also a request, an entertainment of sorts, for the broader hearing community in Belleville. These examples of signing in public ran counter to the new oralist pedagogy that was being integrated into the classrooms and daily routines at the OIED.

I assumed that during the oral period oral recitations would replace the sign language exhibitions but rather than replace them, the two seemed to work in tandem. This observation again points to the idea that Coughlin’s presence as Superintendent did not produce an immediate and total shift from sign language to oralism. In fact, this particular excerpt from the February 1, 1913 Pupils’ Locals indicates that the request was made by the Methodist minister, himself, “...Avis, Clara, Nova, Annabel, and I signed a hymn and Avis, Nova, Annabel and I recited the Ten Commandments. Mr. Sanderson asked us to do so.”<sup>85</sup> These particular students were from the oral department of the OIED and so were taught in classrooms lead by an oral pedagogy. That these girls knew these prayers in sign language is an indication that signing, at least in religious matters, was still in practice at the OIED. That these girls gave a public performance indicates that not only was a signed hymn taught to the students, but more importantly, it was condoned, at least for performance purposes. In order to demonstrate the Christian teachings, the d/Deaf were put on display and the most obvious way to identify them as d/Deaf remained through the use of sign language.

In addition to the public signing of hymns signing performances included more frequent public exhibitions of patriotism.<sup>86</sup> Both boys and girls took part in patriotic recitations but the boys’ participation was often imbued with military and patriotic references. For example, in June of 1908, the newspaper reported on two events which called for patriotic respect: Victoria

Day and Empire Day. The Pupils' Locals reflected on the event and indicated that the boys saluted the flag and all signed the national anthem.<sup>87</sup>

For the first time in our history, Empire Day, which this year was on May 22<sup>nd</sup>, was observed by the formal raising and saluting of the flag, and the ceremony was a picturesque and interesting one. At half-past ten school was dismissed and the staff assembled on the lawn. Then the junior boys came out in twos and took their place at the south side of the square. Then the senior boys marched out in fours with military precision and at the word of command formed in double line, forming the west side of the square. The girls next marched out and took their places at the east and north sides. All then stood at salute...<sup>88</sup>

These performances, while not public, were reported on in a publication or, as figure 4 reflects were published in the annual report as “proof” of “good” citizenship. We can see that the boys in the image below are gazing up at the flag admiringly while simultaneously saluting the flag – a masculine embodiment of “good” citizenship, rooted in ideas around military participation.

The message was clear, the students at the OIED, particularly the boys, were loyal future citizens and participated in national, patriotic activities similar to boys in public schools.



Figure 4. “Raising the Flag.”  
*Report of the Ministry of Education of Ontario for the year 1907*, 496.

The secondary literature on the history of d/Deaf education and d/Deaf culture has placed a lot of emphasis on the debate between best practices and d/Deaf education. Manualists and oralists both felt strongly about their political, pedagogical and ideological positions. Taking the “debate” to the level of the classroom, playground and living quarters, often through the lens of school documents that both the students and parents consumed, allows me to see how the debate played out in the lives of the students.

While the school opened under the banner of the combined system as the “best” pedagogical approach, it was sign language, in the classrooms and in other aspects of daily life, that the OIED defended. English was recognized as the dominant language at the OIED under the administration of both Palmer and Mathison. During their periods of administration, d/Deaf citizenship was (re)constructed to reintroduce the d/Deaf as “good” citizens. This ideal heralded

intelligence, moral integrity and good work habits and included the use of sign language as acceptable, although English was preferred. Performances, particularly by girls, were visible symbols of the students' morality and also their proclivity for "good" citizenship.

A change in administration and support from parents and government officials alike meant that the departure from the combined system to an oralist pedagogy was swift, at least in name. Under this new phase of citizenship education, "spoken" d/Deaf citizenship, changed at the school to incorporate broad ideas about what constituted a "good" d/Deaf citizen. While oral classrooms were organized within weeks of Coughlin taking over as head administrator and the school's reorganization into two separate streams after his arrival, the transition to a fully oral program was delayed. This transitional period is a particularly interesting slice of time as the administration and teachers continued to create "good" citizenship values through two differing systems. While the messages of intelligence, morality and cultivating good work ethic remained a constant theme, the vehicle for disseminating how this was achieved, to the d/Deaf and hearing alike, was a balancing act. Student performances showcasing these citizenship attributes continued to flourish during this period and the combination of both spoken English and sign language meant that for at least this period, "good" citizenship could be claimed by both manualists and oralists.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **“I love Canada because I am happy”: The Academic Curriculum and Citizenship Education in the Reconstruction of d/Deafness**

Just as d/Deaf pedagogy and the industrial trades’ curriculum changed over the course of four decades at the OIED, so too did the academic curriculum which experienced its own set of unique challenges and specific citizenship-based goals. As previously argued, (re)constructing the d/Deaf citizen over two phases, from one perceived as financially dependent and intellectually inferior to their hearing counterparts relied on a concerted effort by the OIED administration, teachers, supporters, students and alumni to prove otherwise. In this chapter, I argue that the OIED administration, over the course of four decades and across two phases of perspectives about citizenship, sought to reinterpret the commonly held perception of the d/Deaf to be an intellectually inferior group. Reconstructing the OIED students and alumni as civic minded and well educated “good” future citizens who were capable of grappling with civic decisions as intelligent, productive, moral and employable citizens became the focus of the academic program at the OIED.

The quotation used as the title of this chapter comes from student Herbert W. Roberts in response to a question, asked in January 1894, during a performance for Lord and Lady Aberdeen. The question, posed by the public school examiner during the year end exams, was: “Do you love Canada? If so, why?” The student’s answer highlights how being a “good” citizen was not only to love one’s country but also to be happy to do so. His response echoes feelings of ideas about belonging and a shared identity. Young Herbert’s answer typifies the type of citizenship education taught at the OIED. It was a highly constructed and an often performed act that took on multiple forms and was expressed daily in variety of ways. Citizenship was integrated into the academic curriculum through specific subjects such as history and geography.

Citizenship discourses were also evident in social events: evening entertainments were a key aspect of certain clubs and associations. The students' daily behaviour and attitude were also closely tied to citizenship values in a way that made the reconstruction of d/Deaf citizenship an all encompassing project. As Kenneth Osborne (1997) reminds us, "Citizenship, then, is far from a simple concept. It contains within itself conflicting value judgements as to what constitutes the good life in the good society. Citizenship, in anything but the most passive sense, is not a given; it is constructed, struggled over, and continually defined."<sup>1</sup> In this chapter I explore two related questions: How was citizenship within the academic curriculum defined and redefined for students at the OIED? Where did this form of instruction take place within the OIED?

This chapter will unfold in two sections. The first part will trace the evolution of the academic curriculum at the OIED from 1870 to 1914 and make particular reference to ideas and curricula related to citizenship education. This section is organized chronologically around each of the three administrations. The second section will offer a specific analysis of citizenship education drawing on Osborne's four citizenship concepts - identity, political efficacy, rights and protections versus duty, and social values - as an interpretative lens.<sup>2</sup> This section will be organized thematically and set the stage for the addition of the fifth theme - work - that will be discussed in the chapter that follows. Specifically, with regards to the academic curriculum, I focus on identity and nation building within history and geography classes and the broader citizenship lessons and rituals of the OIED curriculum. Political efficacy will be examined in the OIED context in terms of inculcating the value of civic acts such as voting through participation in clubs and associations such as the Dufferin Society literary association for the senior students at the OIED. Rights and protections are seen in obedience of school rules, general discipline,

and conformity to the tenets of “good” citizenship. Social values such as “good” citizenship demeanour, including a “sunny” positive attitude, will also be discussed in the classroom context and in general student decorum. In addition, I propose that a fifth citizenship concept - work force preparedness - should be added to Osborne’s original four concepts when applied to the OIED. I will take up this analysis in the following chapter.

#### Overview of Curricular Changes at the OIED, 1870 to 1914

The chart below provides an overview of the curriculum from 1870-1914. The curriculum evolved over this period from a disjointed and at times unorganized attempt to mirror what was occurring in the public schools to a curriculum that was identical, with minor adaptations for oral recitations, to the “official” provincial curriculum. Charting these changes provides the reader with a quick reference and to identify under which administration and in which period of d/Deaf citizenship education the change occurred. This is important because this research is organized around these two distinct periods of reconstructed d/Deaf citizenship. Identifying how these curricular changes fit into the broader reconstruction project highlights that citizenship education took place on multiple levels and was accomplished over time.

<b>CHANGE</b>	<b>DATE</b>	<b>ADMINISTRATOR</b>	<b>NOTES</b>
Academic program commences	September 1870	Palmer	The academic or literary department of the OIED began in tandem with the industrial trades program.
Dr. James Carlyle of the Toronto Normal School brought in to oversee year end academic exams	June 1876	Palmer	Previously, this task was overseen by the Inspector of Prisons and Asylums, J.W. Langmuir
Public school examiner brought in to oversee year end academic exams	June 1879	Palmer	From here on, a public school examiner would always oversee these exams.

<b>CHANGE</b>	<b>DATE</b>	<b>ADMINISTRATOR</b>	<b>NOTES</b>
Mathison takes over as Superintendent of the OIED	September 1879	Mathison	
New Curriculum established	1879	Mathison	Previously, there was no established curriculum. Teachers of the individual classes decided what textbooks to use and what subjects to teach.
Reclassification of classes	1879	Mathison	
<i>The Canadian Mute</i>	February 1892	Mathison	The school newspaper, while an important addition to the trades curriculum, also served as an important classroom tool. Students consumed the material and contributed to the newspaper through the Pupils Locals.
School transferred to the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education	1905	Mathison	
Coughlin takes over administrative duties	November 1906	Coughlin	
Physical Drill inaugurated	1906-1907	Coughlin	Although drill and physical culture existed under Mathison, Coughlin inaugurated a more rigorous program – both in content and frequency.  Physical drill for the boys occurred 3 times a week and was based on the exercises used by the British Army. Girls engaged in a more formalized calisthenics program.
Oralism introduced	January 1907	Coughlin	Not a school wide policy but a few classes reorganized as oral course.
School reorganized into manual and oral departments	Fall 1907	Coughlin	
School day reorganized	Fall 1907	Coughlin	Previously the trades occurred in both the morning and afternoon. Now all trades training took place in the afternoons with the academic teaching in the morning.
Teachers' Association established	1907	Coughlin	
Museum established in the OIED	1907	Coughlin	The museum contained objects found in homes, business and

CHANGE	DATE	ADMINISTRATOR	NOTES
			everyday life and was meant to aid in language lessons.
Reading introduced as a subject as part of the new curriculum	1908-1909	Coughlin	Public school readers were utilized.
Drawing added to the curriculum	1908-1909	Coughlin	Drawing had always been a part of the OIED but generally only for a select few and typically not for the younger grades. Now it was integrated into the curriculum as a subject and not a special class.
1 hour of evening reading enforced in the dormitories	1909-1910	Coughlin	
Term of study extended	1910	Coughlin	Extended from 7 years to 8 as the curriculum expanded to include an extra year.
First entrance class established	1912-1913	Coughlin	Students prepared to take the high school entrance exam
First graduating class with a public school diploma	June 1913	Coughlin	
First High School class established	Fall 1914	Coughlin	High school education offered at the OIED up to grade 9.

### **Evolution of the OIED academic curriculum, 1870-1914:**

Of the three OIED administrators during this period, Palmer was the only one who was trained to teach the d/Deaf, indeed he was the only teacher among the three first administrators. As previously noted, Palmer had been the Principal of the Asylum at Raleigh for the Deaf and Dumb, and the Blind, in 1860, after serving as the school's Vice-Principal and a teacher.<sup>3</sup> He brought to the OIED not only experience in d/Deaf education but also administrative experience and an American perspective to d/Deaf education that was most immediately apparent by his replacement of the two-handed British system of finger-spelling with the one-handed American version.<sup>4</sup> For the next four decades, the administrators of the OIED routinely looked south to the American schools and educational associations, to gain insight into d/Deaf education.<sup>5</sup>

Palmer's years at the helm were characterized by the growing pains of establishing a new institution and developing a system of d/Deaf education in a province that had clear ideas on characteristics to produce "good", moral, intelligent and employable citizens. Palmer actively contributed to a public relations campaign, which simultaneously encouraged parents to send their children to the school and assured reformers and the public that the d/Deaf students were an untapped source of potential "good" citizens rather than "dangerous" or "inferior" children. These tasks kept Palmer busy and perhaps impeded the development of the academic curriculum. In the report to the government for the 1871 to 1872 school year Palmer indicated, "In the Educational department we have accomplished as much as could be expected under all the unfavourable circumstances connected with the organization of a new institution."<sup>6</sup> Annual reports from the government inspector, J.W. Langmuir, the Inspector of the Province's Prisons and Public Charities, under whose jurisdiction the OIED fell, often indicated that the academic curriculum was left wanting during these early years. I will focus on three areas of concern and growth over these first years under Palmer: defining the purpose of the OIED and for whom it was established; identifying a system of student classification and promotion including the establishment of a curriculum that reflected that of the public school; and, analyzing the general organization of classrooms, teachers and students.

From the beginning, the OIED distanced itself from associations with the term "asylum" and sought to create the image of an educational institution for the d/Deaf. Yet despite this desire, there was an undercurrent of fear from the administration about how to manage the population – both during the school years and after the students left the institution. The OIED administration could not escape discussions of disability and all that it conjured, as it was, in part, why the school existed in the first place – as a specialized educational institution. All three

administrators sought to define the purpose of the OIED and at the centre were ideas about education and its role in defining and shaping d/Deaf citizenship.

The purpose of the OIED, according to Palmer, was to provide a practical education which included a basic elementary education.<sup>7</sup> Although a detailed curriculum is not provided in the annual reports for these early years we know that the acquisition of English was considered the first step and it is here that d/Deaf pedagogy and the academic curriculum worked in tandem during the Palmer years. The primary level students were taught the English language via sign language and fingerspelling.<sup>8</sup> In admitting that he had little experience with which to examine the students' academics Langmuir notes that he felt he could at least ascertain how they were coming along in what he viewed was the point of an OIED education, "...the educational proficiency and progress of deaf-mutes can best be ascertained and determined by their ability and aptitude to communicate in writing to ordinary hearing and speaking persons the knowledge they have acquired...".<sup>9</sup> Again we see that the notion of language and, most particularly, communicating with the hearing in a way that the hearing portion of society found most convenient, lay at the core of an OIED education.

As language was acquired, other areas of instruction including arithmetic, grammar and eventually history and geography were added to the higher classes. The problem, at this point, was both a lack of uniformity in curricula and classroom organization of the student body. Palmer points out, in his first report to the government, that classifying the students was difficult when a significant portion of the student body had little previous education.<sup>10</sup> The notion of classifying or organizing the students into appropriate classes would be an issue for the remainder of the Palmer years due to a lack of a standardized curriculum and system of promotion for students.<sup>11</sup>

When Dr. James Carlyle of the Toronto Normal School was appointed to examine the pupils in 1876,<sup>12</sup> his detailed report provided some insight into the course of established study. Although Carlyle does not provide a specific list of what was taught in each class, we know that he was certain that the senior classes were doing well in practical arithmetic and were "...well acquainted with the history and geography of Canada."<sup>13</sup> His commentary indicates that teachers were following the public school curriculum in regards to some of the civic based subjects. Carlyle makes a point of noting that OIED students were similar to public school students in capability, thereby legitimizing – from an “expert” opinion – that the d/Deaf students were on par with their hearing counterparts in regards to intellect and therefore citizenship.<sup>14</sup> The introduction of a public school examiner at the school was not only important to enhancing the academic curriculum, it also legitimized the academic department.

In the summer of 1878 Carlyle emphasized the need for a standardized curriculum, "...so that each teacher would know just what he or she is to teach, and how far the pupils are expected to go in a given time. At present each one pursues his or her course to a great extent, and it is difficult for the examiner to find what has really been taught."<sup>15</sup> When Carlyle returned again in the 1878 to 1879 academic year, he found that there had been marked improvement primarily because of a classification of the students and a united effort by the teachers.<sup>16</sup> He remained convinced, however, that a curriculum of expectations of both students and teachers was still “absolutely necessary”.<sup>17</sup> According to Carlyle, the organization of the academic department, rested on a course of study for students:

...I found the pupils of the fifth class had a very fair knowledge of the Geography of Canada, but when I went to the fourth, a higher class, Geography was not taught, nor any other subject in its place, while in the third and higher classes it was. It would be far more satisfactory for the teachers to know just what they are expected to do during the year or term, and the examiner also would know what each class were

expected to know. It would not be difficult for the Principal then to know whether or not his teachers were doing their whole duty.<sup>18</sup>

The need for a curriculum was important because the state, as represented by the Inspector and the public school examiner, wanted accountability of citizenship values that were similar to those imparted to public school counterparts. Citizenship was a key factor in establishing a public system of education.<sup>19</sup> As we shall see, certain subjects were viewed as particularly important opportunities for citizenship themes.

Sorting of students into particular classes also fell under increased scrutiny in the late 1870s. In the report for the 1874 to 1875 academic year, for example, Inspector Langmuir observed that he had difficulty classifying students because the “backward” students who were found throughout the classes were generally the cause for classes to be subdivided.<sup>20</sup> The inclusion of these students meant that the class was not uniform in academic ability. The subdivision of students within a class was a contentious issue for Langmuir, and eventually the public school examiner, for the next few years because it impeded an efficient system of promotion from class to class.<sup>21</sup>

The inclusion of “dull” students with those who were perceived as intellectually “normal” was viewed as a problem because it worked against the “new” d/Deaf citizenship (re)construction. Demonstrating that the d/Deaf were as intelligent as the hearing was a main component of both phases of d/Deaf citizenship. The inclusion of “dull” students, was seen to impede the progress of others. Specifically, Carlyle wanted to eliminate the practice of subdividing each class and having “dull” pupils progress at a slower rate than the others. He believed the students should move to a different class each year, rather than stay with the same teacher, and that those who were deemed “dull” or “backward” should be placed together in a special class for individual training.<sup>22</sup> He further reported that the teachers were on board with

his plan.<sup>23</sup> The separation of students was important because it identified who was deemed capable of “good” citizenship. Those who were able to work and earn for themselves were “good” citizens in that they were financially independent.

Palmer’s years as Principal of the OIED were taken up with a series of logistical issues associated with establishing a new institution including inculcating a citizenship based academic curriculum. Although he sought to improve the classification of pupils and standardize the curriculum, by the close of his administrative term in the fall of 1879, the academic department of the OIED remained disorganized.

In the fall of 1879, Mathison took over as Superintendent of the OIED. He was not an educator but a former journalist and an administrator who sought to organize the school in all matters. His administrative zeal, however, did not mean that he was not interested in d/Deaf education. During his term he became deeply engaged in all topics relating to d/Deaf education. He participated in d/Deaf education conferences, received honours such as an honorary MA from the Deaf Mute College in Washington in 1893<sup>24</sup> and served as Vice-President of the Association of the Instructors of the Deaf in 1898.<sup>25</sup> Throughout more than two decades as Superintendent of the OIED, Mathison remained staunchly committed to the combined system of instruction and to the belief that his students and graduates were just as intelligent, hardworking and moral as their hearing counterparts. Their potential for “good” citizenship, in his view, was limitless *if* their parents and guardians allowed their d/Deaf children to attend the OIED. With Mathison, the citizenship formula became deeply entrenched at the OIED. An OIED education may not “cure” the d/Deaf child’s hearing, but it would mitigate the social stigma of disability and allow students to be self-sufficient in adulthood – both as an educated citizen and as a “good” worker.

Mathison's 25 years as a leader at the OIED were marked by a series of important academic developments. In this chapter, I focus on several interconnected areas that characterize his administrative term regarding the academic curriculum and the first phase of d/Deaf citizenship - the "new" d/Deaf citizen. First, curricular changes, including the standardization and expansion to include more "citizenship" subjects, brought the OIED in line with the provincial public school curriculum. Second, Mathison campaigned to extend d/Deaf education beyond seven years. Finally, Mathison sought to normalize the OIED students as cohorts to their public school counterparts by redirecting the school from the minister of prisons and asylums to the jurisdiction of the Minister for Education.

Mathison's first task as Superintendent was to turn his attention to the recommendations of both Langmuir and Carlyle regarding an improved classification of students and a standardized curriculum. Like Carlyle, he noted the lack of unity from class to class as individual teachers taught their classes what they deemed necessary and selected textbooks based on this assessment.<sup>26</sup> In his first annual report to the government, for the 1878 to 1879 school year, just two weeks after he had taken over as Superintendent, he wrote the following comments,

I consider it my first duty to make a classification according to merit, and have a curriculum prepared. Before deciding upon the course of study I conferred with the more advanced teachers in the Institution, and their opinions generally pointed to a better system of classification and a more definite plan of study.<sup>27</sup>

To administer this reform, he promptly appointed Mr. Coleman, a long time teacher at the school and teacher of the senior class, to make daily rounds to check up on the progress of each class. Turning to his colleagues, he wrote to a series of American d/Deaf schools seeking their advice on curricular changes.<sup>28</sup> The results of his research is evident in the six page, detailed "course of study", which itemized not only the subject and specific lessons of each class but also the time

devoted to each subject each week.<sup>29</sup> These changes were evident to Inspector Carlyle upon his annual inspection in June of 1880, when he noted with pleasure that the new system of classification and the new curriculum were excellent. Mathison's term of leadership was marked by enthusiasm, efficiency and order. More importantly, it was clear that he was willing to work with the state officials in their desire to educate the e/Deaf to be "good" citizens.

Like Palmer, Mathison saw that a vital part of the reconstruction of "deafness" was for a parallel education between the OIED and the public schools. While Mathison was able to revamp and standardized the academic curriculum his ambition to extend the term from 7 years to 10 or 12 years was not easily achieved.<sup>30</sup> A key line of his argument pointed to the established American d/Deaf schools whose course of study was typically around 12 years with some reaching as high as 14 or 15 years.<sup>31</sup> The problem with the limited seven year course, according to Mathison, was that there was simply too much to accomplish in such a short period of time. With the first few years taken up teaching the students to communicate, academic and trades education did not typically begin until the third or fourth year of study.<sup>32</sup> In 1897 both the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities, T.F. Chamberlain, and the Public School Examiner, A.B. Davidson, called for a longer term of study of 10 years.<sup>33</sup> As Davidson argued, "Why should these afflicted ones be excluded from any share in the educational benefits which have been so liberally bestowed on their brothers and sisters throughout the Province?"<sup>34</sup> When the school finally fell under the Department of Education the examination marks appeared in the annual reports. Part of the new recording also included a column for each student, "No. of Session". For the senior class some students were listed for seven years but many listed eight, nine, ten and even eleven years of attendance.<sup>35</sup> So it appears that in practice, some students remained longer than the official seven year maximum. While we do not know the details of

these extension arrangements, we can assume it was approved at the Superintendent's discretion. Despite calls to extend the term of study and the support of the state, under Mathison the school term officially remained at seven years.

Calls for a longer term of study by Mathison and other "experts" were often coupled with recommendations for a reduction in class size.<sup>36</sup> While most American d/Deaf schools maintained class sizes around 10-12 students with a maximum of 14, the OIED functioned with about 20 students in each class.<sup>37</sup> As with the length of study time, little could be done about the class sizes. The school would continue to labour under these conditions for years to come.

In addition to an extended term of study and reduced class size, reformers sought to redirect the OIED to be removed from the jurisdiction of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities to the Department of Education.<sup>38</sup> In this regard, the OIED was successful. The OIED was a school first and foremost. It was a place of education not of punishment or treatment.<sup>39</sup> Once the shining star of the jurisdiction of prisons and asylums, it quickly became an appendix to the larger Ministry of Education files.<sup>40</sup>

In 1905, Mathison triumphantly reported that the school was now under the jurisdiction of the Department of Education.<sup>41</sup> He included in his report to the Minister of Education the first set of exam questions as a way of marking the "historic" event. Notably, the first report after the transfer adopted the terms "Superintendent and Principal" when referring to Mathison.<sup>42</sup> Mathison praised the move and reflected on the impact it would have to d/Deaf graduates and to the notion of "deaf" by the hearing public,

It was unjust to the deaf, and detrimental to their interests, that they should be officially classed, and therefore always associated in the public mind, with the criminal incorrigible and mentally defective classes... when the Inspector came to inspect the Institution he left here to make his official visit to the jail usually the same day. This was not only humiliating to the deaf, but it also tended to prejudice

them in the opinion of the public, and still further handicapped them in their efforts to obtain a livelihood in competition with hearing people.<sup>43</sup> Mathison goes on to explain that the “stigma of inferiority” was something that the d/Deaf had worked under too long.<sup>44</sup> Mathison’s acknowledgement that the association of d/Deaf people with notions of immorality and crime negatively impacted their ability to earn a livelihood and undermined what the OIED sought to produce – “good” *employable* citizens.

During Mathison’s tenure several photographs of students in classroom settings appeared in the annual reports, particularly those from the 1894-1895 school year, and were reproduced in other school related material such as *The Canadian Mute*. Figure 5 is an example of this and reflects a typical classroom “shot”. There were several similarly staged photographs included in the annual report for the 1894-1895 school year, all the same caption – “A School Room – One of Fourteen”. The visual image is a strong one. Arranged neatly in rows the classroom reflects a “normal” public school classroom, something that hearing society could relate to. What I find interesting is the fact that the students are so focussed on their teacher, that they are not looking at the photographer – an unusual sight in a classroom during this period. This image was meant to convey the message that these students were as intelligent as their hearing counterparts and, despite a difference in how the lessons were communicated, the schoolroom operated in much the same way as the public school.



Figure 5. “A School Room – One of Fourteen.”

*Twenty-Fifth Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, Being for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September 1895,” 15.*

The 27 years that Mathison led the OIED were reflected in an academic curriculum that was increasingly standardized and organized. The drive to mirror the public school in content and spirit propelled Mathison’s enthusiasm to reconstruct the d/Deaf as potential and worthy citizens. Based on my reading of the annual reports, I maintain that his motivation was less about elevating the d/Deaf to equal status as the hearing than it was about legitimizing and solidifying the OIED as a key institution in Ontario education capable of producing “new” d/Deaf citizens. Mathison left the OIED on November 15, 1906 but his legacy was marked by his administrative zeal, commitment to the combined system and his insistence that the d/Deaf students and graduates of the OIED were as intelligent, moral and hard working as their hearing brothers and sisters.<sup>45</sup> For Mathison, the d/Deaf students who entered the OIED were systematically reconstructed into “good” citizens via the OIED curriculum and structure and this achievement was enough to justify the expense to the government, and society to fund this education for the d/Deaf.

Dr. Coughlin, arrived at the OIED the same day that Mathison left. His medical background reflected the “scientific” approach to child rearing and education that was prevalent at the beginning of the twentieth century. His background was part of what made his appointment so logical, according to the Minister of Education, “As the general health of the child is of more than usual significance in cases of deafness, the appointment of a qualified medical man as head of the institution has been followed by good results.”<sup>46</sup> From the autumn of 1906 and the following first eight years of Dr. Coughlin’s administration occupy the final years of my study period. Coughlin’s major influence on the school was, as previously discussed, transitioning the OIED from the combined to the oral system. However, he also implemented a series of important changes to the academic curriculum in regards to citizenship education and a reconstructed d/Deaf citizenship – the “spoken” citizen. His significant changes to the curriculum included adopting the official public school curriculum, extending the term of study beyond seven years, establishing an entrance class and institutionalizing the first high school class.

When Coughlin took over for Mathison mid-way through the 1906 academic year, classes were already organized and there was little immediate change to the curriculum. The following year, however, Coughlin set about making drastic changes to the curriculum and reorganizing the school. With regard to communication and language, as discussed in chapter four, Coughlin adopted an oralist approach and divided the academic department into two streams: the oral and the manual departments. In his first annual report he proudly noted that in the previous 12 months he had implemented an oralist pedagogy, a home nursing course, courses in agriculture and horticulture, physical culture and established a Teachers’ Association.<sup>47</sup> That

same year he also reorganized the school day so that the academic portion occurred in the morning and the trades curriculum took place in the afternoon.<sup>48</sup>

To facilitate the students' acquisition of language in his second year Coughlin established a museum of everyday objects.<sup>49</sup> Coughlin described some of the pictures and specimens included in the collection, "...cotton, flax, coffee, spices, etc., in the various stages of growth and manufacture are the most helpful, as are also pictures depicting national dress and customs, historical events, etc."<sup>50</sup> Here, we see evidence of the "spoken" citizenship theme emerging at the OIED. An important pedagogical tool in d/Deaf teaching was to encourage students to touch, look and feel everyday objects when they lacked language skills. The inclusion of national dress and customs as well as historical events speaks to the ongoing citizenship education that was promoted at the school.

Coughlin also implemented a new curriculum, developed with his newly formed OIED Teachers' Association, which he felt was more in line with the administrative structure of the public school.<sup>51</sup> The Teachers' Association advised him on academic matters and discussed ways in which to improve the education at the OIED.<sup>52</sup> The Teachers' Association also worked to grant legitimacy to the academic component of an OIED education. Meetings were held monthly and in addition to their work at the OIED, Coughlin expressed his desire to have the teachers attend meetings of the Public School Association as well. The Teachers' Association is another example of how Coughlin aimed to "normalize" the academic curriculum at the OIED.<sup>53</sup>

Coughlin's first annual report to the government, for 1907, offers evidence that the new curriculum was developed with the intention for d/Deaf education to emulate the public school curriculum by using the same textbooks and learning the same subjects.<sup>54</sup> The same year he added two new advanced classes believing, as others had before him, that since the early years

were spent learning language, the subject-based curriculum could not be covered in seven years.<sup>55</sup> Where his predecessors would often state that the OIED students were on par with their public school counterparts, Coughlin felt that additional classes for the higher grades were necessary to achieve his goal. In fact, he adopted this strategy by adding grade 8 to ensure that the classes would be added.<sup>56</sup> Although they shared similar objectives, Mathison emphasized sameness in education at the OIED whereas Coughlin acknowledged that the d/Deaf were not operating at the same level as their public school counterparts and, as a consequence, adjusted the original structure. Using “difference” as a strategy to campaign for an extended academic curriculum, Coughlin explains,

...the purpose kept constantly in view was that of unifying our work with that of the Public Schools of the Province. While this is impossible at the beginning, for the reasons given above [Deaf child's lack of language], yet the two curricula draw nearer and nearer to the each other every year until in the higher classes they become identical. In order to fully accomplish this purpose, however, at least two advanced classes will have to be formed. The deaf child is entitled to at least as good an education as those who can hear, and this is now far from the case. At present our graduates would hardly equal, in their general knowledge and in their use of language, the pupils in the Junior Third class in our public schools, and this is quite too low a standard. Until this Institution is capable of turning out its graduates with an education equal to that of our public school children, it will not be doing its duty to the deaf of the Province. This, as above stated, will necessitate the formation of two higher classes and a consequent addition to our staff, in which case we could hope to take up the work prescribed for the fourth class in the public schools, and even to prepare some of our brighter pupils for the High School Entrance examinations.<sup>57</sup>

Interestingly, it would not be until the second year of his mandate that he requested that the term of study be extended to eight or ten years.<sup>58</sup> While awaiting approval, he reorganized the curriculum and added two years of study before having an official extension. His request, in 1910, for a longer term of study and smaller classes<sup>59</sup> was granted. By 1911 there were eight grades covering the full public school curriculum.

Arguably, the pinnacle of Coughlin's "achievement" during his initial eight years of leadership occurred during the 1912 to 1913 academic year when a class of eight girls applied to take the High School entrance exam. Coughlin notes, in his report to the government, that accommodations were needed:

They will not be able to take the complete examination because such subjects as dictation and oral reading, as prescribed for Entrance, are impossible for deaf candidates. I would therefore suggest that a special arrangement be made by you for a suitable examination, equal in standard to the Entrance, which would become for the present the final examination, pupils who succeed in passing such examination to be given a diploma of graduation and those in attendance for the full number of years and who, through no fault of their own, are unable to pass be given a certificate of honourable discharge.<sup>60</sup>

Coughlin was quick to note, however, that when the senior oral class attained this level they would be able to take the exam in its entirety.<sup>61</sup> Although Coughlin again highlighted their difference the significance that they successfully took the exam highlights their potential for intelligent citizenship. The image of the eight graduates, dressed in white and posed in a simple stance of engaging directly with the viewer, exudes a sense of confidence and intelligence. It is a compelling image and, unless one was aware that these girls were "deaf", the viewer would assume they were "normal" hearing girls. The use of the image was a powerful tool in further normalizing these graduates. The girls in the first graduating class passed the entrance exam and in the fall of 1914 the first high school class was established at the OIED.<sup>62</sup> At last, the academic curriculum expanded beyond the elementary school level - 44 years after the school's first attempt to provide a complete public school education to the d/Deaf students of the province. Although Coughlin claimed the victory, the roots for this achievement both practically and ideologically, had been established by previous administrators, decades earlier.



Figure 6. First Graduating Class of the OIED, 1913-1914  
*Report of the Ministry of Education of Ontario for the year 1914*

### **CITIZENSHIP THEMES**

Citizenship, as Stuart Hall (1997) reminds us, is really about belonging.<sup>63</sup> Mark Kingwell (2000) expands this idea when he contends that ideas about belonging give “... voice and structure to the yearning to be part of something larger than ourselves.”<sup>64</sup> Because citizenship takes place in the public sphere, this sense of belonging intensifies when one has physical attributes that run counter to dominant notions of who “belongs”. In his work on racializations, Rosoldo (1999) notes that to a certain extent one can mask or alter their gender, age, class and sexuality, but racial attributes are implicitly tied to citizenship and are more difficult to “hide”.<sup>65</sup> We can extend this idea to disability as well. David Mitchell and Sharon Snyder’s work (2003)

link ideas about disability and race in what they term as the “eugenic-Atlantic”. Building upon the work of Paul Gilroy’s cultural crossings, Mitchell and Snyder highlight the social construction of disability – the presumed inherent biological inferiority – as a way to stigmatize and marginalize groups.<sup>66</sup>

Despite the hopes of oralists about conforming and teaching the d/Deaf to speak, the reality was that the d/Deaf could not hear, to varying degrees, and whichever method they chose to use to communicate their “disability” was readily apparent. Ronald Beiner (1995) argues that nationalism is a reaction to feelings of a threatened identity.<sup>67</sup> As we have seen, in Canada’s past those deemed “different”, thus threatening the dominant race, such as aboriginal and delinquent children, received specialized care to mitigate their “dangerous” influence on society. The d/Deaf were no different - the OIED was established to serve a particular purpose and was premised on a specific framework that sought to make “good” citizens.

Citizenship education, during this period, was linked to the state’s concern with the citizenry’s ability to make intelligent political decisions as well as raise future citizens, based on a set of shared values reflecting Christian, Anglo-Celtic middle class standards.<sup>68</sup> Scholars of Canadian education have long noted the important role ideas about “citizenship” have played in public school curricula with a particular focus on history, geography and civics as citizenship related subjects. More specifically, scholars such as George Tompkins, Penney Clark and Amy von Heyking<sup>69</sup> have identified that history, geography and civics that became social studies in the Ontario Curriculum in 1937, played a significant role in imparting ideas and ideals about citizenship, in Ontario and other provinces.<sup>70</sup> Simply put, history shaped a state sanctioned version of the past while geography identified the beauty and strength of the land.<sup>71</sup>

As previously noted, Osborne identified four citizenship themes - identity, political efficacy, rights and duties and social and personal values,<sup>72</sup> - relating to the teaching of social studies in schools. In this chapter, I apply these themes to the broad citizenship framework at the OIED. While the period studied here is decades before the official introduction of social studies in the Ontario curriculum, examining citizenship and the academic curriculum through the lens of these four themes is useful to understand citizenship education at the OIED. In addition, I argue that an additional theme of “work” completes the five pronged approach to citizenship education at the OIED from 1870 to 1914. The theme of “work” will be discussed in chapter five.

#### Identity:

Identity, in terms of citizenship education at the OIED, is the theme in which the citizenship subjects of history and geography figure most prominently. A call for citizenship subjects occurred early on in the formation of the school. In 1874 Inspector Langmuir indicated his desire to see the students focus on Canadian topics,

...I would be pleased if they would turn their attention to the compilation of interesting matter connected with the history and progress of Canada during the past decade; something eminently Canadian, so that when the deaf mutes they are instructing can read and write, they will be able to do so intelligently on matters connected with their own country.<sup>73</sup>

The idea that citizens must understand their history is a sentiment that continues today.<sup>74</sup>

During the late nineteenth century public school history lessons and textbooks took on a nation building style of history in which a Eurocentric view of Canada’s past was peppered with the feats and victories of key historical players – predominately white, wealthy men.<sup>75</sup>

The OIED was no different. Learning about Canada’s past was one way to both celebrate the

Canadian myth and to profile key players as examples for students to emulate to achieve self-sufficiency, loyalty and intelligence in their approach to both the “new” and “spoken” d/Deaf citizenship.

While the government had a vested interest in having the students acquire knowledge of Canadian history, it became clear to Carlyle, early on in his career as a public school examiner for the OIED that the acquisition of language was paramount. In his examination of pupils in the ninth class for the 1877-1878 year, Carlyle observed:

For Canadian History they [the students] did very poorly, although their teacher said that much time had been devoted to it. I think their time could be more profitably employed than in learning a few facts in Canadian History, while they know very little about ordinary things, and can scarcely describe a simple action with accuracy.<sup>76</sup>

Identity building, through history lessons, was futile if the students do not have a firm grasp on language. In this way, we are reminded that the most important dimension of the citizenship subjects at the OIED, was the acquisition of the English language.

Historian Benedict Anderson (1991) notes that the quest for a shared cohesiveness among citizens facilitates the construction of an “imagined” community,<sup>77</sup> capable of reconstructing itself to serve the changing needs of society largely initiated by the dominant class.<sup>78</sup> Central to notions of a shared national community, however contrived or “imagined”, is a belief in a common language despite Canada’s bilingual roots. Cultural historian Stuart Hall (1997) points to the significance of language as a form of representation conveying common values among a group of people.<sup>79</sup> Thus, “nations” are, “...conceived in language, not in blood...”<sup>80</sup> The secondary literature notes that despite Canada’s bilingual roots the quest for one dominant language remained strong.<sup>81</sup> How then, did sign language fit into this nationalist idea? As we

have learned in previous chapters, sign language was a means to an end with the final goal the acquisition of English.

The new standardized curriculum, implemented by Mathison in 1879, provides an indication of when citizenship based subjects were first introduced and the frequency with which they appeared in the classroom. Geography was the first of the citizenship subjects introduced.<sup>82</sup> Beginning in the third year it was taught daily and focused on Ontario (divisions of water, counties of Ontario and county towns) for the third, fourth and fifth year students.<sup>83</sup> By the sixth year geography expanded in scope to include the Dominion of Canada and by the final and seventh year had broadened to include in addition to Canada, America and Europe.<sup>84</sup> When Coughlin expanded the curriculum, in 1910, the eighth year was also preoccupied with North American and European geography.

Canadian history was introduced by the sixth year. Studied twice a week, during the students' sixth year, the focus in the curriculum was on Canada.<sup>85</sup> Reporting from Mr. Denys' senior class, the pupils' locals in December 1901 commented on their "new" subject, "We learn History this year and like it very much."<sup>86</sup> In the final year, history lessons occurred every day, alternating between Canadian and English history with Fridays left for review.<sup>87</sup> In the provincial public schools during this period, Canadian history was also taught in conjunction with British history. The two nations were seen as interconnected and, for some, "Canadian educators saw no contradiction between their Canadian nationalism and their pride in the British connection. Indeed, the first was seen as dependent on the second."<sup>88</sup> A reverence for the Empire was integrated into all aspects of OIED life. In 1903, for example, examiner, J. Johnston ask one group of students to write "God Save the King" from memory.<sup>89</sup> That this patriotic

anthem was incorporated into the year-end examinations points to the depth that citizenship preparation was integrated into the academic curriculum.

Other patriotic practices honouring “all things British” were also common at the OIED. The observance of Empire Day, for example, first celebrated in 1899 by Nova Scotia and Ontario and later incorporated into other provinces, was a common practice.<sup>90</sup> The newspaper is peppered with patriotic notes from the students, particularly around Empire Day, the King’s birthday and other special events. One OIED student reflected on these celebrations in the Pupils’ Locals in early summer 1901, “Victoria Day and Empire day, even without King Edward’s birthday being rolled into it, made a ringing refrain for Britain’s proud patriotic millions. We enjoyed the day to the fullest, inspite [sic] of the dampness.”<sup>91</sup> Later that same year, the Duke and Duchess arrived for a visit to Canada and made a stop at the OIED. Again a student took the time to reflect on the visit in the Pupils’ locals, “We did not speak to their Royal Highnesses, but know they liked Canada, the sunniest land on the globe. And long after their good ship shall have cleft the Atlantic, may they grant memory to a people who love their country, their King and their God.”<sup>92</sup> While it is impossible to measure the degree of each students’ patriotism, it is clear that at the very least they were aware that reflecting on patriotic duty in the school newspaper was a “good” thing.

The curriculum continued to expand and develop during Coughlin’s administration, including his expansion of citizenship based subjects. In 1912 Public School examiner, H.J. Clarke, recalled that Mr. Stewart’s grade 7 class were learning Canadian Civics and also manners and morals, geography and history.<sup>93</sup> History was now taught for three years instead of two as under Mathison since the school term of studies had been extended to eight years. The geography and history curriculums continued to be organized in such a way that they examined

Canada and the British Empire in terms of progress and “greatness”. The celebratory nature of and the respect for the British monarchy continued to be a common thread throughout the curriculum. In 1907, Coughlin reported on his determination to honour the flag as a demonstration of loyalty,

Loyalty to our King and country and deference to the flag as representing our nationality are principles which should be inculcated in every Canadian boy or girl. As one means of accomplishing this result it has been arranged that on certain national holidays and anniversaries of the flag should be raised to the mast-head and saluted by all our boys formed in parade on the lawn. This was done for the first time on November 9<sup>th</sup>, the King’s birthday, and the ceremony was a very interesting and picturesque one. This will be supplemented as occasion by appropriate talks to the pupils when assembled in chapel.<sup>94</sup>

Again, the notion of civic identity was taught and reinforced through performances, much the way that sign language was a performative act, so too was citizenship. Students learned about the “greatness” of Canada as part of the British Empire and were also expected to embody it through civic rituals during parades, reciting the national anthem and raising the flag.<sup>95</sup>

Lessons in citizenship also took place outside of history and geography. Although reading held an important place in the various curricula over the years, from 1908 to 1909 there was an increased emphasis on reading as a stand-alone subject.<sup>96</sup> The following year, a reading hour was set aside in the evening to encourage the students to read.<sup>97</sup> Reading, it was assumed, would help the students in language acquisition - again a reminder that the English language was paramount in citizenship education and critical under the “spoken” d/Deaf citizenship framework.<sup>98</sup> In 1910, the public school examiner, H.J. Clarke, noted that he was pleased with the new emphasis on reading and the “carefully selected” student library which, he asserted, would allow the students to eventually enjoy the English Classics.<sup>99</sup> The new emphasis on reading was rooted in the belief that the d/Deaf would need ongoing support after leaving school and the best method to achieve this was to develop a habit of “good” reading material. The need

to make informed civic decisions, coupled with an emphasis on spoken English, was likely a key component in establishing a reading program during the school years and after graduation. In 1911, Coughlin noted,

...we regard reading as a very important subject, perhaps the most important in our curriculum, and, in accordance with this estimate, as much of the work as possible is put before the pupils in printed form...the results to the pupils in further awakening their intelligence, in extending their knowledge, in improving their language, and in stimulating their interest, are very marked; while the pupils are made much less dependent on the teacher, and are provided with the means of self-culture that will enable them to continue the educative processes after they leave school, and will greatly enhance their enjoyment and increase their chances of success in whatever sphere of life they may be placed.<sup>100</sup>

The implication that the d/Deaf needed to “further awaken their intelligence” indicates that the d/Deaf as a class were viewed as a work in progress. The reconstruction of d/Deafness and the creation of “good” citizens would not end at graduation but was a life-long citizenship project as the d/Deaf continued to reject the negative connotations associated with d/Deafness and disability.

To aid in the new emphasis on reading, *The Canadian Mute* also introduced changes, most notably the addition of new material.

The paper has been brought to the level of the pupils, and each issue contains a carefully prepared summary of the world’s news. Each pupil in the senior grades is provided with a copy of the paper. The page of class-room exercises is printed in the form of a four-page leaflet and is supplied to each pupil, except the very youngest...the object in the leaflet is to accustom the pupil as early as possible to the use of print.<sup>101</sup>

The newspaper now contained one to two pages of grammar exercises and short “educational” stories with suggestions on how best to approach the “lessons”. That the exercises were not produced and distributed just in the classrooms but published in the widely circulating newspaper made it clear that all the d/Deaf were encouraged to “study the lessons”. The inclusion of “world news” also points to the continued belief that a “good” intelligent citizen was one who would understand broader issues as they related to Canada and the British Empire.

Coughlin's revamping of *The Canadian Mute* reflected a "best interests" policy in that the OIED should select "good" reading material for the d/Deaf students and alumni. The new approach took the newspaper from a journal that was aimed at the d/Deaf with matters that interested the d/Deaf to an extended school room tool. That the goal was for graduates to continue with grammar exercises was certainly not a subtle one and reflected the long reach the OIED maintained on not only cultivating "good" citizenship but also monitoring and maintaining a structure to support it. It also emphasizes the role of the English language in the "spoken" d/Deaf citizenship framework.

#### Political Efficacy:

Political efficacy, according to Osborne is "...the belief that people can make a difference in the political process."<sup>102</sup> He goes on to indicate that political activity is a skill that must be taught and exists on two levels: the formal institutions of the state (voting, legislative debates etc.,) and non-political life of society (clubs, associations etc.).<sup>103</sup> At the OIED, exercises in citizenship, such as voting, debating and weighing arguments were practiced through participation in clubs, organizations and lectures. As a residential institution there was ample opportunity for the administration to monitor and encourage clubs reinforcing citizenship virtues of responsibility, duty and "proper" execution of order and procedure. For example, *The Canadian Mute* reports, in November of 1905, that a meeting of the senior boys was held in the sitting room where they elected a committee, complete with executives, to oversee the management of the skating rink for the upcoming season.<sup>104</sup>

An excellent example of political efficiency at the OIED was the well organized Dufferin Literary Society. Founded during the 1873-1874 school year by teacher and d/Deaf leader Samuel

T. Greene, the group was a collection of d/Deaf staff and senior pupils.<sup>105</sup> Although its membership was restricted to male members there were occasions when female students participated, albeit in marginal roles. Naming a d/Deaf club after Lord Dufferin was a sign of respect and certainly made clear that the students respected the British Monarchy and social order.<sup>106</sup> The higher offices were held by school staff but some of the senior male students were also on the executive.<sup>107</sup> The society met twice monthly and engaged in debates and discussions on a host of topics. The January 1, 1904 edition of the newspaper provides us a glimpse into the workings of the Dufferin Literary Society as the meeting was recounted in print. Like other official meetings, the minutes of the previous meeting was read and then the meeting moved into the evenings' debate. The topic, for the winter evening was, "Resolved: that a level plain was preferable to a hilly country for a place of habitation." They asked two new members to debate this and a winner was declared. Once the debate was finished Mr. Nurse gave a speech on Napoleon. The evening drew to a close and, "At the close a vote of thanks was tendered him, moved by Miss Anetta Johnson. Then the lecturer went on to his duties as Critic and Criticized and praised those who deserved either."<sup>108</sup> The Dufferin Literary Society was well ordered and ran according to specific procedural rules. It is significant that despite being a male society Anetta Johnson was not only present but was able to participate by proposing a "vote of thanks". It is unclear if female students engaged in debates or more significant roles such as sitting on the executive, but Miss Johnson's limited participation highlights that exercises in political efficacy were extended to female students as well.

Members of the Dufferin Literary Society often went on to engage in broader d/Deaf Associations as adults and some even became key d/Deaf leaders.<sup>109</sup> Graduates of the OIED went on to found several key associations and organizations in Ontario such as the Maple Leaf Debating and Reading Club, the Brigden Literary Society and the Dorcas Club (an all-female club).<sup>110</sup> These

associations and clubs were often reported about in the school newspaper both as a way to keep the d/Deaf community informed but also to keep hearing parents, teachers and reformers aware of the level of education of its members. A photo of the Maple Leaf Banquet in Toronto, published in the school newspaper, during the spring of 1903, makes this point clearly. The photo was commented on by Nurse in his Home News column where he proudly noted that the *Toronto Evening Telegraph* also published the picture, "...the *Telegraph* has our sincere thanks for the nice notice; it will help to raise the status of the deaf a few pegs higher."<sup>111</sup> Part of the reconstruction of d/Deafness was for the d/Deaf to be seen to be civic minded. In this way, citizenship was reinforced as performative acts.

#### Rights & Protections vs. Duties

A fundamental element of citizenship is based in ideas around the state granting rights and protections and, in turn, the citizen performs civic based duties and obligations. Osborne informs us that rights are not just "given out" but are part of a larger process, "...struggled for, won, and protected."<sup>112</sup> We have seen that the right to education, for hearing children, was often couched as an argument by reformers to establish and maintain a system of publically funded d/Deaf education in Ontario. In the context of citizenship education at the OIED, the ultimate right or privilege bestowed upon d/Deaf students, as a class, by a benevolent state.

While the d/Deaf students received a "good" education, they were also expected to perform certain duties – foremost among them, obedience. An obedient student was easily managed. The OIED made a point of highlighting civic behavior through publishing student standings in the school newspaper. The administration also made a point to emphasize how well behaved the OIED students were and hinted that perhaps they were even better behaved than

hearing children. This statement was often followed up with a note about how impressive this behaviour was, according to the OIED “experts”, given that most students had arrived at school with little moral training<sup>113</sup> and were in danger of being “irresponsible beings” until educated.<sup>114</sup> Participation in public school life was a constant lesson in balancing rights and duties.<sup>115</sup> Good behaviour and adherence to school rules would be rewarded, including the right to an education. Disobedience in the classroom would be punished. For an OIED child, living in a residential institution, the extension of school rules to the dining room, bedroom and play ground was all encompassing. Discipline and child rearing that would have taken place in the home was now also extended to a student’s teachers and care givers. The citizenship framework of the OIED was inescapable for ten months of the year.

By 1892, physical education in the shape of military drill for boys and callisthenics for girls became mandatory, underlying the presumed “protective” nature of these measures against impending mental, moral and physical disease with the added benefit of instilling discipline, self-control and patriotism.<sup>116</sup> As in the public schools, military or cadet drill became a component of the school day for boys during the early twentieth century. In the spring of 1902, Mathison boasted that the students had begun to “drill” with Mr. Ingram teaching the boys to, “...carry themselves erect and march correctly.”<sup>117</sup> During his first year, Coughlin was quick to incorporate physical drill for male students,

Three times every week all the pupils are given physical culture exercises, that of the boys being, in part, the course in use in the British Army for the development of muscular strength and endurance and includes such military evolutions as are feasible. This is the system of drill adopted by the British Board of Education for the schools of that country. The result is a decided improvement in the physique and bearing of the boys it is also proving to have good disciplinary effects.<sup>118</sup>

The gendered implications surrounding this practice are evident. Outside of military preparation, drill was considered necessary for developing the male body – both physically and ideologically. The disciplinary benefits of organized and systematic physical exercise also provided the opportunity for “good” citizenship to be displayed. Although the boys were not training as soldiers, emulating military drill used by the British army left the impression that the students were loyal to the British crown. There was also a strong sense of pride both in the performance and visual consumption of such drill. Commenting on the “new” drill and calisthenics, Public school examiner, William Spankie, noted in 1907 that the work was “...quite good enough for public exhibitions.”<sup>119</sup> A year later, the Belleville newspaper, *The Ontario* commented on a recent performance by the pupils for a fund raiser for the general hospital,

The girls in their cream and crimson costumes and the boys in their natty white uniforms, present a very attractive appearance... Moreover these physical exercises have a direct educative effect on the pupils by inculcating habits of attention, promptness and obedience, and cannot fail to produce greater alertness of mind and higher quality of moral stamina, as well as increased bodily activity.<sup>120</sup>

Much like how sign language was a performative act, marching young boys in formation also sent a powerful message – these were “good” citizens, willing to obey and united in action and, presumably, thought. Other patriotic “acts” were also established at the OIED over the years. Under Mathison, the British Flag was an important visual reminder of loyalty to the crown as he was proud of raising it on the flag pole and, when the flag pole was out of order, he hung it from a window. Under Coughlin, the flag became integrated into performative aspects of citizenship with the children acting as an ensemble cast. In 1907, Coughlin proudly recounted,

Loyalty to our King and country and deference to the flag as representing our nationality are principles which should be inculcated in every Canadian boy and girl. As one means of accomplishing this result it has been arranged that on certain national holidays and anniversaries the flag should be raised to the mast-head and saluted by all our boys formed in parade on the law. This was done for the first

time on November 9<sup>th</sup>, the King's birthday, and the ceremony was a very interesting and picturesque one.<sup>121</sup>

Under both phases, “new” and “spoken” d/Deaf citizenship, demonstrations of loyalty to the British Crown played an important role allowing the OIED to show reverence for the monarchy alongside a willingness to be part of a common citizenry rather than foreign “d/Deaf”.

### Social Values

Citizenship, according to Osborne, is a “...value-laden concept. It entails not just knowledge and skills, but behaviour and action based on values.”<sup>122</sup> Schools, as we have discussed, embodied key values and concepts in their nature and structure. The students at the OIED were schooled in a variety of social values both in and out of the classroom.

In an effort to prove that the d/Deaf were “good” citizens, the administration turned to the graduates as proof. Writing in 1883, Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities, T.F. Chamberlain, identified the object of the OIED, “...to transform a helpless class into happy and useful citizens.”<sup>123</sup> He goes on to reference past graduates as proof of the success of an OIED education, “The records of those who have attended for the full course of seven years, and have graduated, and gone out into the world useful and intelligent citizens, are full of interest and encouragement.”<sup>124</sup> Not only were the graduates self-sufficient they were also capable of dealing with contemporary citizenship questions. The OIED was fulfilling its purpose of teaching a d/Deaf person to become a “useful” citizen.

In his 1902 report, Mathison commented on the Biennial Convention of the Deaf that had taken place over the previous summer. In particular, he remarked that over 200 d/Deaf people had come together and each one had paid their own way. Independent travel was evidence of financial independence and prosperity.<sup>125</sup> Moreover, evening sessions were especially well

attended as many hearing people were interested in the d/Deaf, “The intelligent deaf welcome every opportunity to dissipate this false impression and let people see and judge for themselves that they are in every good quality of mind and are in no respect inferior to hearing people.”<sup>126</sup> Mathison sought to distinguish OIED students and graduates as “intelligent” or “educated”, thus making them better citizens than their “uneducated” d/Deaf counterparts. As previously noted a key way to rebuff notions of “disability” was to highlight the best and the brightest students. As with any school, academic achievement was rewarded. In June of 1875 the OIED awarded, for the first time, a silver medal for the best student in the literary department and a bronze medal for the best student in the shops. These medals were presented by Governor General Dufferin during a visit to the school.<sup>127</sup> Awarding medals granted legitimacy to the school’s curriculum.<sup>128</sup>

Throughout three administrations the d/Deaf students were identified as equally intelligent to their public school counterparts.<sup>129</sup> “Backward”, “dull” or “inferior” students were particularly dangerous for the school’s reputation for two reasons. First, “dull” students were perceived as holding back other students who were progressing at a “normal” rate. Second, “dull” students ran counter to the notion, outlined above, that the d/Deaf were as intelligent as the hearing if they were armed with an OIED education. In this way, the “backward” student not only undermined the (re)construction of d/Deaf citizenship, they also undermined the claims and financial security of the OIED.

As early as the summer of 1873, Inspector Langmuir began to express his concern over what he termed “backward” students. He noted that despite some students being at the school for several years, some were not making adequate progress and he worried about their effect on fellow pupils. Since these particular students did not want to learn a trade and “had not the

capacity” to receive further instruction, he recommended that they not be admitted back to the school the following September.<sup>130</sup> If they could not “learn” or work, then a citizenship education was wasted on them. A good deal of the problem, according to the various school inspectors and public school examiners over the years, were the large classes.<sup>131</sup>

School by-laws addressed the question of admission requirements based on mental health or “sound mind”. Even if a child was accepted at the OIED, he/she could be sent home if he/she did not meet the intelligence standards. This was the case in the fall of 1902 when Mathison sent a boy and a girl home after determining that the students, “..were not fit subjects mentally for an educational institution.”<sup>132</sup> Mathison’s decision to dismiss these two individuals highlights how the OIED was meant to be an educational institution rather than just a place to house d/Deaf people. It also signalled that an education at the OIED, confirmed intellectual aptitude.

Under Coughlin, eugenic inspired fears about the effect of feeble mindedness became more pronounced as was evident in his 1910 annual report,

This is entirely an educational Institution, and not the proper place for children of this class. Their presence here has a more or less deleterious effect on the other pupils; they lower very materially the status of the whole school, and it is undesirable and unfair that they should attend school here and mingle with the other pupils.<sup>133</sup>

His desire to remove such students was exacerbated by a visit by Dr. Helen Macmurchy in 1912 who also called for a removal of “deficient” students. “It is to be hoped that before long there will be a place in Ontario to care for these children, both for the sake of the community and for their own sake.”<sup>134</sup> The implication that “deficient” people were potentially “dangerous” to the community is clear.

Eugenics enhanced the stigma attached to notions of “disability” arguing that the “disabled” person was intellectually inferior to hearing people. The implication, when

examining citizenship questions is that the “disabled” person would not be able to adequately understand political, economic and social issues and therefore not be able to participate as citizens in a democracy. Moreover, one who lacked a “normal” degree of intelligence would also lack the ability to differentiate between right and wrong. Thus, a student who was labelled as having a “deficient” intelligence and a low moral compass made for a frightening perception of “disabled” people in society. In this way, a “disabled” person was not a citizen.

Inculcating a reverence for Christianity was directly linked to instilling a moral compass and basic notions of right and wrong. For those at the OIED, instilling Christian values and introducing the student to ideas about “God” was critical, particularly as the institution took the place of “home” for the majority of each year.<sup>135</sup> Effie Terrill, an OIED teacher, reflects the necessity of a strong religious base in an 1883 essay that she wrote for the annual report about her fear of Deaf children who have not been introduced to religion, “...we see not only a soul enclosed in a material frame, but a soul imprisoned.”<sup>136</sup> Once the d/Deaf were spiritually enlightened they become model citizens and exuded exemplary moral and religious behaviour. To prove her point she alerted the reader to the fact that it is a rare thing for a d/Deaf person to be charged with a crime. As an exceptional example, from two decades before the OIED was established, a d/Deaf man was tried for murder in Simcoe, Ontario. J.B. McGann, the pioneer of d/Deaf education in Ontario and her father, attended the trial and testified that because the man was not educated he was not aware of the distinction between right and wrong despite the fact that the man’s family attended church regularly and worshipped daily. Only through formal education, imparted by “experts” at OIED, could a person be enlightened.<sup>137</sup> Religion was important for the d/Deaf person’s spiritual salvation but in relation to citizenship, religion was tied to ideas about morality, right and wrong and crime. Terrill’s example of a murder trial was

an extreme example deliberately chosen to highlight the importance of the school's work. As Terrill proclaimed, "The seed which has been sown in the school-room and in the chapel by earnest and loving teachers soon begins to develop, and grow, and finally bursts into beautiful foliage and full fruit, and when our pupils go into 'the wide, wide, world,' we find that they hold their own, in moral and religious tone."<sup>138</sup>

The OIED operated within a Christian framework believing that "good" Canadian citizenship was based, in part, on Christian values. Beginning with the first year and carrying forward for more than four decades, students assembled in the chapel each morning to open the day with prayer and again in the afternoon at the close of day.<sup>139</sup> Although the discussion of denominational topics, amongst the entire student body, was "strictly forbidden"<sup>140</sup> the school recognized that a Christian framework would need to be supplemented to accommodate the varied religious inclinations. The 1876-1877 report of the Inspector of public charities notes,

The Principal delivers a lecture in the morning, and one of the teachers in the afternoon. These lectures are attended by our Protestant pupils. There is also a Bible class, numbering over sixty, taught in the evening, for one hour, by the Principal. The Catholic pupils attend Mass at the Church in Belleville, and receive special religious instruction from Mr. Denys twice each week.<sup>141</sup>

The religious instruction, Sunday school lessons and Bible classes were all conducted by male members of the staff.<sup>142</sup> In 1880, Mathison noted in the annual report, "A reverence for God and all sacred things, correct habits, good manners, a scrupulous regard for truth, respect to teachers, implicit obedience to parents and all in authority, kindly feelings towards each other and everybody, are inculcated in daily exercise."<sup>143</sup> This observation was a blueprint for the citizenship education that was part of the covert and overt curriculum guiding the OIED during the first four decades. The strong reasoning behind citizen education for the d/Deaf was rooted in fears about the perceived immorality or danger posed by the disabled. As Langmuir made

clear in the 1871 annual report, education is especially important for the d/Deaf who, "...in their normal condition of ignorance, are not only unable to communicate with the world at large, but are both morally and civilly irresponsible beings?"<sup>144</sup> The potential threat of immoral or deviant behaviours spurred d/Deaf education during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

In this chapter I have argued that a key factor in both phases of d/Deaf citizenship was the continual reform of the academic curriculum to align with the province's public schools' citizenship framework. Modelling the academic curriculum at the OIED after the public school served two purposes. First, it mitigated perceived notions of the d/Deaf as unintelligent and "dangerous" by recasting the OIED as an educational institution, rather than as a prison, asylum or hospital. Second, educating the d/Deaf according to public school standards ensured that students were capable of grappling with broad citizenship issues, through subjects such as history and geography. In addition, general citizenship strategies and behaviours, inculcated through rituals and codes of behaviours at the OIED, encouraged graduates to earn a livelihood in adulthood guided by the same citizenship values as their hearing counterparts. That the d/Deaf could achieve the same academic standards as their hearing counterparts was a key component in the dual quest to both normalize the d/Deaf and mark them as "different". The goals of an OIED education were that they are idealized for overcoming students' "handicap". The process of creating "good" citizens also legitimized and deepened the roots of the OIED making it an integral and necessary institution in d/Deaf citizen formation and a mainstay in Ontario education which remains in operation to this day.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **“Prepared to make a living by their needle”: Trades Curriculum, Deaf-workers and Citizenship**

The above quote stems from an observation made in 1906 by Superintendent Mathison in regards to the future employment opportunity of the OIED girls in the dressmaking shop.<sup>1</sup> Trades and industrial training were held in high regard at the OIED, largely because a trades education was perceived to counter the fear that the disabled person would become a burden on the family or state. While the OIED sought to engage the students in a citizenship discourse similar to that of the public schools, the discourse was inflated with notions of “work”. In 1903, Mathison observed, “...men who are thorough masters of their trades never have to hunt for employment. The door of opportunity ever stands wide open to them, and all they have to do is to enter and grasp one of the prizes held out to them by a score of eager hands.”<sup>2</sup> With this strong belief, the OIED administration armed their students, male and female, for the “battle” of life and the ultimate inoculation against the disability stigma – earning one’s own livelihood and hence becoming a “good” citizen.

As previously noted, disability studies is a burgeoning field. While ideas around labour and disability are being explored, the bulk of the secondary literature tends to focus on workers who become injured on the job, or develop disabilities from exposure to dangerous job conditions.<sup>3</sup> Paul Longmore and David Goldberger, for example, in their study of the physically handicapped during the great depression, point to the medical model of disability, viewing disability as a personal and medical construct rather than as a social or ideological one. Like Longmore and Goldberger much of the previous work on disability and labour has focussed on occupational health.<sup>4</sup> Likewise, when it comes to the d/Deaf and the Blind, Longmore and

Goldberger point to the general characterization of these two groups in the scholarly literature as “passive recipients” of the benevolence of reformers and educators who sought to “help”.<sup>5</sup> In this chapter, I point to the very ways in which disability shaped ideas about work force training and emphasize how labour contributed to ideas about d/Deaf citizenship. I also seek to contribute to the literature regarding work and disability, particularly, in light of the educational experience of those who were either born disabled or became disabled in childhood.

This chapter examines the dynamic of “work” that is implicit in the unique trades curriculum and within the general “good” work habits rhetoric of citizenship education at the OIED. I argue that the trades curriculum functioned in tandem with the academic curriculum, discussed in the previous chapter, to create a citizenship rhetoric that was in keeping with the “good” citizenship themes of the day, yet, unique to the d/Deaf in that the discourse directly sought to rebuff notions around “disability” – specifically financial dependence. As we shall see, notions of dependence and preparation for work existed at the OIED in gendered ways.

The OIED was proud of integrating a trades program into their academic curriculum. In 1889 Mathison reported, “Industrial training in the common schools is one of the questions of the day for hearing children. For the deaf in Ontario it has been in operation since the establishment of this institution, and the good accomplished leads me to hope for its extension.”<sup>6</sup> It was not until 1914 that trades’ training for Canadian hearing boys became a standard part of the senior elementary curriculum in most urban schools.<sup>7</sup> History of education scholars have placed manual training for elementary school boys within the broader framework of the “New Education” movement of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, but the OIED was years ahead having opened under a dual curriculum of academic and trades in 1870. Although, specialized technical education - as opposed to manual training in basic woodworking in public

schools often focussed on secondary school - formalized trades training at the OIED began at an earlier age, typically by the fourth year at school, for some as young as ten or eleven years of age.

Catherine Kudlick argues that capitalism and disability are inseparable, "...the rigors of the industrial workplace created more disabilities while the capitalist system had less patience for those who failed to conform to its highly specified demands".<sup>8</sup> In an industrial age a "disabled" body became hard for people to ignore. Similarly, ill prepared workers were also hard to ignore. The 1889 Royal Commission report on capital and labour admonished the public school system because it left boys unprepared for the rigors of industrial mechanical life and a means to combat this unpreparedness was to incorporate mechanical training into the curriculum.<sup>9</sup> The pressure from capitalists and industrialists pushed the government to re-evaluate the curriculum and consider integrating technical training with more traditional subjects.

Prior to 1870, the majority of work in Canada was agriculture-based. Between 1870 and 1890 the urban population and the number of employees in manufacturing doubled as the country became increasingly industrialized and urbanized.<sup>10</sup> This shift from agriculture and small-scale craft enterprises to larger manufacturing operations shaped educational policy. No longer would basic mechanical skills be provided through apprenticeships.<sup>11</sup> Robert Stamp's view asserts that the rise of technical and vocational education was rooted in the decline in apprenticeships because working class parents sought employable futures for their children and capitalist interests for a qualified work force during the period of the "New Education".<sup>12</sup> The "New Education" included the integration of subjects such as manual training, domestic science, agriculture, nature study and physical education within the traditional academic curriculum.<sup>13</sup> For Stamp, secondary level technical education was broadly supported.

Alternatively, historians such as John Bullen and Terrance Morrison have argued that the foundations of manual training and technical education are connected to attempts to control the urban youth crime “problem” of the period.<sup>14</sup> The industrial schools movement in Ontario for the province’s “bad” boys and girls resulted in an amendment of the 1871 School Act allowing school boards to establish industrial schools. More recently, Alison Taylor has examined the drive for state-sponsored technical education at the secondary level and argued that it was rooted in an industrial crisis characterized by technical change, an unstable economy and labour-management conflicts.<sup>15</sup> While these and other scholars have grappled with understanding the forces at work in promoting a technical education, as yet, no studies have inquired how and why technical education emerged and evolved at the OIED so far in advance of the public schools.

There were some specialized attempts at technical education in province such as the Toronto Technical School, established in 1891, which eventually fell under the Toronto Board of Education after the passing of the Technical Education Act, 1897.<sup>16</sup> In the years that followed, a number of similar schools appeared across the province in urban areas<sup>17</sup> but all were focussed on the secondary level. In 1909 the provincial government turned its attention to technical education for the elementary level and sent John Seath, the Superintendent of Education for Ontario, to the United States to study their approaches to incorporating technical education into the elementary curriculum.<sup>18</sup> His visit resulted in the passing of the Industrial Education Act of 1911. His influential 1910 report provided the framework and funding formulas for implementing industrial education into Ontario’s schools.<sup>19</sup> The new education, according to George Tompkins, was applied to the elementary curriculum with varying success and was centralized mainly in urban areas although it was not completely successful in all its goals.<sup>20</sup>

### Overview of the Trades Curriculum at the OIED, 1870-1914

I begin this section with an overview of the trades curriculum at the OIED to demonstrate chronologically how the trades curriculum developed years before the public school trades curriculum.

<b>Trade</b>	<b>Administration</b>	<b>School Year Introduced</b>	<b>Gender of Students</b>	<b>Notes</b>
Carpentry	Palmer	1870 -1871	Male	
Farming	Palmer	1870 -1871	Male	
Domestic chores (kitchen work, laundry etc)	Palmer	1870	Female	While not explicitly stated as a “trade”, girls were always expected to contribute to domestic chores. This practice was viewed as domestic training as well as necessary for running the institution.
Tailoring	Palmer	1872 – 1873	Male	
Baking	Palmer		Male	
Shoe Shop	Palmer	1872-1873	Male	
Barbering	Mathison	Early 1890s	Male	
Sewing (including fancywork and dressmaking)	Palmer Mathison	***	Female	Unclear when this officially started. It seems to have always been a part of the curriculum even if it was not identified as a trade during the early years.  Began under Palmer but was expanded during the Mathison years
Printing	Mathison	1891-1892	Male & Female*	During the first year of operation two female students also participated in the printing trade. Thereafter, it remained a male oriented trade.

<b>Trade</b>	<b>Administration</b>	<b>School Year Introduced</b>	<b>Gender of Students</b>	<b>Notes</b>
Manual Training	Mathison	1901-1902	Male	Described as more than wood working in that they learned to work with other materials such as clay. Important for practical purposes but also to inculcate “good” work habits.
Domestic Science	Mathison	1902-1903	Female	
Boys Sewing	Mathison	1902 -1903	Male	This class was introduced for younger boys who were too young to join the other trades.
Home Nursing	Coughlin	1907-1908	Female	
Typewriting	Coughlin	1914-1915	Female	

The OIED, according to the school administration, existed for two purposes. The first was to “cultivate the mind” through an education similar to the public school and the second was to teach the d/Deaf various trades and industries.<sup>21</sup> This two pronged approach to d/Deaf education highlights the important role that “work” played in educating citizens but also how the academic and industrial curriculums were intertwined.<sup>22</sup> Schooling, then, had overt economic underpinnings at the OIED. As Galer notes in his work on disability and fraternalism in Victorian Ontario, disabled bodies were perceived to be non-working bodies, “Casting disabled bodies as unproductive meant that people with physical impairments were a drain on resources and unable to contribute to society.”<sup>23</sup> For the OIED administration educating students in skills that would ensure they could support themselves and their families in adulthood was a priority.<sup>24</sup> At the same time, it was critical that the OIED present the d/Deaf students to potential employers as productive and capable workers equal or superior to their hearing peers. Mediocre work

would not make one a good candidate in an increasingly industrialized and competitive job market.

The OIED opened in 1870 with Principal Palmer believing that two areas of “work” most suited the d/Deaf – agriculture and mechanical trades.<sup>25</sup> The trades curriculum constantly evolved at the OIED in view of better preparing the d/Deaf for their future as independent wage earners capable of supporting themselves and their families. Each administrator advanced the trades curriculum in ways that he thought would “best” serve the d/Deaf after their graduation from the OIED. The result, over the course of more than four decades, was an increasingly varied trades curriculum. While more options existed for male than female students, the curriculum reflected the belief that girls too, needed to be prepared for a productive life in adulthood.

Specific trades such as shoemaking, carpentry, printing, baking, tailoring, sewing, farming and domestic skills were attended to through the shops and reemphasized through daily chores. Children were typically put into the shops around the fourth or fifth year of study. Students were expected to participate in various chores as early as their first year so that none would become a “drone in the hive” with nothing specific to do.<sup>26</sup>

Under Palmer and Mathison, the boys reported to the industrial departments at 7:20 a.m. and worked until 8:30 a.m., took a break, started the academic portion of the school day, returned to the industrial shops at 3:20 and worked until 5:30. The girls in the sewing department were also on a similar schedule working during the hours before and after school although their day ended at 5:00 p.m.<sup>27</sup> During the 1907 to 1908 academic year Coughlin reorganized the school hours. Rather than having the children in the shops before academic work in the morning and after school in the afternoon, the entire morning was devoted to academic work (public school

curriculum) and the afternoon was devoted to industrial training and special classes, including articulation for those students who had not switched to an oral approach.<sup>28</sup> In the following year's report, Coughlin proclaimed that he had been successful in achieving his goals.

The change in the school hours, by which the work of the class-rooms is carried on in one continuous session, from 8:15 to 1 o'clock, leaving the whole afternoon free for industrial work, has proved to be a material improvement on the old system, and has resulted in better work in both the academic and industrial departments.<sup>29</sup>

Efficiency was an important part of the OIED framework and certainly a key component to creating "good" working citizens.

The OIED allowed students who had finished the academic curriculum to come back for a solid year or two of trades training, working from 7:20 a.m. to noon and then from 1:20 p.m. to 5:30 p.m. These students worked for nine hours a day in the shop, "...under similar regulations as usually exist in outside shops."<sup>30</sup> The OIED did not pay the wages but board and "care" was provided free for these students. Certificates of proficiency were also granted to those who were deemed "deserving".<sup>31</sup> This last year of extended study, commonly called a "post-graduate" course, again emphasized the importance of maintaining the d/Deaf "good" work habits while acknowledging it was a difficult task to achieve in a few hours a day. As Mathison observes, in his annual report for 1903,

The boy is put in the shop in his fourth or fifth year. He should remain there during the rest of this school course, say four years, working from two to three hours a day before and after school. Then he should return and put in full time in the shop – nine hours a day – for at least two years more and then, if he is fairly clever and has been attentive and industrious, he should have thoroughly mastered his trade and be able to take his place among competent workmen with credit to himself and satisfaction to his employer.<sup>32</sup>

This observation underscores the serious attempt by the school to educate the students as future workers. At any given time a small group of male and female students were enrolled in "post-graduate" courses. During the 1892 to 1893 academic year, for example, 14 students were

engaged in “post-graduate” industrial training as follows: six in tailoring and dressmaking, three in the print shop, three in the shoe shop, one in carpentry and one in baking.<sup>33</sup> Over the course of 1870 to 1914 the “post-graduate” aspect of the industrial training proved a popular choice among students seeking to perfect their skills.

The desire for the students to master a skill was an objective that the OIED took very seriously. In fact, the “post-graduate” course at the OIED received much attention and approval from more established schools in the United States. The school newspaper reported on a number of American schools requesting information and clarification about how this particular course functioned. One of the most common questions revolved around the issue of who was eligible for the course and was it reserved for those students who were not able to handle the academic curriculum? This misguided assumption was swiftly dealt with and *The Canadian Mute* alerted the reader that a good trades person was also an intelligent one.<sup>34</sup>

The OIED trades education was legitimized further by granting a certificate to those who finished a trades course. Mathison, in his annual report of 1903, points to the significance of holding such a certificate,

To all such pupils diplomas are issued, certifying to their record and attainments; and unless a pupil can produce such a diploma, we repudiate all responsibility for any incompetence he may display. This document, if a pupil possesses one, will certainly be of great service to him, and an important factor in his future career, of the success of which we have no fears if he has thus laid the sure foundation of a thorough mastery of his trade in all its details, combined with the habit of industry, perseverance and thoroughness that we seek to inculcate.<sup>35</sup>

These certificates legitimized the d/Deaf as “good” workers and acted as “proof” that they had received a solid education based on rigorous standards.

The role of parents in determining their children’s educational goals – both academic and industrial – added another dimension for the administration to negotiate. The annual reports

indicate that some parents not only approved of but sought out a trade for their children requesting the school to put their son or daughter in a particular class. When, for example, the domestic science department opened in 1902, the mothers of girls who had begun domestic science training were delighted by their daughter's progress and were anxious for their daughters to take further courses.<sup>36</sup> It is significant that mothers were deemed the "experts" on judging that the course was a good one for their daughters at a time when the OIED administration often deemed themselves to be the "experts" in all areas of d/Deaf education.

Just because a parent requested a particular trade, however, did not mean that the request could be accommodated. Mathison, reported in 1903, that he received a letter from a boy's mother asking that her son be placed in the shoe shop to learn a trade. He went on to say that this mother implied that after a year in the shop her son would be equipped to earn a good livelihood. Mathison scoffed at this idea and expressed frustration that parents do not seem to understand that it takes years to develop a child's skill, as stated in the annual report for 1903,<sup>37</sup>

Now, in view of the fact that this boy is in the regular classes, and therefore spends only about fifteen hours a week in the shoe shop, which during the session would be equal to about fifty-five days of ten hours each....It simply cannot be done...He will have done very well indeed if in the first year he becomes familiar with the names and uses of the tools and masters the rudiments of his trade.<sup>38</sup>

The above quotation provides some insight into the amount of time the students spent in training and points to the tensions between parental desire for good workplace preparation and the administration's desire to maintain its good reputation as industrial educators. We can also observe in this instance that although the administration wanted the students to be well educated so as not to be a burden on the state, parents may have sought security of knowing that they would not leave behind children who could not care for themselves. Clearly, the OIED wanted

to maintain legitimacy as experts in d/Deaf education to determine the right course of study for future d/Deaf workers.

Despite the dogged pursuit of the trades curriculum, the administration lamented the fact that far too many students were removed from school by their parents before they finished their trades education. “We have always tried to impress our shop boys and their parents the importance of remaining here until they are pronounced to be competent workmen by our instructors, who are best able to judge as to their efficiency; yet not one out of five stays as long as he should.”<sup>39</sup> The problem, according to the administration, was that if the students were not fully prepared, they would never be able to compete with their hearing counterparts who did not have a disability to overcome.<sup>40</sup> In this way the d/Deaf were encouraged to be better than the average hearing person to get the same job.

The consequences of being ill prepared not only impacted individual students but could also affect the entire d/Deaf community and ultimately reflect poorly on the OIED. Mathison warns, in his annual report of 1903,

And not only does the reputation of the Institution suffer as a whole, but that also of all the deaf, for this boy’s employer and fellow-employees will naturally conclude that this particular boy’s attainments fairly represents those of all. The injustice of this is obvious as well as the great injury it works to the deaf generally: for most people are inclined to judge all the deaf by the individual deaf persons with whom they are acquainted. We appeal, therefore to all parents to allow their boys, who are learning a trade, to remain here until it has been thoroughly mastered. And of this we are the best judges.<sup>41</sup>

The above quotation points to the idea that all the d/Deaf educated at the OIED were responsible for (re)constructing the idea of the d/Deaf as “good” citizens and “good” workers. While the OIED administration had a clear view on how they wanted the d/Deaf to be perceived by employers and society at large, it was ultimately the OIED students and graduates who would support the shift in understanding. If, according to the OIED administration, the public could see

the d/Deaf in a new way, work with them in the workplace or engage with them in the home, the “disability” label would dissipate and the OIED would continue to claim an expertise in d/Deaf education, ultimately cementing their position in broader Ontario education as a necessity.

Despite being a residential school with a “best interests” philosophy guiding self proclaimed “experts”, parents did have some say in their children’s education, particularly before compulsory d/Deaf education was introduced in Ontario in 1913. Delinquent children in the province’s Industrial Schools or neglected children in the newly formed foster homes were often perceived to be products of “bad” home environments and the leap to “bad” parenting was a short one. But once parents of d/Deaf children acquiesced and sent their children to the OIED, they were, by definition of the administration, being “good” parents making the sacrifice for their children and, ultimately, their country. They were perceived as even better parents if they allowed the children to remain at the school for the full length of study and better still if they allowed them to return for the “post-graduate” trades course. Requests from parents, particularly around the trades, were to be handled carefully by the administration to maintain their “expert” role. These newly minted “experts” also needed to balance the desires of parents so that they would not remove their children as in the case of Nelson Wood who “...left the printing office on account of his mother wanting him to learn drawing every day so as to become an artist when he is through school.”<sup>42</sup> This carefully negotiated tension between a “best interests” philosophy on the part of the administration and parental ambitions for their children became particularly contentious around trades.

The trades curriculum, by its very nature, prepared students for life in a working class environment. As Easton notes, preparations for work after graduation ultimately impeded their upward mobility,<sup>43</sup> “...they were less likely to hold positions necessary for establishing political

power and gaining a policymaking status. In this sense, deaf persons may have lost one stigma only to win another – that of the laboring, working-class body.”<sup>44</sup> The overall assumption by the government, OIED administration and d/Deaf reformers was that these students of the “unfortunate” class would remain working class as described in the 1873 annual report by Palmer,

...instead of being, to some extent, a burden and care to their families and friends, to become self-reliant and valuable citizens. Quite a large proportion of our pupils are from the humbler walks of life, and are necessarily supported by the Government during the period of their education. After their education is completed, their reliance for self-support and independence must be on the trades or occupations learned while at school.<sup>45</sup>

This statement substantiates that while the government was providing for students in childhood, their duty as an adult would be to take on this task for themselves. Through becoming self-sufficient and financially independent adult citizens the initial financial investment by the government was seen to be well worth the cost. The state could provide a basic education, further academic pursuits, however, were the students responsibility.

In 1880 Inspector Langmuir notes that three of the most advanced students of the graduating year asked for financial assistance to go on to the Deaf-Mute College in Washington and train as teachers. The three were denied this request as Langmuir felt that there was little work available to such teachers and suggested that they learn a trade such as carpentry or shoemaking or engage in farm work – noting that all of these were taught at the institution.<sup>46</sup> Whether the presumption was that these students would find it difficult to find teaching jobs is unknown but it was clear from his response that while the government would “support” them in training for working class employment a college education was out of the question. This is an interesting position for the institution to take given the difficulty it had in acquiring teachers who

specialized in d/Deaf education. This position, however, foreshadowed the oralist turn of the institution that would increasingly employ hearing teachers over d/Deaf teachers during the “spoken” d/Deaf citizenship phase.

As with d/Deaf students signing hymns or patriotic poems and songs, so too could the products produced by the trades students be put on display for others to examine and showcase the d/Deaf students as “good” workers. As a case in point, the industrial department sent two volumes of *The Canadian Mute*, footwear,<sup>47</sup> and specimen’s from the sewing class to the 1892 World’s Congress in Chicago.<sup>48</sup> Similarly, in 1910 the Department of Education made a request to the school to send an exhibition of work for display at the Toronto Exhibition. Mr. C.W. James, Secretary to the Ontario Department of Education, had taken a keen interest in the display by the School for the Blind in Brantford and by the OIED, as reported in the city newspapers.<sup>49</sup> The display consisted of art, fancy needlework, specimens from the manual training shops and other products from the industrial departments.<sup>50</sup> Similarly, the annual report for 1910 quoted two newspapers, the *Toronto News* and the *Globe*, who noted that the work was comparable and in many ways surpassed that of hearing children and that the secretary of education, Mr. James, was most interested in them seeing the displays

Mr. James seemed to have no eyes for anything else than for the exhibits of the Institutions at Belleville and Brantford...the manual work turned out by the pupils of the schools at these cities for the deaf and dumb and for the blind is astonishingly clever and rivals successfully the work of those in the schools at Toronto, Hamilton, and London, who are not afflicted with the loss of their senses of sight, hearing and speech.<sup>51</sup>

James’ interest in these displays were in line with the general trend to increase technical education in all schools across the province. The significance of the two Toronto papers commenting on the superior skill of the “disabled” students was worth noting in the annual

reports as proof that the d/Deaf could compete and in some cases surpass their hearing counterparts.

The next portion of this chapter examines five related themes that highlight the relationship between citizenship and ideas around “work”. First, I expand on the idea that “good” workers made “good” citizens as a dominant theme of the OIED citizenship rhetoric. Second, I examine the notion that employment, after graduation from the OIED, was offered up as proof that the d/Deaf graduates of the OIED could become “good” citizens. Third, I argue that the trades curriculum and related institutional “chores” served a dual purpose - cost saving benefits, to the OIED, the labour of the students and the inculcation of work habits. Fourth, I investigate how the role of language infuses ideas about work. Finally, I discuss the OIED curriculum in light of developments of industrial training at the province’s public schools, primarily surrounding the fact that the OIED viewed themselves as pioneers of trades education in the province by integrating a trades curriculum decades before that of the provincial public schools.

#### “Good” Workers Make “Good” Citizens

As we have seen, I assert that the trades curriculum and ideas around “work”, particularly notions of efficiency and diligence, were an important part of the (re)construction of the d/Deaf citizen. For the OIED students, this discourse was amplified and interwoven not only through the academic and trades curriculum but also in the image that was represented by the students to the d/Deaf and hearing communities. The OIED recognized that to change perceptions about hiring people who were perceived to be disabled, the administration must first promote their students as “good” workers both in terms of actual learned trade skills but also through the

student's general work ethic. Since boys were viewed as future breadwinners more vocational options were available to them at the OIED. Much of the secondary literature has pointed to the profound effect that connotations of "disability" have had on ideas of the male, breadwinning role and masculinity in general.<sup>52</sup> Girls also received industrial training that educated them for motherhood but also allowed them to provide for themselves if marriage should elude them.

For the years prior to marriage or for the girls not destined for marriage, the OIED ensured that young d/Deaf women could support themselves in adulthood. An article appearing in *The Canadian Mute* in the spring of 1893 makes it clear that not only should working class girls learn to support themselves, but that all girls need to be able to take care of themselves, "Every daughter should be taught to earn her own living: the rich as well as the poor require this training...Skill added to labour is no disadvantage to the rich and is indispensable to the poor. Well-to-do parents must educate their daughters to work: no reform is more imperative than this."<sup>53</sup> This unauthored article was reprinted in the school newspaper. It speaks to the view that although working class, "work" was a virtue for every student, despite their gender or social class. Overcoming "disability", at the OIED, trumped class.

Although not always called domestic science, the female pupils at the OIED were taught basic household skills often integrated into their daily chores. Prior to the introduction of domestic science in 1902, the annual reports listed housework, laundry, fancywork, sewing and knitting as part of the trades offered at the school.<sup>54</sup> The program described in 1898 by Mathison taught students "...to cut waist patters for themselves by the World's Fair Tailor System and to make garments that would be ordinarily required in everyday use. All the sewing required for the Institution has been done in the sewing room by the deaf girls."<sup>55</sup> Fancy work, ornamental and useful, was also done by the girls.<sup>56</sup> In 1905 the annual report noted, eight female pupils

work all day and in the afternoon about 35 girls are taught general sewing. Regarding fancy work, twenty five girls spent two afternoons each week in this work.<sup>57</sup> During the 1910-1911 school year three girls studied dressmaking full-time.<sup>58</sup> The girls in the full time sewing department were able to take home the dresses that they made.<sup>59</sup>

As the curriculum evolved over the years more options were available to the girls of the school. In 1907 a course in home nursing, for older girls, was taught by a trained nurse and which will, according to Coughlin,

... be of great advantage to the members of the class. This, of course, is not for professional purposes, but to give these girls a sufficient knowledge of the science and art of nursing to enable them to act intelligently and efficiently in ordinary cases of illness or accident, when the services of a trained nurse could not be obtained or would not be required.<sup>60</sup>

The assumption being, of course, that the students would transfer these home nursing tools to the care of their future family.

Clerical work, characterized by typewriting and other skills, was another addition to the female oriented trades. In the spring of 1903, the Home News column of the newspaper indicated that the Superintendent's secretary had been teaching two girls on the "extra" typewriter.<sup>61</sup> By 1914, this practice appears to be formalized

A new feature in this year's work is a class of nine senior girls who are being instructed in Typewriting by Miss Palen, on the Touch System. She showed me some excellent work done by the girls, and Miss Palen informed me that in repeated work they attained a speed of about fifty words per minute, which is a very creditable performance.<sup>62</sup>

This addition to the trades' curriculum necessitated girls working in an office setting. With the implementation of an oral pedagogy beginning in January of 1907 we can see that the trades curriculum began to reflect the assumption that the students would graduate with speech and lip

reading skills. The addition of typing was also a reflection of the commercial education initiative that was implemented in the provinces' secondary schools as an acceptable occupation for girls.

Although spaces were carved out of the curriculum with a view of training the school's girls, it was for the boys and their role as future "good" worker-citizens that the trades curriculum was crafted. The danger of leaving d/Deaf boys without a trades education was alluded to by Mathison in his 1895 report as follows,

...ill prepared to enter upon the work of their lives, to take their place with anything reliance and self-respect, which are the grandest elements in true manhood, were they not instructed in some manual trade or industry, which would enable them to stand up bravely in the community of hearing people, self reliant and capable of forging their own way through life in close approach to equality with those who are blessed with hearing as well as vision, and who have learned some industry or trade.<sup>63</sup>

In this quote he touches on themes of masculinity, self-respect, disability, equality and work.

Clearly the desire was for the d/Deaf to become self-reliant citizens and was constructed around notions of masculinity, manhood and the breadwinning role. The notion of a male body as "disabled" had particular significance as, "the disabled body as an incomplete body meant that people with physical impairments did not have a proper claim on manhood."<sup>64</sup> This assumption is reflected in an observation by the shoe shop instructor Mr. Nurse in his "Home News" column about a number of "tramps" who had been calling at the back kitchen doors of the Institution. "The larger boys do not too look with much favor on such mendicants, as they have been taught lessons of industry and frugality."<sup>65</sup> The administration sought out trades and skills to suit the d/Deaf male citizen both socially and practically so that they could support themselves and their families in adulthood.

Notions of manliness and manhood were also reinforced through the discourse surrounding sports and "manly" past times. Under Mathison, sporting triumphed and defeats in

football, hockey and baseball were frequently reported in the school newspaper. Of note, sporting events against the “hearing” boys of Belleville, especially the football matches against the Belleville Business College, were attended and reported with great enthusiasm. Under Coughlin these sports events appeared more frequently. As well, *The Canadian Mute* under Coughlin’s administration, included a regular column detailing the “scores” and Coughlin eagerly permitted matches between the OIED boys and other teams in the city boasting that the d/Deaf boys were equal or superior to their hearing counterparts in sporting ability.<sup>66</sup> Likewise “manly” sports were featured in reports, authored by the public school examiner. “The boys are manly, respectful and courteous, and in their games and amusements they are self-restraining and agreeable, and the girls seem at all times to be models of refinement and good manners.”<sup>67</sup> Gender roles influenced “disabled” childhood and future adulthood, in ways that were similar to the hearing.

Although the OIED created specific gendered roles within the curriculum, there existed “breaks” or disruptions in the traditional gender roles. The print shop provides an excellent example of boys and girls working together at the same trade. The work of the print shop is described as follows in the first edition of the newspaper in February of 1892,

Three boys and two girls commenced work in the printing office a few days prior to the beginning of the new year. They had to learn the case, the names of the various articles in use and to set type. About three fourths of the composition of this paper is their work and we think it is very creditable to them. They do not set type very fast yet, but speed will come with practice. Their names are George Reeves, John Patrick, John Fisher, Mary Lynch and Lueffa Robinson.<sup>68</sup>

That two of the students were female is significant. In a period where employment training for girls centred on the domestic or dressmaking, these two students were not the norm. Despite my initial assumptions that the female student’s time in the print shop was isolated to their experience OIED, one of the two girls from the shop, Mary Lynch, wrote to the newspaper in

December of 1893 indicating that she had found work in a print shop.<sup>69</sup> However, the “Home News” column of the same edition indicates, “There are no girls learning typesetting in the printing office this term.”<sup>70</sup> Indeed, no female pupil would occupy a spot in the printing office at the OIED again between 1893 and 1914, but the significance of these two young women should not be overlooked. While the trades curriculum at the OIED followed gendered lines, perhaps because of smaller class numbers, it broke with gendered constructions when it was expedient to do so.



Figure 7. “Class of Small Boys in Sewing.”

*Thirty-third Annual Report upon the Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb being for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September 1903, 28.*

Similarly a boys sewing class for those who were too young to enter the shops emerged around the turn of the century. In 1902 there were two classes of young boys, a total of 33

students, in the sewing department receiving instruction twice a week for half an hour each period – a total of one hour a week.<sup>71</sup> Similarly, in 1905 a class of sixteen boys trained,

...in sewing, patching, etc. These are small boys, and their dexterity, in hemming, back stitching, button-hole making and patching is surprising. The patching is turned to practical account in connection with pupils' clothing....Besides the immediate practical usefulness, care is taken to ascertain what pupils show enough natural skill to warrant their being taught tailoring.<sup>72</sup>

The notion that boys were receiving basic sewing skills was unique to the OIED. Although sewing skills were secondary to the inculcation of “good” work habits these classes also acted as a screening process for those boys who may have had an interest in pursuing the tailoring trade. As reflected in Figure 7, above, the class was not merely a leisure pastime. It appeared to be an organized activity. Interestingly, the fact that the students were directly looking at the camera, where in other shots they were engrossed in their “work” in the shops or the classroom, provides an extra sense of masculine “confidence”.

### Employment as Proof of “Good” Citizenship

Throughout the annual reports, newspapers and other school related documents, the OIED administration pointed to the working lives of those graduates who were making a living as a measure of “its” success. A fundamental part of the criteria regarding success as “good” citizens was rooted in their employment as adults. Training as a “good” worker was important, however, following through and finding employment was the ultimate proof that the d/Deaf could be reliable workers and that the hearing society (including potential employers) were made aware that the d/ Deaf were “good” employees as stated by Mathison in his annual report in 1892, “Most of those [former students] who have been here have turned out well and are to-day self-supporting, tax-paying members of the commonwealth, and with very few exceptions are an

intelligent law-abiding class...’’<sup>73</sup> In a similar tone, fourteen years later, the Annual Report stated that some of the boys who had learned carpentry at the school were now employed in the trades and receiving wages on par with their hearing and speaking counterparts.<sup>74</sup>

Reassuring parents that the OIED was the best place for their children to succeed in adulthood, especially before they were compelled to educate their d/Deaf children prior to 1913. Linking citizenship with “work” was an important strategy employed by the OIED. As Easton notes, in her research on the d/Deaf newspapers and labour in the United States “[b]Based on the popular belief that labor power enhanced the likelihood of altering audist perceptions of the deaf, residential schools focussed on training students in trades that would ensure employability after graduation.”<sup>75</sup> The need at the OIED to inculcate the students with employable working class skills was key to its success. Equally important was the desire for the hearing and d/Deaf community to *know* that OIED possessed the skills to teach these children.

The OIED took steps to ensure that the students were well prepared to meet the rigours of the working world even if the economy or demand for a particular skill was waning. Students who learned the shoe making trade, for instance, were also taught the barber trade beginning in the 1890s. The school examiner in 1905 described the rationale as follows. “The Barber-shop, is in connection with the shoe-shop, for reasons that the deaf can very conveniently and profitably carry on both these lines of business in combination.”<sup>76</sup> That the school sought to provide two trades is significant - it provided the boys with two skills in relatively independent trades that would allow them to make a respectable living to provide for themselves and their families.

Portraying “success” through testimonials is evident in the use of role models for the students. The pages of the newspaper include notes about past students jobs, homes and lives informing the students at the OIED, the d/Deaf community and hearing readers of future

opportunities and financial incentives. For example, in the winter of 1893 the paper reported that past student Marshall Simmons was, "...proud as he has a horse and buggy of his own. He also owns two houses, two barns, and over three acres of land."<sup>77</sup> Public consumption or displays of material wealth were declarations that the d/Deaf were productive citizens. The 1893 annual report to the government provided a long list of occupations held by the d/Deaf, 31 in total, and acknowledged that although graduates may not have learned a specific trade at the school the fact that they were engaged in work demonstrated, according to Mathison, "...the industrious habits were formed and preliminary training secured by the operators while at school, which enabled them to succeed after leaving."<sup>78</sup> In this way, even if the student did not use the trade after graduation, the simple fact that he had engaged in trades training would serve him well, primarily because his education was rooted in cultivating industrious habits.

The shoe shop was routinely heralded, in the school's annual reports and newspaper, as one of the best of the industrial trade departments at the OIED owing to the fact that each year several of the boys left the school and were able to set up their own enterprises and earn a living.<sup>79</sup> In the shoe shop, "...the boys are taught to patch and to make boots and shoes, and instructed in the qualities and prices of materials. Good material, good workmanship, honest work is the rule...Each boy after having completed his training, is furnished with an outfit and upon leaving the Institution, is in a position to earn a livelihood."<sup>80</sup> It is significant that the OIED provided the students with a complete set of tools upon graduation so that there were no valid excuses for not earning a living.

The print shop was also a source of pride and routinely highlighted in the school related documents. The printing trade was seen as a good trade for the d/Deaf. The trade was one which required little interaction with the hearing if the d/Deaf person's communication was

“weak” and also added the benefit of immersing the d/Deaf printer in the English language. In the 1898 report, Mathison observed that several of the printing staff had made such good progress that with, “...a little more instruction, they would be able to take a position in an ordinary printing office and give satisfaction to their employer.”<sup>81</sup> Similarly, in 1902 he reported that some have graduated with good knowledge in typesetting and press work<sup>82</sup> indicating that the students were ready to take up positions in print shops upon graduation. Not all the graduates of the print shop went on to work in outside print shops. During the 1912-1913 school year, Charles Ford, former pupil becomes instructor of printing at his alma mater.<sup>83</sup> He then, in turn, handed down the OIED “spoken” citizenship rhetoric to his own students.

Successes of female graduates were also celebrated by the OIED administration. In 1898, Mathison observed that all the students in the sewing department were making good progress and a few who graduated were making a good living at dressmaking.<sup>84</sup> In commenting on the general “success” of female graduates he boasted at the 1894 convention of the Ontario Deaf Association, that, “Among the females quite a number had become dressmakers, some domestic servants, and still a larger portion of them were engaged in domestic occupations...”<sup>85</sup> That many of the young women became dressmakers should be no surprise given the limited trades options offered for the girls. Other female occupations such as teaching were typically out of reach for the majority of the d/Deaf and teaching in particular would become increasingly the domain of the hearing in regards to d/Deaf education. However, a few past students did exceed this expectation. Ada James, one of the OIED’s earliest pupils eventually came back to the school as a teacher and enjoyed a long career.<sup>86</sup>

Perhaps one of the most rewarding examples of “good” citizenship occurred when the civil service opened up to d/Deaf individuals as a career option. In 1905, the annual report noted

that four deaf men, some of whom were OIED alumni, were working for the post office. The implication was clear: “If they are successful others may secure places later on.”<sup>87</sup> Again, the suggestion an individual’s behaviour in public had consequences for the entire d/Deaf community was always just below the surface and relates to the performative nature of “good” d/Deaf citizenship. A year later, the initial four employees continued to be successful and maintained their jobs at the post office. A further 28 d/Deaf men across Canada had also obtained employment at the post office, a good number of them graduates of the OIED.<sup>88</sup> Ideally, d/Deaf men and women would be able to expand to other areas of the federal civil service in Canada.<sup>89</sup> “Only deaf young men have been selected up to this time, but as hearing and speaking young women occupy places in the service, it is hoped deaf young women, who are fitted for the duties may have an equal chance of serving the country.”<sup>90</sup>

The ongoing affirmation by the OIED that the d/Deaf were “good” worker citizens is significant in relation to the overall citizenship discourse at the school, resulting in a carefully crafted ideal over the years. Conversely, discourses about “good” citizenship also created the “bad” category and further empowered the administration, “experts” and elite d/Deaf to judge and pathologize those unable or unwilling to comply. Portrayals of “unsuccessful” graduates was also printed in the newspaper. In particular those who were found peddling or begging were chastised. In the fall of 1894 one former student was excused from the stigma of peddling because his eyesight was poor and if given that he made a living selling useful items, he was commended on making his own way.<sup>91</sup> However, those who were otherwise “able bodied” were deemed lazy and characterized as a disgrace to the d/Deaf community – an interesting distinction regarding notions of “disability”. In a letter to *The Canadian Mute* a former student lamented,

I am surprised that the deaf-mutes, knowing that it is a disgrace not only to themselves, their friends and schoolmates as well, go all over peddling...I am sure

that all the mutes who hold responsible positions in large establishments, as all are well aware that there are deaf printers, lithographers, cabinet-makers, shoemakers, carpenters, etc., will agree with me that it is better than peddling. Let all the mutes who are at present peddling think the matter over for a while, and change their positions, and act like gentlemen and work at something better. Then their friends would speak in the highest terms of them.<sup>92</sup>

Reputation again comes to light as the writer, who calls him or herself “A Graduate”, seems deeply troubled that a few acts of peddling will give the vast majority of “successful” d/Deaf a poor name in society.

### Work and Chores as Cost Savings Efforts

There was, in the official documents, a general undertone of disapproval from the “experts” for parents who tended to coddle their d/Deaf children or to not expect as much of them as their hearing siblings. Scholars of children and childhood such as Sutherland and Bullen have demonstrated that “work” – both paid and unpaid – was a common aspect of childhood during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.<sup>93</sup> The OIED, which claimed to operate as a big family expected the children to do chores and believed that manual labour was part of the training to be competent, reliable and willing workers. In 1902 Mathison observed,

Each boy and girl, if physically able, is required to take his or her time in various kinds of helpful work on the farm or garden, or in the kitchen, dining-room and laundry. In every department of our work the development of character, the instilling into the mind of every pupil the principles of probity, industry and perseverance, is always kept prominently in view, as an all-important feature.<sup>94</sup>

Chores then, were not only integral to running a large family based school such as the OIED but they would also instil the basic work ethic that the students would come to rely on in years to come.

In his work on “unproductive” prisoners in Canadian penitentiaries, Ted McCoy points to the very real aspect of institutional care: it depended, a great deal, on the labour of its inmates.<sup>95</sup>

McCoy examined two groups of prisoners, the sick and the disabled, and considers how the institution itself was forced to recognize who was a worker and who was not. For prisons, part of the premise was based in Foucauldian ideas around work counteracting idleness, which had strong moral underpinnings.<sup>96</sup> For the students at the OIED, I question the role that their labour played. For prisoners, it was often characterized as a response to crime and deviance and a way to regulate their ineffective bodies. However, the rhetoric around work to instill a sense of self-control, independence and diligence was strikingly similar between the prisons and the OIED.<sup>97</sup> Prisoners were, by virtue of their sentences, “bad” citizens who had broken the law. The d/Deaf students, however, were being trained for “good” citizenship. Although ideas around labour and the practical goods and services that they employed were cost effective, it is also helpful to remember that the fear of deviance and the potential for “bad” citizenship loomed over these students at every turn. Chores then, served both a practical and ideological purpose at the OIED.

Several of the earliest trades were crucial to running an institution such as the OIED. Carpentry skills were practical for the institution as the boys were able to help make many of the repairs and improvements to the school buildings themselves.<sup>98</sup> Similarly, the bake shop provided the bread and most of the pastry for the institution.<sup>99</sup> Boys were asked to contribute to the farm in times of harvest, planting or any other time when many hands were required. General chores in the dormitory were also taken up by the male students. Similarly, those who were not employed in the shops after school were often charged with stacking firewood or shovelling snow off the institution’s many sidewalks – a daunting task in the winter. The school newspaper reported on a common scene at the school in the spring of 1893, “Squads of small boys, marshalled by a senior, have been employed for brief periods in gathering sticks, papers, etc., from the grounds. ‘Cleanliness is next to Godliness’.”<sup>100</sup> The older boys also took turns in

the dining room acting as “waiters” during the school time meals on a rotation of approximately four weeks.<sup>101</sup>

Female students were also busy throughout the day beginning with basic bedroom or dormitory chores in the morning. The girls assisted with basic sewing, as previously mentioned, and helped with the kitchen work and laundry.<sup>102</sup> In particular, they helped with the dishes - no small task for a school with several hundred students in attendance. The 1892 edition of *The Canadian Mute* reported on the “Dish Breakers” and listed the names of the girls as well as the particular item and quantity that broke during the washing process, “Several girls broke two pieces and a few only one. I trust we shall have no such record to report another session.”<sup>103</sup> The girls worked on a rotation for dishwashing duties under the supervision of the school Matron.<sup>104</sup> It is significant that the students were not only working but learning how to do a “good” job, it is a reminder that the pupils were under constant surveillance. Like other children, accidents were a fact of life but working in kitchens brought particular peril. In the winter of 1895 it was reported that a little girl’s face was scalded while washing dishes.<sup>105</sup>

The idea that girls were being trained and would be “good” workers also extended to laundry chores. In the spring of 1893, for example, the school newspaper reported on a “competition” in the laundry in which eight of the girls had an ironing contest,

An interesting contest took place in the laundry one afternoon between eight of the girls. An honest rivalry has existed for some time over the ironing merits of each, so it was decided to give all a trial together. Mr. Mathison promised a reward to the ones doing the best work. Each was given a white shirt, and then the contest began. When all were finished the work on four of the shirts was so well done and so much alike that the Matron, Miss. Walker, could not decide which was the best, so each received a photograph of the late Prof. Greene’s grave and monument, which they will prize in memory of their old friend and teacher.<sup>106</sup>

This excerpt points to the pride and rigour that was involved in “proper” household training. It also served to assure parents that their daughters were being trained as well, if not

better, than they would be at home. Casting, once again, the OIED in the role of “experts” on d/Deaf education and citizenship formation.

After the introduction of domestic science, daily chores would reinforce lessons learned in Domestic Science classes as observed by Coughlin,

A residential school should afford superior advantages over the ordinary day school in teaching of domestic science, as all of the household work is available for practical teaching. This year we are taking advantage of the facilities thus afforded by making all the ordinary household work of the pupils a part of their domestic science course. The pupils are taught to cook and serve in the domestic science kitchen and dining room and, in addition, are given practical work under the supervision of the domestic science teacher in the school kitchen and dining room. The laundry and other work is taken up in the same way, always of course, under the supervision of the teacher.<sup>107</sup>

As figure 8, below, reflects the domestic science facilities at the OIED were in top shape. This subject was approached as a scientific and serious endeavor and I suspect that parents viewing this photograph would feel assured that their daughters were learning how to “properly” care for the domestic duties associated with female adulthood.



Figure 8. “Domestic Science Kitchen.”

*Thirty-third Annual Report upon the Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb being for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September 1903, 28.*

Coughlin was mindful of the fact that a residential school must act as both a home and a school and in this way it was important that the female students received all the instruction they would have received at home,

...this is necessary for our girls especially, if they are to discharge well the duties pertaining to that highest and noblest sphere of female activity – the home. All our girls are, therefore, taught to do all kinds of ordinary housework. They learn to make beds, to sweep and dust, to wash and wipe dishes, to set the table, to prepare food for cooking, to iron clothes – in fact to do everything they would learn to do in the ordinary home.<sup>108</sup>

This approach would, of course, compliment the domestic science curriculum.

Outside of providing for the OIED itself, there was the desire on the part of the administration to provide for other institutions within the provincial jurisdiction. The shoe shop is one such example. The shoe shop opened during the 1872-1873 school year and subsequently filled an order of 250 boots for the Cobourg Central Prison, as well as supplying some boots and shoes for Toronto and London Prisons.<sup>109</sup> Palmer expressed a desire for the boys to become so skilled at this trade that they would be able to supply all the institutions of the province with footwear. In this way, Palmer sought to justify or offset the expense of such a specialized education at the OIED. “In doing this, our pupils can feel that while acquiring a useful trade, they can at the same time in some measure compensate the Government for the liberal provision made for their intellectual improvement.”<sup>110</sup> Not only would the students show their gratitude to the state for their education by becoming “good” adult-citizens, they would be “good” child-citizens working to pay back the state’s financial investment.

In 1899, Mathison renewed his request for the government to advance the shoe shop’s potential and give the boys more practice if the various asylums of the province, “...would favour us with orders and a little time to make the foot wear required by them.”<sup>111</sup> Three years later Mathison reported that the 26 boys in the shoe shop had been kept busy as they practiced

their training on orders from other Institutions in the province.<sup>112</sup> Although not always consistent, the shop did fill orders for other institutions in the province. The quality of the shoes and boots were deemed to be of such good quality that during the 1894 to 1895 academic year, Mr. H. Reazin the public school examiner ordered a pair of boots to be made for himself.<sup>113</sup>

Although the OIED did not receive a direct profit from the goods and services produced at the school, these sales offset official costs. In the case of the print shop, it not only printed the school newspaper it also completed general printing jobs for the Institution.<sup>114</sup> Similarly, the boys in the carpenter shop, under the direction of the foreman and assistants made repairs to several buildings, "...which, if it had been charged for in the regular way, would have amounted to over \$1,100."<sup>115</sup> The girls also contributed through domestic chores including, "...the new clothing for boys and girls and the mending gave employment to three or four girls during the day and quite a number after school hours."<sup>116</sup> Certainly, no one could deny the cost saving effect the students' labour had on the OIED's limited budget.

## **LANGUAGE**

Language was a prevalent theme underlying all forms of education at the OIED. In regards to trades and work the role of language fluctuated as the pedagogy evolved and ideas around d/Deaf citizenship were constructed and reconstructed. During the Palmer and the Mathison years the school suggested that the male d/Deaf worker could hold his own in trades and since many, such as shoe making, were solidary endeavours, these skills allowed d/Deaf workers to constitute their own livelihoods, regardless of if they could find work, or "speak", within a larger hearing society. As the school moved into an oralist agenda under Coughlin, there was a shift towards proving that the d/Deaf could communicate effectively with the hearing

and be incorporated into broader hearing workplaces. However, despite changing pedagogies that increasingly favoured producing “speaking” citizens, language always remained important. Nurse’s Home News column, in 1894, provides us a glimpse within the shoe shop and how the OIED took every opportunity to make each lesson a language lesson,

The instructor in our shoe-shop has put up a black-board on which he proposes, each week, to write the names of a number of the tools and appliances used in the shop, and go over them for a few minutes each day until the pupils are familiar with them; the next week he will write out a fresh list and peruse the same course until the name of every article used has been learned. After that he proposes to teach the names of the different parts of a boot or shoe and the phraseology used in the trade outside, to be followed by copies of letters to be used in ordering leather and tools from wholesale firms, etc., a few minutes spent this way each day will be profitably employed. The black board will be found very helpful by keeping the subject before the pupil until impressed on his mind.<sup>117</sup>

The boys were not only being taught how to produce the shoes and boots but how to establish and run their own business, if working with the hearing was not a possibility. Similarly, in the Domestic Science classrooms language lessons took place. Mathison describes, in his 1902 report, that questions, instructions and terminology were written on the blackboard and answers provided in writing.<sup>118</sup> As well, each student had a notebook in which to write down anything that might be of use for their future, first in pencil and then copied over in ink.<sup>119</sup>

The printing trade and d/Deaf school publications were popular during the period as printing was viewed as a good trade for the d/Deaf. First, it provided the pupils with a means of earning a good living in adulthood and, second, it continued to familiarize the students with “...the common forms of speech, and where they learn to correct their mistakes in idiom.”<sup>120</sup> As with all instruction at the OIED, the acquisition and perfection of the English language was deeply intertwined with notions of work force preparedness. Where trades such as farming were solitary, the school continued to expand and develop a curriculum that would engage the students with the wider hearing community. Therefore, the drafting, printing and consumption of the

school newspaper was in itself a language lesson and complimented the school curriculum's emphasis on mastering the English language.<sup>121</sup> Under Coughlin this practice expanded as the print shop produced charts and booklets in which the tools, materials, prices of materials and other information about individual trades were provided.<sup>122</sup>

It is not enough that the boys and girls shall be able to make certain articles or perform certain operations; it is essential that they should be thoroughly acquainted with names, quality, prices etc., of the tools and materials used, and be able to give and receive directions and carry on all necessary conversation with customers and patrons. A full set of these charts will also be placed in the museum, where they will be at the service of the teachers in class-room work, thus securing, what has hitherto been lacking, a proper and systematic correlation of class-room and shop instruction.<sup>123</sup>

Overtime, the administration increasingly began to move students towards conversing with the hearing public. Likely this idea was due, in part, to the oralist agenda of the school under Coughlin. Notably, the intention was to draw the shop into the classroom where previously it had been the reverse. Under Coughlin, the school newspaper expanded its links to the academic curriculum as work sheets, grammar lessons and stories were added to the paper and used within the academic classrooms.<sup>124</sup>

### Comparisons with the Public School

In the annual report for 1892, Mathison expressed dissatisfaction with the current trades education offered at the OIED, imploring the government for an extended course of technical education, “We need an extension of the trades taught, so as to better equip all the pupils for the battle of life. There is a decided tendency at present towards a technical or industrial training, as an important part of an educational course. For the d/Deaf such a provision seems absolutely necessary.”<sup>125</sup> This reference to the public school emphasizes the urgency that the OIED felt regarding the need for the d/Deaf to stay ahead of the hearing in technical education.

Farming always existed at the OIED yet it was defined differently in 1870 than it would be in 1914. During the early years the farm existed to provide “practice” for the boys and to offset some of the food costs of the institution. The school always employed a farmer who ran the farm. With the New Education, agriculture, including nature study was incorporated into the public school curriculum. Although the OIED had always offered farming as a trade it was influenced by the new trend in the public schools, renaming it “agriculture” and hiring a university education farming instructor. Mr. R.J.R. Shorthill, B.S.S., a graduate of the Ontario Agricultural College was appointed in July of 1911 as teacher of Agriculture and given charge of the farm in where, “...six [boys] are being instructed in the science of farming.”<sup>126</sup> That farming was now observed to be scientific also reflects the scientific approach of the day and the increasing legitimacy and necessity in an urbanizing period.

In 1908, H.J. Clarke, public school examiner observed of the OIED agriculture course,

...farming, in some of its many branches, seems to be the best suited. Here the dangers, incident to lack of hearing, are reduced to the minimum and the returns for labour intelligently bestowed are reasonably sure. If something on the line of the Agricultural High School could be introduced here, I consider that it would be a great boon to these pupils. And further, as the newly appointed Inspector for South Hastings, I know that the schools in this district are not doing anything in the way of elementary agriculture, and a Model Farm at this Institution would be an object lessons for Eastern Ontario as well as furnishing a very desirable addition to this Institution.<sup>127</sup>

Clarke’s reference to the public school again emphasized the “pioneering” role the OIED played in advancing technical education.

As previously noted, the province’s public schools were also considering the value of integrating manual training for boys with the first early experiment occurring in Woodstock Ontario in 1889.<sup>128</sup> During the same period, the public school began to question what could be done at the elementary school level for the province’s boys. Although influenced by a variety of

models, manual training – characterized primarily by woodworking – was gradually integrated into the public school system.

In 1898 Mathison considered introducing manual training, based in part on the Swedish Sloyd<sup>129</sup> system, to train for boys who were too young to learn a trade in the regular shops or who were unlikely to pursue a trade.<sup>130</sup> Even if the boys did not follow a trades course, “...their experience in the Manual Training Room will help them materially.”<sup>131</sup> This approach to reach the younger boys would ensure that even those who did not learn a trade would be inculcated with those “good” work habits that would help them attain “good” citizenship values of employability. The program began in 1901 and the administration claimed to be, “...pioneers of this work in Ontario.”<sup>132</sup> As figure 9 below reflects, the manual training workshop was well equipped to lay the foundation of basic carpentry skills. The students in the image are intent on the various tasks at hand and reflect the notion of hard work and diligence that were key aspects of normative masculinity and “good” citizenship.



Figure 9. “Manual Training Work Shop.”  
*Thirty-third Annual Report upon the Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb being for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September 1903, 29.*

The 1903 report indicates that 12 students were engaged with the manual training shop: four doing third year work, four doing second year work and four doing first year work.<sup>133</sup> The course of study under Teacher, Mr. Madden, who had been trained in a manual school in Great Britain and Sweden, was focussed on basic wood working skills. In 1910 Coughlin identified in the annual report that there were two classes comprising of 25 boys total. Class A received lessons twice a week and Class B once a week. The overall work was divided over three years and focussed on woodworking. In the first year the boys made ten models, in the second year 22 and in the third and final year they made 15 models of “advanced character”.<sup>134</sup> Above the actual products the boys were instilled with a sense of pride in their work, punctuality, neatness and perseverance,

Every boy is expected to begin work at a certain time, attend to his own business, take care of, and be responsible not only for his own tools but also those in general use. Whatever occupation these lads will follow in the future their experience in the Manual Training room must help them materially.<sup>135</sup>

Such skills, the OIED administration believed, would serve students well as they embarked on adult lives.

The integration of Domestic Science as a subject was also influenced by the public school system that the OIED strove to emulate and exceed. While Adelaide Hoodless sought to influence the province’s pool of future wives and mothers through “scientific” approaches the OIED also sought her advice.<sup>136</sup> As previously noted, classes in Domestic Science at the OIED were formed in 1902 – two in Domestic Science and two in Domestic Arts. The teacher, Miss. H.H. Gowsell graduated from the Normal School of Domestic Science in Hamilton.<sup>137</sup> The initial class comprised six girls. Each received instruction three times a week; those students who may not be returning to the institution for the next school year spent more time in this study than the other classes. These girls were often older and close in age to graduation and therefore

the closest to marriage. Through the Domestic Science department the students received instruction in housekeeping, plain cooking and duties of waitressing.<sup>138</sup> Classes 2, 3 and 4 were formed from the regular academic classes and included a total of 24 students receiving instruction twice a week and, as far as possible, was to not interfere with regular classroom study. Each of the girls in the cooking department had her own cooking utensils and dishes.<sup>139</sup> The administration goes on to indicate that they believe it is wise to have each student spend a total of three years receiving domestic science instruction, “This may seem a long period to many, but when we consider that the work is the work for a lifetime, it does not seem too long.”<sup>140</sup> The numbers swelled to 51 in 1909 to 1910 and 56 a year later.<sup>141</sup>

A 1905 report, by the public school examiner, provides some insight into the extensive training and skill development through Domestic Science curriculum,

Plain and fancy cooking, pickling, canning, preserving, management of ranges and kitchen utensils; care of table war and linen; care of groceries; how to make tea, coffee, and cocoa; how to save remnants, etc., engage the attention. They are taught to be exact and methodical; to maintain scrupulous neatness; the proper arrangement of the table; how to serve. The training here given these ‘daughters of silence’ in household duties is second in importance to no other instruction given in the Institution. A visit to this department would be a revelation to many house-keepers. The advantage in the way of health and comfort in the future homes of these girls cannot be estimated.<sup>142</sup>

As we have seen, the girls were considered “daughters of silence” rather than “daughters of Canada” – it is significant that “silence”, or the disability, came first.

In 1910, the Royal Commission on Technical Education visited the OIED and, according to the annual report, the Commission members were very pleased with what they had observed. That the industrial departments co-ordinated with the regular school work seemed, according to Coughlin, to appeal to them.<sup>143</sup> Coughlin reasoned that the Royal Commission would likely result in a grant for the promotion of technical education and he hoped that the d/Deaf would be

entitled to their fair share, "...for no other class is more in need of trade instruction, handicapped as they are by their deafness."<sup>144</sup> Coughlin wanted to increase the number of trades offered at the institution and believed that this money would go a long way in making that happen. According to Coughlin,

The most we can do is to endeavour to give our pupils a good start – sufficient to enable them to qualify as apprentices after they leave here, but not enough to make them competent workmen. I, therefore, submit to your earnest consideration the desirability, I might say the outstanding need, of establishing here a continuation course of Technical and High School instruction, contingent on the Dominion Parliament making a reasonable grant for maintenance... The standard for admission to this course should be equal to that of our present High School Entrance examination.<sup>145</sup>

For Coughlin, what was occurring in the public school was important for the OIED as well. His students were required to compete with hearing graduates and as was so often pointed out at the OIED, the d/Deaf needed to be superior workmen and women. Moreover, the extension course would further entrench the OIED as “experts” in d/Deaf education.

The theme of inculcating d/Deaf students against the belief that those who were perceived as disabled, were ultimately a drain on society, was a prevalent theme that underwrote much of the rhetoric surrounding the development and sustainment of the trades curriculum at the OIED from 1870 to 1914. Industrial training formed an important part of the OIED curriculum as part of the reconstruction of the d/Deaf from a “disabled” citizen to a “good” citizen. This reconstruction was, in part, to achieve one of the key goals of d/Deaf education – to make the d/Deaf financially responsible adult citizens and to distance the d/Deaf from associations with “disability” which cast the “disabled” in a dependant role.

Although an academic curriculum particularly regarding literacy was viewed as important, ideas around self-sufficiency were championed as a life duty and a source of personal

and social success. In a 1884 essay describing how to teach mechanical pursuits to d/Deaf students, the trades' teacher William Nurse, wrote:

Work promotes health, happiness and leads to a life of usefulness, elevation, and progression. It is the physical means by which human beings provide for the needs of their existence; and deaf-mutes [sic], objects of pity and charity as many think them to be, are no exception.<sup>146</sup>

In this short passage Nurse simultaneously praised the merits of work and identified and rejected the notion that the d/Deaf may appear to be “disabled” and thus not capable of work. The dual message of the personal and social rewards of hard work and the denunciation of the idea that the d/Deaf need pity as a “disabled” group permeated the citizenship rhetoric surrounding work. This discourse reinforced the (re)construction of the d/Deaf worker as a person as capable, intelligent and hard working as a hearing person.<sup>147</sup> This idea permeated both phases of d/Deaf citizenship formation.

This chapter has demonstrated that both practical and ideological notions of work formed a significant component of the (re)construction of the d/Deaf citizen at the OIED. The idea that the d/Deaf were “good” workers was intertwined with the academic curriculum and larger school life. Parents, teachers, reformers, the hearing community and the d/Deaf students themselves were familiar with the ideas that financial independence was the norm for d/Deaf adults and anything less would deem them “disabled” – a term they so desperately sought to distance themselves from. Proof of good workmanship was apparent in the school's efforts at highlighting graduates who had successfully entered the work place and were, indeed, supporting themselves and their families. Any notion that spoken language was a requirement for success and independence was downplayed by all three administrations. Mathison and Palmer believing that the d/Deaf person's good work ethic would trump all was coupled with the practical preparation for trades that could be performed in a more independent way such as farming, shoe

making and dressmaking. Similarly, Coughlin believed that those who completed the oral program would be able to work alongside the hearing and he pointed to the continued success of the printing program but alongside newly developing clerical positions such as postal service.

While the OIED sought to prepare the students for their eventual roles as adult citizens, the cost-saving effects of the multitude of student labour cannot be ignored. From the opening of the institution onwards to the work of the students, “chores” and the production of goods and services played a significant role at the OIED. The administration made no attempt to hide this fact and continued to point out that working at the institution was a small way that the students could begin to repay the government for its “generosity” in providing the d/Deaf with an education. Thus, the students were aware that “good” citizenship by way of work was not only a requirement of their future, but a very real factor in their school life.

In June of 1893, *The Canadian Mute* praised its graduating class, “With them the state of dependency has been succeeded by one of active independence and self-reliance. They must take their places in the great army of workers, and compete for a share of fortune’s gifts.”<sup>148</sup> This quotation highlights the importance of replacing the “state of dependency” with that of self-reliance. That the d/Deaf could be “good” workers and support themselves and their families rather than rely on the state or their own family and friends for assistance in their adult years was paramount to “good” citizenship.

## **CONCLUSION**

### **“Are you proud to be a Canadian? Say why.”**

Writing, in 1873, about the difficulty of obtaining information on the d/Deaf in the province, J.W. Langmuir notes “...the affliction of insanity, idiocy, deaf-muteness and other physical and mental defects, was looked upon as personal and family disgrace, and as such, to the great loss and disadvantage of those unfortunates, was sought to be covered up by friends and relatives...”<sup>1</sup> Disability, much as it is today, was a family issue that was deeply affected by public perceptions about what it meant to be “disabled”, a characterization that ran the gamut from perpetual infantilization to a criminal behaviour.

In light of pervasive ideas around what it meant to be “disabled” during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, I argue that the establishment of a state funded and monitored residential educational institution was less about putting the d/Deaf children of the province on par with their hearing counterparts than it was about reconstructing the d/Deaf child as a potential “good” citizen. In order for the d/Deaf child to be reconstituted as a “good” citizen, the OIED curriculum had to confront and counter the preconceived notions associated with disability during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century including: lunacy, immorality, unintelligence, unpredictable behaviour and financial dependence in adulthood. These characteristics contributed to an image of an unproductive and dangerous member of the society, who was clearly on the outside of what was considered “normal”.

I began this research by situating the OIED within the broader context of a series of child-saving, middle class reformer led projects that make up, according to Neil Sutherland, a key part of the “new” childhood of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The newly established public school system (1871), child protection system (1892) and juvenile justice

legislation (1908) all shared the belief that children were in need of specialized care and that their potential for “good” citizenship was limitless if properly honed. My research is rooted in the existing scholarly research that identifies the establishment of systems of juvenile “care” as institutions which also support the creation of “experts” as part of an associated legitimizing practice. As a consequence, I argue that the d/Deaf students at the OIED were identified as malleable “good” citizens whose potential for morality, intelligence, social obedience and work force preparedness was equal to that of their hearing counterparts *if* they were they educated at an institution, guided by “expert” advice, such as the OIED.

That the OIED was the only place to adequately acquire this education, as opposed to educating d/Deaf children at home, emboldened the administration and its staff as the “experts” of d/Deaf education in the province. It also heightened the surveillance of d/Deaf individuals by the state and elite d/Deaf groups, many of which were formed as a consequence of attending the OIED or similar institutions. At the OIED these “experts” included the administration, teachers, attendants, middle class reformers, d/Deaf elite and alumni who informed, to varying degrees, how d/Deaf citizenship should be performed. This sense of “expertise” resulted in a series of policies that were deeply rooted in a “best interests” framework that worked to cast the d/Deaf in an impossibly difficult role. The students were, based on their “disability” in need of specialized “care” so as to achieve “good” citizenship status and to contribute on par with hearing people, yet, they were constantly aware, as a result of this specialized “care”, that they were forever marked as “different”.

In my research, I identified two periods of d/Deaf citizenship. The first, inspired by Sutherland’s “new” childhood, covers the period from 1870 to 1906 as the “new” d/Deaf citizenship. This period was characterized by, among other things, the use of sign language in

the classrooms as the school sought to establish sign language as a vehicle to convey significant messages about citizenship. The second period, from 1907 to 1914 (the end of my study period) I have designated as “spoken” citizenship. The terminology associated with this second phase is a reflection of the changing pedagogy that was promoted in American d/Deaf schools and, as such, impacted not only d/Deaf culture, but also Canadian approaches to d/Deaf pedagogy. The emphasis on “spoken” or oral citizenship reflects the turn to oralism as a pedagogy that eliminated sign language from the classroom and replaced it with the exclusive use of finger spelling (of English words), lip reading, oral articulation and written English. The singular use of English, in its many forms, not only underscores the emphasis on “spoken” language, it also worked to dismiss sign language as foreign, primitive and unpatriotic.

My thesis originated by building on the limited number of studies devoted to the OIED that highlighted the emergence of publically funded d/Deaf education in the province. However, my research deviates from previous studies in the way that I attended to the educational foundations upon which it was built and the trajectory of the academic and vocational curricula. These dual curricula were substantively impacted by the school’s approach to d/Deaf pedagogy. As a result, this thesis unfolds in three main parts. First, I address the d/Deaf pedagogy question and examine how questions around language shaped the two periods of d/Deaf citizenship. Second, I examine how the academic curriculum contributed to and supported a citizenship framework that advanced the character development of an intelligent and moral citizen. Finally, this thesis addresses the implicit and explicit directives associated with “work” that influenced ideas about “disability” and the potential for an OIED educated d/Deaf person to become a “good” citizen.

The question of d/Deaf pedagogy contributes to my identification of the two periods of citizenship. These two approaches, the use of sign language via the combined system of education and oralism, were also closely tied to the administrative agendas of those who led the OIED. Under Wesley Palmer (1870 -1879) and Robert Mathison (1879-1906), the combined system of education prevailed and flourished at the OIED. While oral articulation was reinforced under the wide umbrella of the eclectic approach of the combined system, the role of sign language in the classroom, playground and dining hall was acknowledged and, to varying degrees, celebrated. Under these administrations, I profile how sign language was viewed as the natural language of the d/Deaf and was used as method to establish a mode of communication with the hearing and a foundation upon which to build an education. I also discuss how, in particular reference to d/Deaf femininity, sign language took on a performative dynamic. Signing became a symbol of “disability” as students, predominantly female students during the early period, were featured on public display “performing” hymns or prayers. These performances captured both disability and gender. Performances also highlighted the tension that the d/Deaf could be “as good” as the hearing but were forever marked as “different” based on their “disability”. The d/Deaf female students demonstrated for eager onlookers that the students were moral, embodied self control and adhered to standards of femininity of the period and yet, this “sameness” was underscored by their signing -- a clear marker of “difference” or “disability”.

Under Coughlin (1907 -1914) an oral pedagogy emerged and had a profound effect on the school. This study period covers a transitional pedagogical period and highlights key changes to the curriculum and school culture as a whole. Within weeks of Coughlin’s arrival at the school at the end of 1906, he had established oral classes and by 1907, he had split the school

into two separate streams: the manual (combined system) and the oral. During this time, the oral students were increasingly segregated from their “manual” counterparts in the classroom, the dining hall and other areas of the school. My research revealed that despite Coughlin’s enthusiasm for oral classes, during his administration, the performative function of sign language remained intact. In fact, under Coughlin, public performances increased according the school newspaper and annual reports. Many performances now showcased boys who prayed, signed hymns and recited patriotic poems and anthems.

After establishing how the pedagogical struggles surrounding d/Deaf communication framed this research, I turned my attention to the curricula – the academic curriculum modelled on the public school, and the vocational curriculum that pre-dated public school vocational options. To conceptualize my understanding of the citizenship framework that organized the academic curriculum, I drew upon Kenneth Osborne’s identification of four citizenship themes used in teaching social studies: identity; political efficacy; rights and values balanced against duties; and, social values. In addition, I proposed a fifth theme of “work” and used the sixth and final chapter of this thesis to explore the trades curriculum and how it supported the idea of “work” as critical to “good” d/Deaf citizenship.

The use of Osborne’s four themes in the fifth chapter allowed me to extend my research model beyond a linear discussion of adopted policies and changes in legislation to consider how these changes impacted the citizenship framework of the OIED. Much like the public school curriculum, a “great” man approach to understanding Canada’s role as part of the Commonwealth was embedded in the school’s curricular materials. . History and geography figured prominently in the nation building approach. Students were also educated in citizenship practices through exercises in debating, committee and club procedures and other organizational

tools. The Dufferin Literary society stands out as a long term example of how proper procedural rules were established and practiced with frequency. “Evidence” of school practices being put into effect when students reached adulthood is expressed in the multiple d/Deaf clubs and associations that cropped up in largely urban centres -- the majority led by OIED graduates.

Responsibilities and duties, including following school rules, routines and assigned “chores” were an important aspect of the citizenship education obtain at the OIED. Children were expected to be obedient at all times. In addition, these responsibilities were to be carried out according to strict social and gendered norms of the day, much like the way that sign language was performative, so too was citizenship. Boys routinely marched in public in military parade style, dressed in cadet uniforms, to perform active citizenship tasks such as raising and saluting the flag.

The academic curriculum reinforced and sustained the idea that the d/Deaf could and would support themselves in the future.<sup>2</sup> The OIED sought to ensure Ontarians that not only were the d/Deaf future “good” workers, but they were also intelligent and informed citizens. , Over the course of 44 years reviewed for this thesis, the academic curriculum went through significant changes. Although it always sought to fall in line with public school directives, it was not until 1905 that the OIED when the OIED was transferred from the Ministry of Prisons and Asylums to the Ministry of Education officially adopted the public school curriculum. This jurisdictional shift from asylum to educational institution was a highlight of Mathison’s tenure as it signaled an official alignment of d/Deaf students with their public school counterparts., rather than “lunatics” and the “feeble-minded”. Dropping the term “Dumb” from the name of the school was also regarded as an achievement by the administration. Interestingly, the reasoning for the removal of the term differed between Ontario Association for the Deaf and the OIED

administration. The d/Deaf elite, members of the Ontario Association of the Deaf, believed it was important to remove the term because it signified the d/Deaf as unintelligent.<sup>3</sup> The administration, however, under the leadership of Coughlin and his oralist leanings, asserted that removing the term was necessary because it reflected the idea that the d/Deaf were “mute” and could not speak – a fallacy according to Coughlin who believed that all the students could be taught to speak.

This thesis has put forth an argument that “work” be added as a fifth citizenship theme to compliment Osborne’s four themes when applied to the OIED. In chapter six, I demonstrated how the vocational curriculum at the OIED was established well in advance of anything similar at the public elementary or secondary school level. The emphasis on “work” was a direct reflection of the administration’s desire to counter ideas around “disabled” people becoming a burden on their family, friends or the state during their adult years. Other studies on the blind and the d/Deaf have indicated that the financial arguments related to funding “disabled” education lay, in part, in perceptions of financial dependence in adulthood.<sup>4</sup> The expense of the program, which offered multiple trade options for boys and a significantly slimmer set of trade options for the girls, was routinely justified as an investment in future d/Deaf citizenship. The students would acquire a trade and “repay” the state and society for the expense of their vocational education by becoming a “good” worker –citizen.

In the sixth chapter I explored the school’s emphasis on the notion of “work” in two ways – first, as the goal of financial independence and, second, as the association of normalcy and citizenship that was imbued with gendered notions of masculinity and femininity. “Work” was emphasized, among other things, through the trades program as a uniquely developed, integrated and sustained component of the OIED curriculum from the school’s opening in 1870. Notions of

“work” were similarly tied to ideas about language and an academic education. These two objective played out in particular ways to educate the OIED students similar as their hearing counterparts and to reinforce the notion that a “good” worker was essential to “good” d/Deaf citizenship.

Overall, my thesis contributes to the existing literature on (dis)ability, citizenship and d/Deafness in several key ways. First, I adopt a post-social model approach of critical disability studies to identify the lived experience of d/Deaf students at the OIED as varied and defined, in a number of ways, by their disability. Where the social model points to society as disabling rather than the person, the post-social model returns the focus to impairment by identifying how stereotypes and discriminations emerge from socially constructed ideas about normative bodies; the reality that an impairment has on one’s life cannot be ignored.

Second, my study contributes to the literature by integrating the voice, however filtered, of the pupils through a unique source: the school newspaper. Receiving scant attention in the academic scholarship, *The Canadian Mute* sheds light on both the voice of the child and the more generalized use of a school newspaper. Equally important, the integration of “voice” via the school newspaper informs our understanding of the role of the administration, academic curriculum and provides an overview of the general school structure.

Finally, with this study, I have extended the analysis of the experiences of d/Deaf students beyond an institutional examination of the OIED to consider how d/Deaf children were reconstituted from perceived “dangerous” and unpredictable burdens to potential “good” citizens. In so doing, I invite the reader to reconsider prior assumptions about citizenship, disability and education.

The selections from *The Globe* in the introduction that prefaced this research point to the perceived links between disability, immorality, dependence and criminality. It was in this social environment that administrators, teachers, d/Deaf elite, parents of the d/Deaf students and the students themselves sought to reconstruct ideas around what it meant to be d/Deaf. A deliberate and methodical campaign to draw the educated d/Deaf out from under the umbrella of the disability label and reconstruct or rebrand them as potential “good” citizens was carried out through the classrooms, workshops and playgrounds at the OIED. Much like children attending the public schools of the province engaged in their own citizenship formation, d/Deaf students at the OIED were aware what it meant to be a “good” citizen. Hard working, moral, intelligent and financially independent d/Deaf citizens would be rewarded with social approval and acceptance by hearing society, OIED staff and administrators and the d/Deaf elite.

## Appendix A: OIED Attendance 1870 to 1913

<b>YEAR</b>	<b>BOYS</b>	<b>GIRLS</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>CHANGE</b>
October 27, 1870 – September 30, 1871	64	36	100	-
October 1, 1871 – September 30, 1872	97	52	149	+49
October 1, 1872 – September 30, 1873	130	63	193	+44
October 1, 1873 – September 30, 1874	145	76	221	+28
October 1, 1874 – September 30, 1875	155	83	238	+17
October 1, 1875 – September 30, 1876	160	96	256	+18
October 1, 1876 – September 30, 1877	167	104	271	+15
October 1, 1877 – September 30, 1878	166	111	277	+6
October 1, 1878 – September, 30, 1879	164	105	269	-8
October 1, 1879 – September 30 1880	162	119	281	+12
October 1, 1880 – September 30, 1881	164	132	296	+15
October 1, 1881 – September 30, 1882	165	138	303	+7
October 1, 1882 – September 30, 1883	158	135	293	-10
October 1, 1883 – September 30, 1884	156	130	286	-7
October 1, 1884 – September 30, 1885	168	116	284	-2
October 1, 1885 – September 30, 1886	161	112	273	-11
October 1, 1886 – September 30, 1887	151	113	264	-9
October 1, 1887 – September 30, 1888	156	109	265	+1
October 1, 1888 – September 30, 1889	153	121	274	+9
October 1, 1889 – September 30, 1890	159	132	291	+17
October 1, 1890 – September 30, 1891	166	130	296	+5
October 1, 1891 – September 30, 1892	158	127	285	-11
October 1, 1892 – September 30, 1893	162	136	298	+13
October 1, 1893 – September 30, 1894	158	137	295	-3
October 1, 1894 – September 30, 1895	160	135	295	---
October 1, 1895 – September 30, 1896	173	137	310	+15
October 1, 1896 – September 30, 1897	164	128	292	-18
October 1, 1897 – September 30, 1898	167	138	305	+13
October 1, 1898 – September 30, 1899	161	132	293	-12
October 1, 1899 – September 30, 1900	152	130	282	-11
October 1, 1900 – September 30, 1901	157	143	300	+18
October 1, 1901 – September 30, 1902	147	141	288	-12
October 1, 1902 – September 30, 1903	140	143	283	-5
October 1, 1903 – September 30, 1904	137	134	271	-12
October 1, 1904 – September 30, 1905	130	138	268	-3
October 1, 1905 – September 30, 1906	116	143	259	-9
October 1, 1906 – September 30, 1907	126	145	271	+12
October 1, 1907 – September 30, 1908	133	143	276	+5
October 1, 1908 – October 31, 1909	130	151	281	+5
October 1, 1909 – October 31, 1910	143	149	292	+11

<b>YEAR</b>	<b>BOYS</b>	<b>GIRLS</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>CHANGE</b>
October 1, 1910 – October 31, 1911	138	143	281	-11
October 1, 1911 – October 31, 1912	135	126	261	-20
October 1, 1912 – October 31, 1913	139	129	268	+7

\*\* Thicker line indicates shift to the Ministry of Education

Appendix B: Single Handed Alphabet

## Notes – Introduction

<sup>1</sup>Andrews, Andrew. “The Deaf and Dumb”, Letter to the Editor. *The Globe*. May 12, 1858 p. 2

<sup>2</sup>“City News”, *The Globe* Vol. XXXVII n. 15 January 18, 1870 p. 1.

<sup>3</sup>C. Carbin, *A Deaf Heritage in Canada: A Distinctive, Diverse and Enduring Culture*, (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1996), 95. The OIED was a residential school where the students remained on campus for the majority of the year, including Christmas, Easter and weekends. Superintendent Mathison stopped the practice of allowing the students to go home, when he took over in 1877, citing the fear of spreading communicable diseases from one child’s home to a large student body. The practice continued during the Mathison years and into the Coughlin years. In 1914, Coughlin decided that those students in the first form, or high school, would be allowed to return home for the Christmas holidays, all other students remained at the OIED over the holidays.

<sup>4</sup> When the school first opened, in 1870, the students were permitted to go home. Under Mathison, this practice was quickly curtailed. Citing fear of the spread of contagious disease, Mathison put in place a policy that allowed the children to go home only at the end of the school year. Parents were welcome to remove their children at any time, however, they would not be permitted to come back to school until the following September. This practice continued under Coughlin and is reported in the Pupils’ Locals of December 1910 as follows: “Dr. Coughlin won’t permit us to go home on Christmas. Some of the pupils wish to go home to see their parents on Christmas but we must patiently stay here until June. We might get sick and spread disease in the school.” V. Coursey, “The Pupils’ Locals,” *The Canadian Mute* 18, 2 (December 15, 1910), 3.

<sup>5</sup> An overview of the school, in an editorial of *The Canadian Mute*, speaks to the nature of religious instruction at the school, “The work of each day is begun and closed with prayer in the chapel; on Sundays the teachers in rotation lecture to all the pupils on moral and religious themes, and ministers of all denominations are at liberty to come to the Institution at any time after school hours and instruct the pupils of their respective sects, a privilege of which they regularly avail themselves ... The Roman Catholic pupils go to Mass and other religious services in the city every Sunday morning and days of obligation...” G. Stewart, “Editorial: School for the Deaf, Belleville,” *The Canadian Mute* 13, 2 (March 15, 1905), 2.

<sup>6</sup> For more on the emergence of the Children’s Aid Society in Ontario see, A. Jones and L. Rutman, *In the Children’s Aid: J.J. Kelso and Child Welfare in Ontario*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981); X. Chen, *Tending the Gardens of Citizenship: Child Saving in Toronto 1880s-1920s* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005).

<sup>7</sup> S. Houston, “Victorian Origins of Juvenile Delinquency: A Canadian Experience”. *History of Education Quarterly* 12, 3 (Autumn 1972): 254-280; J. Trépanier, “Networks, Lobbies and Pressures: Children’s Aid Societies and the Adoption of the Canadian Juvenile Delinquents Act of 1908”, *Paedagogical Historica* 38, 1 (February 2002):581-605; B. Hogeveen, “Discontinuity and/in the Early Twentieth Century Ontario Juvenile Court”, *Journal of Historical Sociology* 20, 4 (December 2007): 605-621.

<sup>8</sup> See, for example, M. Katz & P. Mattingly eds. *Education and Social Change: Themes from Ontario’s Past* (New York: New York University Press, 1975); A. Prentice, *The School Promoters: Education and Social Class in Mid-Nineteenth Century Upper Canada*. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977); R. Stamp, *Schools of Ontario: 1876-1976* (Toronto, 1982); B. Curtis, *Building the Educational State: Canada West, 1836-1871*(London: The Althouse Press, 1988); S. Houston & A. Prentice, *Schooling and Scholars in Nineteenth Century Ontario*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988); N. Sutherland, *Children in English-Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth-Century Consensus* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976; reprinted by Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2000); P. Axelrod, *The Promise of Schooling: Education in Canada, 1800-1914*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997).

<sup>9</sup> Sutherland, *Children in English-Canadian Society*.

<sup>10</sup> Prentice, *The School Promoters*; K. Osborne, "Education is the Best National Insurance: Citizenship Education in Canadian Schools, Past and Present", *Canadian and International Education*, 25, 2 (1996): 31-58; K. Osborne, "Public Schooling and Citizenship Education in Canada," *Canadian Ethnic Studies/Etudes ethnique au Canada* XXXII, 1, (2000): 8-37.

<sup>11</sup> Stuart Hall, "Introduction." *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* ed. Stuart Hall, (London: Sage, 1997), 3.

<sup>12</sup> K. Osborne, "Citizenship Education and Social Studies". In *Trends & Issues in Canadian Social Studies*. Edited by Ian Wright and Alan Sears (Vancouver: Pacific Educational Press, 1998) 55.

<sup>13</sup> Baynton, "A Silent Exile on this Earth," 33.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid, 33.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid, 33.

<sup>16</sup> Prentice *The School Promoters*; Curtis, *Building the Educational State*; Houston & Prentice *Schooling and Scholars*; Axelrod *The Promise of Schooling*; Osborne, "Public Schooling and Citizenship Education in Canada."

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Bruce Curtis, *Building the Educational State: Canada West, 1836-187*, (London: The Althouse Press, 1988). Rosa Bruno-Jofre has recently identified Curtis as one of the most important sociological historians in the field of Canadian education history, "He opened a new way of doing history of education in the early 1980s and has become the most important theoretical influence in the history of education." Rosa Bruno-Jofré, "History of education in Canada: historiographic "turns" and widening horizons," *Paedagogica Historica* 50, 6 (2014): 779.

<sup>19</sup> Penney Clark, "The Historical Context of Social Studies in English Canada," in *Challenges and Prospects for Canadian Social Studies*, ed. A. Sears and I. Wright, 17-37, (Vancouver, BC: Pacific Educational Press, 2004); Rosa Bruno-Jofré, "Citizenship and Schooling in Manitoba Between the End of the First World War and the End of the Second World War," in *Citizenship in Transformation in Canada*, ed. Yvonne Hébert, 112-33 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002); Alan Sears, "Social Studies as Citizenship Education in English in Canada: A Review of Research," *Theory and Research in Social Education* 22 (1994): 6-43; Stéphane Lévesque, "History and Social Studies in Québec: An Historical Perspective," In *Challenges and Prospects for Canadian Social Studies* ed. Alan Sears and Ian Wright, 55-89 (Vancouver: Pacific Educational Press, 2004).

<sup>20</sup> Von Heyking notes that, "The original course of study for Alberta was inherited from Ontario in 1902." *Creating Citizens*, 9.

<sup>21</sup> Von Heyking, *Creating Citizens* 5.

<sup>22</sup> Robert Adamoski, Dorothy Chunn and Robert Menzies, "Rethinking the Citizen in Canadian Social History," in *Contesting Canadian Citizenship: Historical Readings*, ed. Robert Adamoski, Dorothy Chunn and Robert Menzies, (Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview Press, 2002), 26.

<sup>23</sup> Kenneth Osborne, in particular, has done significant work in this area. See, Kenneth Osborne, "The Teaching of History and Democratic Citizenship," in *The Canadian Anthology of Social Studies: Issues and Strategies for Teachers*, ed. Roland Case and Penney Clark, (Vancouver: Pacific Educational Press, 1997), 45; Kenneth Osborne, "Public Schooling and Citizenship Education in Canada," in *Educating Citizens for a Pluralistic Society*, ed. R. Bruno-Jofré and Natalia Aponiuk p. 11-48. (Calgary: Canadian Ethnic Studies, 2001).

<sup>24</sup> Lorna R. McLean, "Education, Identity, and Citizenship in Early Modern Canada," *Journal of Canadian Studies/Revue d'études canadiennes* 41, 1 (Hiver 2007 Winter), 24. See also, Lorna R. McLean, "There is no magic by which such qualities will be acquired at the voting age: Teachers, curriculum, pedagogy and citizenship," *Historical Studies in Education/Revue histoire de l'éducation* 22, 2 (fall/automne 2010): 39-57.

<sup>25</sup> Joel Westheimer, "Thinking about Patriotism," *Educational Leadership*, 65, 5 (February 2008): 48; Joel Westheimer, "Introduction" in ed. J. Westheimer, *Pledging Allegiance: The Politics of Patriotism in America's Schools* (New York: Teacher's College Press, 2007):6-7.

<sup>26</sup> Kenneth Osborne, "The Teaching of History and Democratic Citizenship," in *Trends and Issues in Canadian Social Studies*, ed. Ian Wright and Alan Sears, (Vancouver: Pacific Educational Press, 1998), 45.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 46.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 49.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 54.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 55.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 57.

<sup>32</sup> Galer, Dustin. "A Friend in Need or a Business Indeed?: Disabled Bodies and Fraternalism in Victorian Ontario," *Labour/La Travail*, 66 (Fall 2010), 13.

## Notes – Chapter One

<sup>33</sup> Robert Mathison, "The Superintendent to Parents and Friends," *The Canadian Mute* 11,15 (November 16, 1903), 4.

<sup>34</sup> "Pupils' Locals, Contributed by Mr. Denys' Class," *The Canadian Mute* 11, 4 (March 2, 1903), 3.

<sup>35</sup> "The Pupils Locals' – Contributions from Mr. Denys' Class," 11, 8 *The Canadian Mute* (January 1, 1904), 3.

<sup>36</sup> Kristin Lindgren, Doreen De Luca and Donna Jo Napoli, "Introduction," *Signs and Voices: Deaf Culture, identity, language and arts*, ed. K. Lindgren, D. De Luca and D. J. Napoli (Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press, 2008): xv; see also Brenda Jo Brueggemann, "Think-Between: A Deaf Studies Commonplace Book," 30- 42 in the same collection. Brueggemann notes, "Give me a hyphen any day. To be sure, the words on either side of the hyphen are interesting too; but it is what's happening in that hyphen – the moment of magic artistry there in that half-dash – that really catches my eye." p. 30.

<sup>37</sup> Lindgen, De Luca and Napoli, "Introduction," xiii; see also James Woodward, "Implications for sociolinguistic research among the deaf," *Sign Language Studies* 1, (1972), 1-7.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup> Susan Burch and Alison Kafer, "Introduction: Interventions, Investments, and Intersections," in *Deaf and Disability Studies: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. S. Burch and A. Kafer. (Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press, 2010): xxi. In the introduction to this collection, Burch and Kafer note, that there is no consensus on the "proper" terminology to use. As such, each contributor to the collection chose the terminology that worked with their research, "We have chosen diversity over consistency, supporting and respecting our authors' individual decisions about what terms to use based on their own intellectual and political investments. Having *deaf*, *d/Deaf*, and *Deaf* serve different purposes throughout the text highlights the lack of consensus on the terms not only in the fields but also in the communities."

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.* See also Brenda Jo Brueggemann's essay in the collection where she deals with the question of overlap between Disability Studies and Deaf Studies. Brueggemann suggests, "...that although Disability Studies and Deaf

Studies remain different bodies, I find that, especially in the last decade, they have been dancing in exciting, provocative, colorful steps together quite a lot.” Brenda Jo Bruggemann, “The Tango: Or What Deaf Studies and Disability Studies DO-DO.” In *Deaf and Disability Studies: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. S. Burch and A. Kafer (Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press, 2010): 245.

<sup>41</sup> D. Baynton, “ ‘A Silent Exile on This Earth’: The Metaphorical Construction of Deafness in the Nineteenth Century,” in *Disability Studies Reader* 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. L Davis (eds). (New York: Routledge), p. 33. In this important article Baynton points to the importance of the d/Deaf residential school system in terms of cultural formation for the d/Deaf community in the United States.

<sup>1</sup> Margaret Conrad, “A Brief Survey of Canadian Historiography,” 2011. See also, Carl Berger, *The Writing of Canadian History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993); Chad Gaffield, “Historical Thinking, C.P. Snow’s Two Cultures and a Hope for the Twenty-First Century,” *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 12, (2001), 9-10.

<sup>2</sup> Cynthia Comacchio, “ ‘The History of Us: Canadian Families and Socioeconomic Change,” *Labour/Le Travail*, 46, (2000), 180.

<sup>3</sup> Prentice, *The School Promoters*; Katz & Mattingly, *Education and Social Change*.

<sup>4</sup> Sutherland, *Children in English-Canadian Society, 1880-1920*.

<sup>5</sup> Curtis, *Building the Educational State*; Mariana Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991; reprinted 2008).

<sup>6</sup> Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap and Water*, 47. For more on Valverde’s use of discourse analysis see her article, “Some Remarks on the Rise and Fall of Discourse Analysis” *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 65 (Mai-May 2000), 59-77.

<sup>7</sup> Dorothy Chunn, “Boys will be Men, Girls will be Mothers: The Legal Regulation of Childhood in Toronto and Vancouver,” *Sociological Studies of Child Development*, 3(1990), 87-110; Alan Prout & Alison James, ed. *Constructing and Reconstructing Childhood: Contemporary Issues in the Sociological Study of Childhood* (London: Falmer Press, 1997).

<sup>8</sup> Theresa Richardson, *The Century of the Child: The Mental Hygiene Movement and Social Policy in the United States and Canada* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1989).

<sup>9</sup> Prout & James, *Constructing and Reconstructing Childhood*.

<sup>10</sup> While childhood remains an expanding field fewer studies have focussed on the elderly in Canada. See for example Sharon Anne Cook, “ ‘A Quiet Place...to Die’: Ottawa’s First Protestant Old Age Homes for Women and Men,” *Ontario History, Ontario Historical Society* LXXXI, 1 (March 1989): 25-40; James Snell, *The Citizen’s Wage: The State and the Elderly in Canada, 1900-1951* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996); Cheryl DesRoches, “Everyone in Their Place: The Formation of Institutional Care for the Elderly in Nineteenth-Century Ontario,” *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 15, (2004): 49-70.

<sup>11</sup> Norah Lewis, *‘I Want to Join Your Club: Letters from Rural Children, 1900-1920’* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1996); Norah Lewis, *Freedom to Play: We Made our own Fun* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2002).

<sup>12</sup> Lewis “*I Want to Join Your Club*, 3.

<sup>13</sup> Brian Low, *NFB Kids: Portrayals of Children by the National Film Board of Canada, 1939-1989* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2002), 207.

<sup>14</sup> N. Sutherland, *Growing Up*, ix.

<sup>15</sup> Jean Barman, “Oh No! It would not be Proper to Discuss That with you: Reflections on Gender and the Experience of Childhood” *Curriculum Inquiry* 24, 1 (1994), 53-67.

<sup>16</sup> Sutherland, 1997 *Growing Up*, 6-7; Barman, “Oh No! It would not be Proper to Discuss that with you,” 1994.

<sup>17</sup> Mona Gleason, “Disciplining the Student Body: Schooling and the Construction of Canadian Children’s Bodies, 1930-1960,” *History of Education Quarterly*, 41, 2 (2001), 193.

- 
- <sup>18</sup> Tamara Myers & Joan Sangster, "Retorts, Runaways and Riots: Patterns of Resistance in Canadian Reform Schools for Girls, 1930-60," *Journal of Social History* 34, 3 (2001): 669-697; Chunn, "Boys will be Men, Girls will be Mothers,".
- <sup>19</sup> Gerda Lerner, "Reconceptualizing Differences Among Women," *Journal of Women's History*, 1, 3 (Winter 1990): 106-122.
- <sup>20</sup> Joy Parr, *The Gender of Breadwinners: Women, Men and Change in Two Industrial Towns, 1880-1950* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990).
- <sup>21</sup> Tompkins, *A Common Countenance*; Elizabeth Smyth, 'A Noble Proof of Excellence': The Culture and Curriculum of a Nineteenth-Century Ontario Covert Academy. In *Gender and Education in Ontario* ed. A. Prentice and R. Heap (Toronto: Scholars Press, 1991): 269-289.
- <sup>22</sup> Tompkins, *A Common Countenance*.
- <sup>23</sup> Axelrod, *The Promise of Schooling*; Mark Moss, *Manliness and Militarism: Educating Young Boys in Ontario for War* (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2000).
- <sup>24</sup> Marta Danylewycz, "Domestic Science Education in Ontario, 1900-1940," in A. Prentice and R. Heap ed. *Gender and Education in Ontario* (Toronto: Scholar's Press, 1991), 139. See also, Axelrod, *The Promise of Schooling*, 109.
- <sup>25</sup> Danylewycz, "Domestic Science Education in Ontario, 1900-1940".
- <sup>26</sup> Mary Wilson, "Certified Women: Professional Program Curriculum at the Macdonald Institute for Domestic Science in Guelph, Ontario, Canada, 1903-1920," *History of Intellectual Culture* 8, 1 (2009): 1-17. See also: Terry Crowley, "Madonnas Before Magdalenes: Adelaide Hoodless and the Making of the Canadian Gibson Girl," *Canadian Historical Review* 67, 4 (1986): 520-547.
- <sup>27</sup> Sharon Anne Cook, *Through Sunshine and Shadow: The Women's Christian Temperance Unit, Evangelicalism and Reform in Ontario, 1874-1930* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 1995); Craig Heron, *Booze: A Distilled History* (Toronto: Between the Lines Press, 2003); Craig Heron, "The Boys and their Booze: Masculinities and Public Drinking in Work-class Hamilton, 1890-1946," *Canadian Historical Review* 86, 3 (2005):411-452.
- <sup>28</sup> Cook, *Through Sunshine and Shadow*.
- <sup>29</sup> Cook, *Sex, Lies and Cigarettes*.
- <sup>30</sup> Paul Bennett, "Turning 'Bad Boys' into 'Good Citizens'?: The Reforming Impulses of Toronto's Industrial Schools Movement, 1883 to the 1920s," *Ontario History* 78, 3 (1986): 77-101; Paul Bennett, "Taming 'Bad Boys' of the 'Dangerous Class': Child Rescue and Restraint at the Victoria Industrial School, 1887-1935," *Social History*, 21, 41 (1988): 71-96; Susan Houston, *Victorian Origins of Juvenile Delinquency: A Canadian Experience*. In Katz & Mattingly, (eds) *Education and Social Change: Themes from Ontario's Past* (New York: New York University Press, 1975).
- <sup>31</sup> Chunn, "Boys will be Men, Girls will be Mothers"; Joan Sangster, *Regulating Girls and Women: Sexuality, Family and the Law in Ontario, 1920-1960* (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2001); Joan Sangster, *Girl Trouble: Female Delinquency in English Canada* (Toronto: Between the Lines Press, 2002); Brian Hogeveen, "'You Will Hardly believe I turned out so Well': Parole, Surveillance, Masculinity and the Victorian Industrial School, 1896-1935," *Social History*, 37, 74 (2004): 201-227; Brian Hogeveen, "The Evils with Which we are Called to Grapple': Elite Reformers, Eugenicists, Environmental Psychologists, and the Construction of Toronto's Working Class Boy Problem, 1860-1930," *Labour/Le Travail* 55 (2005): 37-68.
- <sup>32</sup> Chunn, "Boys will be Men, Girls will be Mothers"; Sangster, *Regulating Girls and Women*; Sangster, *Girl Trouble*; Myers & Sangster, *Retorts, Riots and Runaways*.
- <sup>33</sup> Sangster, *Girl Trouble*; Hogeveen, "You will Hardly believe I turned out so Well"; Hogeveen, "The Evils with Which we are Called to Grapple".
- <sup>34</sup> Sangster, *Girl Trouble*, 346.
- <sup>35</sup> Bryan Hogeveen's work sheds particular light on the violence experienced by the boys at the Victoria Industrial School in Ontario, at the hands of the staff. See, Bryan Hogeveen, "Accounting for Violence at the Victoria Industrial School," *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 42, 83 (Mai-May 2009): 147-174.

<sup>36</sup> See, Alastair, Glegg, “Margaret Bayne and the Vancouver Girls’ Industrial School,” *Historical Studies in Education* 18, 2 (September 2006): 201-223; Hogeveen, “You will Hardly believe I turned out so Well”; Hogeveen, “The Evils with Which we are called to Grapple”; Hogeveen, Accounting for Violence at the Victoria Industrial School”; Bennett, “Taming ‘Bad Boys’ of the ‘Dangerous Class’”; Bennett, “Turning ‘Bad Boys’ into ‘Good Citizens’”.

<sup>37</sup> S. Gibbons, “‘Our Power to Remodel Civilization’: The Development of Eugenic Feminism in Alberta, 1909-1921,” *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History* 31, 1 (2014): 123-142. For more on eugenics in Canada see, A. McLaren, *Our Own Master Race: Eugenics in Canada, 1885-1945* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1990); J. Grekel, H. Krahn, and D. Odynak, “Sterilizing the ‘Feeble-minded’: Eugenics in Alberta, Canada, 1929-1972,” *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 17, 4 (2004):358-384; G. Baker, “Eugenics and Migration: A Case Study of Salvation Army Literature about Canada and Britain, c. 1890-1921.” *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History* 31:1 (2014), 77-98.

<sup>38</sup> “The Sexual Sterilization Act,” Statutes of the Province of Alberta, 21 March 1928, p. 117.

<sup>39</sup> J. Grekul, “Sterilization in Alberta, 1928 to 1972: Gender Matters,” *The Canadian Review of Sociology*, 43, 3 (2008): 247-266. The case of Leilani Muir makes this point clearly. Muir, a resident of the Provincial Training Institute for Mental Defectives, Alberta, was deemed a good candidate for sterilization based on her low IQ scores. She was told she was having her appendix taken out and, without her knowledge, she was also sterilized. Muir would find out in adulthood that she was no longer capable of having biological children. The documentary, *The Sterilization of Leilani Muir* (1996) recounts her and other inmates’ stories of state sanctioned sterilization while incarcerated at provincial training schools.

<sup>40</sup> R. Beiner, “Introduction,” in *Theorizing Citizenship* ed. R. Beiner (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), 3.

<sup>41</sup> Cynthia Comacchio, “‘The Rising Generation’: Laying Claim to the Health of Adolescents in English Canada, 1920-1970,” *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History* 19 (2002): 133-178.

<sup>42</sup> K. McLaren, “‘We Had No Desire to be Set Apart’: Forced Segregation of Black Students in Canada West Public Schools and Myths of British Egalitarianism,” *Social History/Sociale Histoire* 36, 3 (2004): 27-50.

<sup>43</sup> L. McLean, “‘The Good Citizen’: Masculinity and Citizenship at Frontier College, 1899-1933,” in *Constructing Canadian Citizenship: Historical Readings* ed. R. Adamoski, D. Chunn, and R. Menzies, (Vancouver, Broadview Press, 2002), 232.

<sup>44</sup> See, for example, C. Gaffield, *Language, Schooling and Cultural Conflict: The Origins of the French Language Controversy in Ontario* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1987).

<sup>45</sup> B. Bryce, “Linguistic Ideology and State Power: German and English Education in Ontario, 1880-1912,” *The Canadian Historical Review* 94, 2 (June 2013), 207-233.

<sup>46</sup>R. Rosaldo, “Cultural Citizenship, Inequality, and Multiculturalism,” in *Race, Identity and Citizenship* R. Torres et al. eds, 253-67 (Oxford: Blackwell, Publishing Inc., 1999), 254.

<sup>47</sup> Timothy J. Stanley (2000) argues that an anti-racist approach needs to do at least four things: “First, it should contribute to contemporary struggles against racism. Secondly, it should take seriously the human consequences of racism, including their effects on members of dominant groups. Thirdly, it must engage the meanings created by those who have been subject to racist exclusion. Fourthly, it needs to adopt a postcolonial perspective.” T. Stanley, “Why I killed Canadian History: Conditions for an Anti-Racist History in Canada,” *Historie Sociale/Social History* 33, (2000), 80.

<sup>48</sup> See Stanley’s work: “White Supremacy, Chinese Schooling, and School Segregation in Victoria: The Case of the Chinese Student’s Strike, 1922-23,” *Historical Studies in Education* 1, (1989): 287-306; “White Supremacy and the Rhetoric of Educational Indoctrination: A Canadian Case Study.” In *Children, Teachers and Schools in the History of British Columbia* ed. Barman et al. p. 39-56, Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Ltd., 1995); “Bringing Anti-Racism into Historical Explanation: The Victoria Chinese Student’s Strike of 1922-3 revisited,” *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 13, (2002):141-65.

---

<sup>49</sup> Stanley's award winning monograph lays this out well for the reader, see in particular, the introduction for to these ideas. *Contesting White Supremacy: School Segregation, Anti-Racism, and the making of Chinese Canadians* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011).

<sup>50</sup> David Mitchell, Sharon Snyder, "The Eugenic-Atlantic: race, disability, and the making of an international eugenic science, 1800-1945," *Disability & Society* 18, 7 (December 2003):843-864.

<sup>51</sup>M. Ashworth, *The Forces Which Shaped Them: a history of the education of minority group children in British Columbia*. (Vancouver: New Star Book, 1979); Jean Barman, "Separate and Unequal: Indian and White Girls at All Hallows School, 1884-1920," in ed. Barman et al. p 110-131. *Indian Education in Canada v. 1* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986).

<sup>52</sup>J. Milloy, *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879-1986* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1999), 23.

<sup>53</sup> Jean Barman, "Schooled for Inequality: The Education of British Columbia Aboriginal Children," in *Teachers and Schools in the History of British Columbia* ed. Jean Barman et al. 57-80 (Calgary: Detslig, 1985).

<sup>54</sup>S, Wall, "To Train a Wild Bird": E.F. Wilson, Hegemony, and Native Industrial Education at the Shingwauk and Wawanosh Residential Schools, 1873-1893, *Left History* 9, 1 (2003): 7-42.

<sup>55</sup>J.R. Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995).

<sup>56</sup> Mary Ellen Kelm, "Colonizing Bodies: Aboriginal Health and Healing in British Columbia, 1900-1950," (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999).

<sup>57</sup>Barman, "Separate and Unequal".

<sup>58</sup> Susan Burch, Ian Sutherland, "Who's Not Yet Here? Lessons in American Disability Studies," *Radical History Review* 94, (Winter 2006), 127.

<sup>59</sup> Catherine Kudlick, "A History Profession for Every Body" *Journal of Women's History*, 18, 1 (Spring 2006), 163.

<sup>60</sup> Catherine Kudlick, "Disability History: Why We Need Another 'Other': *American Historical Review* 108, 3 (2003), 765.

<sup>61</sup>Burch and Sutherland, "Who's Not Yet Here?" 128.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid.

<sup>65</sup> C. Thomas, "How is Disability Understood? An Examination of Sociological Approaches," *Disability & Society* 19, 6 (2004): 569-583.

<sup>66</sup> Thomas Shakespeare, "The Social Model of Disability." In *Disability Studies Reader* ed. Lennard Davis, (Routledge: Taylor & Francis, 2006), 198.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid, 198-99.

<sup>68</sup>Lennard Davis, *Bending over Backwards: Disability, Dismodernism and Other Difficult Positions* (New York: New York University Press, 2002), 12.

<sup>69</sup> Shakespeare, "The Social Model of Disability," 198.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid, 199.

<sup>71</sup> Burch & Sutherland, "Who's Not Yet Here?" 129.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid, 140.

<sup>75</sup> Lennard Davis, "Introduction," in *Disability Studies Reader*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition L. Davis eds. (New York: Routledge 2006), xv-xviii.

<sup>76</sup> Davis *Bending Over Backwards*, 11-13.

<sup>77</sup> The following are all presented in the same section of the Disability Studies Reader 2<sup>nd</sup> edition edited by L. Davis (New York: Routledge, 2006) pointing again to their compatibility. S. Wendall, "Toward a Feminist Theory of Disability," 243-256; R. McRuer "Compulsory Able-Bodiedness and Queer/Disabled Existence," 301-308; Bell, "Introducing White Disability Studies: A Modest Proposal," 275-282.

<sup>78</sup> Burch and Sutherland, "Who's Not Yet Here?" 127-128.

<sup>79</sup> Will Kymlicka, *Finding Our Way: Rethinking Ethnocultural Relations in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1998), 174.

<sup>80</sup> Burch and Sutherland, "Who's Not Yet Here?", 128.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> Kudlick, "Disability History: Why we Need another 'Other'", 765.

<sup>83</sup> Douglas C. Baynton, "Disability and the Justification of Inequality in American History," in *The New Disability History: American Perspectives*, eds. Paul K. Longmore and Lauri Umansky, 33-57 (New York: New York University Press, 2001); Kudlick, "Disability History: Why We Need Another 'Other', 766.

<sup>84</sup> Burch & Sutherland, 130.

<sup>85</sup> Burch & Sutherland, 132.

<sup>86</sup> Baynton, "Disability and the Justification of Inequality," 52.

<sup>87</sup> G. Reaume, "Introduction to DSQ theme Issue on Disability in Canada," *Disability Studies Quarterly* (Winter 2008), 28, 1 <http://dsq-sds.org/article/view/63/63> See also Reaume's essay, "Disability History in Canada: Present Work in the Field and Future Prospects," *The Canadian Journal of Disability Studies* 1, 1 (2012):35-81.

<sup>88</sup> Jessica Chupick & David Wright, "Teaching the 'Idiot' Child in Twentieth Century Ontario," *Disability & Society* 21, 1 (2006): 77-90.

<sup>89</sup> Veronica Strong-Boag, "Forgotten People of all the Forgotten": Children with Disabilities in English Canada from the Nineteenth Century to the New Millennium. In *Lost Kids: Vulnerable Children and Youth in Twentieth-Century Canada and the United States*. Edited by, M. Gleason, T. Myers, L. Paris and V. Strong-Boag., 33-49 (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010).

<sup>90</sup> S. Perrault, "National Identities on Display: Québec's Deaf Schools at the World's Columbian Exposition, 1893," *CCHA Historical Studies*, 75 (2009): 39-61; Joanna Pearce, "Not for Alms but Help: Fund-raising and Free Education for the Blind," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association/Revue de la Société historique du Canada* 23, 1(2012), 131-155.

<sup>91</sup> Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 1991.

<sup>92</sup> Sutherland, *Children in English-Canadian Society*; Gleason, "Disciplining the Student Body."

<sup>93</sup> Gleason's work on the child's body includes: "Embodied Negotiations: Children's Bodies and Historical Change in Canada, 1930-1960," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 34, 1( 1999):112-138; *Normalizing the Ideal: Psychology, Schooling and the Family in Postwar Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999); "Disciplining the Student Body: Schooling and the Construction of Canadian Children's Bodies, 1930-1960," *History of Education Quarterly*, 41, 2 (2001): 189-215.; "Race, Class, and Health: School Medical Inspection and 'Health' Children in British Columbia, 1890-1930," *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History* 19 (2002): 95-112.; "From 'Disgraceful Carelessness' to 'Intelligent Precaution': Accidents and the Public Child in English Canada, 1900-1950," *Journal of Family History* 30 (2005): 230-214.

<sup>94</sup> Gleason, *Normalizing the Ideal*, 113.

---

<sup>95</sup> Gleason, "Disciplining Student Bodies.," Gleason, "Race, Class and Health", 97. See also Mary-Ellen Kelm's *Colonizing Bodies*, work where she identifies the colonizing effect the state had on Aboriginal bodies as evidenced in the abysmal health treatment of students within the residential school system.

<sup>96</sup> Veronica Strong-Boag, "'Children of Adversity': Disabilities and Child Welfare in Canada from the Nineteenth to the Twenty-First Century," *Journal of Family History*, 32, 4 (October 2007), 416.

<sup>97</sup> Tanis Doe, "The Difficulty with Deafness Discourse and Disability Culture," *Review of Disability Studies* 1 (1) (2004), 34-41; Brenda Jo Bruggemann, "The Tango: Or, What Deaf Studies and Disability Studies DO-DO," (2010).

<sup>98</sup> Doe, "The Difficulty with Deafness, Discourse and Disability Culture."

<sup>99</sup> I begin by positioning or self-locating myself. I am hearing and do not have family members who are d/Deaf. I do not use either American Sign Language (ASL) or La Langue des Signes de Québécois (LSQ). I respect that language is the cornerstone of d/Deaf culture and intimately tied to their historical and educational experience. I accept that sign language is a "real" language and that to be d/Deaf does not mean that one is disabled but that one has made a cultural choice.

<sup>100</sup> In his ground breaking work, William Stokoe acknowledged that ASL was a language with as much structure as any spoken language. William Stokoe, "Sign Language Structure," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 9 (1980): 356-90.

<sup>101</sup> Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology* translated by G. Spivak (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press), 1976. See also, K. Yandell, "The Moccasin Telegraph: Sign-Talk Autobiography and *Pretty-shield, Medicine Woman of the Crows*," *American Literature* 84, 3 (September 2012): 533-561. Yandell does a good job of explaining Derrida's contribution to understandings of "sign talk".

<sup>102</sup> "The Moccasin Telegraph," 538.

<sup>103</sup> H.-D. L. Bauman, "Listening to phonocentrism with Deaf eyes: Derrida's mute philosophy of (Sign) language," *Essays in Philosophy: A Biannual Journal* 9, 1 (2008) Last accessed September 9, 2013 from <http://www.humboldt.edu/~essays/bauman.html> p.1

<sup>104</sup> S. Shultz Myers, J.K. Fernandes, "Deaf Studies: A Critique of the Predominant U.S. Theoretical Direction," *Journal of Deaf Studies and Deaf Education* 15,1 (2010), 35.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid.

<sup>106</sup> H. Anglin-Jaffe, "Sign, Play and Disruption: Derridean Theory and Sign Language," *Culture, Theory and Critique* 52, 1 (2011), 31.

<sup>107</sup> The work of scholars such as Harlan Lane and Paddy Ladd highlight these social inequalities both historically and in contemporary society. H. Lane, *When the Mind Hears: A History of the Deaf* (New York, NY: Vintage, 1989); *The Mask of Benevolence: Disabling the Deaf Community* (New York, NY: Alfred Knopf, 1992); 'Constructions of Deafness,' in Lennard J. Davis (ed.), *The Disability Studies Reader* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2006 , p. 153-171); P. Ladd, *Understanding Deaf Culture: In Search of Deafhood*. (Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters Ltd, 2003).

<sup>108</sup> Douglas C. Baynton, *Forbidden Signs: American Culture and the Campaign Against Sign Language*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

<sup>109</sup> Robert Buchanan, *Illusions of Equality: Deaf Americans in Schools and Factory, 1850-1950*, (Washington DC: Gallaudet University Press, 1999).

<sup>110</sup> Susan Burch, *Signs of Resistance: American Deaf Cultural History, 1900 to World War II* (New York: New York University Press, 2002).

<sup>111</sup> Lane, *When the Mind Hears*; Lane, *The Mask of Benevolence*; Lane, "Constructions of Deafness."

---

<sup>112</sup> H.Lane, "Construction of Deafness," 80.

<sup>113</sup> D. Baynton, "'A Silent Exile on This Earth': The Metaphorical Construction of Deafness in the Nineteenth Century" in *The Disability Studies Reader 2<sup>nd</sup> ed.* L. Davies (eds). (New York: Routledge), 33.

<sup>114</sup> The Congress of Milan was a controversial one as far as North Americans were concerned as they had little input into the resolutions that were eventually passed. These resolutions had been discussed by twenty seven European delegates at the Paris World's Fair of 1878. The American delegates received their invitations after the congress had been held. Perrault, "National Identities on Display," 51-52.

<sup>115</sup> D. Baynton, "'A Silent Exile on This Earth'," 34-35.

<sup>116</sup> Perrault, "National Identities on Display," 47.

<sup>117</sup> Margaret Winzer, "An Examination of Some Selected Factors That Affected the Education of and Socialization of the Deaf of Ontario, 1870-1900," Dissertation (University of Toronto, 1981); Peter Cowden, "'Children of Silence': Education of the Deaf in Ontario, 1856-1906," Dissertation (State University of New York, Buffalo, 1990).

<sup>118</sup> Clifton Carbin, *Samuel Thomas Greene: A Legend in the Nineteenth Century Deaf Community* (Belleville: Epic Press, 2005).

<sup>119</sup> Carbin, *Samuel Thomas Greene*.

<sup>120</sup> Robert Stamp, "Samuel Greene and the Hearing Impaired," *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'histoire de l'éducation* 17, 1 (Spring/Printemps 2005):165-168.

<sup>121</sup> T.A. van Dijk, "Principles of critical discourse analysis," *Discourse & Society* 42, 1 (1993), 249.

<sup>122</sup> T.A. van Dijk, "Aims of Critical Discourse Analysis" *Japanese Discourse* 1 (1995), 20.

<sup>123</sup> van Dijk, "Aims of Critical Discourse Analysis," 21.

<sup>124</sup> James Paul Gee, *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis Theory and Method* (New York and London: Routledge, 2005), 1.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid*, 2.

<sup>126</sup> Nelson Phillips and Cynthia Hardy. *Discourse Analysis: Investigating Processes of Social Construction*. (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, Inc., 2002), 14. See also, M. Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977* (New York: Pantheon, 1980).

<sup>127</sup> Phillips and Hardy, *Discourse Analysis*, 21.

<sup>128</sup> Burch and Sutherland, "Who's Not Yet Here"; Kudlick, "Disability History: Why We need Another 'Other'"; Kudlick, "A History Profession for Every Body"; C. Thomas, "How is Disability Understood? An Examination of Sociological Approaches," *Disability & Society* 19, 6 (2004): 569-583; Davis, *Bending over Backwards*.

<sup>129</sup> Rosemarie Garland-Thomson, "Feminist Disability Studies: A Review Essay." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 30, 2 (Winter 2005): 1557-87; "What Her Body Taught (or, Teaching about and with a Disability)." *Feminist Studies* 31, 1 (April 2005): 13-33. See also collection edited by Thomson-Garland with S. Snyder & B. Brueggemann, *Disability Studies: Enabling the Humanities*. Modern Language Association Press, 2002.

<sup>130</sup> Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York & London: Routledge, 1990).

<sup>131</sup> See, Cook, "Through Sunshine and Shadow." See, McLean, "Education, Identity, and Citizenship in Early Modern Canada,"; "There is no magic by which such qualities will be acquired at the voting age". See Gleason, "Disciplining the Student Body"; "Race, Class, and Health"; "From 'Disgraceful Carelessness' to 'Intelligent Precaution'".

<sup>132</sup> Phillips and Hardy, *Discourse Analysis*, 3.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid*, 4.

---

<sup>134</sup> Terry Easton, "Identity and Politics in the 'Silent Worker' Newspaper: Print Publication and the Laboring Deaf Body," *Women's Studies Quarterly* 26(1/2) (Spring-Summer, 1998), 72.

<sup>135</sup> Phillips and Hardy, *Discourse Analysis*, 4.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, 4-5.

<sup>137</sup> From this point on I will refer to all reports between 1870 and 1904 as from the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities.

<sup>138</sup> Beth Haller, "The Little Papers: Newspapers at Nineteenth-Century Schools for Deaf Persons," *Journalism History*, 19 (2) (September 1993), 43. Haller informs us that d/Deaf school newspapers became part of a collective known as the Little Paper family. Haller goes on to explain that many of the d/Deaf school newspapers had similar content and organizing principals.

<sup>139</sup> Haller indicates that these papers, "...had a significant role in the culture of these [residential d/Deaf schools] schools, which at that time were helping to forge the U.S. deaf community." Haller, 43. Other scholars have also highlighted the importance between the school newspaper and the d/Deaf community. See, Robert Buchanan, "The *Silent Worker* Newspaper and the Building of a Deaf Community, 1890-1929," in *Deaf History Unveiled: Interpretations from the New Scholarship* J. V. Van Cleve eds. (Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press, 1993) Buchanan, *Illusions of Equality*; Easton, "Identity and Politics in the 'Silent Worker' Newspaper".

<sup>140</sup> Easton, "Identity and Politics in the 'Silent Worker' Newspaper", 57.

<sup>141</sup> Haller, "The Little Papers", 43.

<sup>142</sup> Untitled, *The Canadian Mute* 9, 8 (March 1, 1901), 3.

<sup>143</sup> "Editorial – DEAD!" *The Canadian Mute* 3, 3 (May 1, 1894), 2.

<sup>144</sup> C.F. Auerbach & L.B. Silverstein, *Qualitative Data: An Introduction to Coding and Analysis* (New York: New York University Press, 2003), 37-38 & 54-55.

<sup>145</sup> Each table had the following headings: date, volume & issue, page, article title, summary, theme, notes.

<sup>146</sup> Auerbach and Silverstein point to using a memo or journaling method in *Qualitative Data*.

<sup>147</sup> Sara Spike, "Picturing Rural Education: School Photographs and Contested Reform in Early Twentieth-Century Rural Nova Scotia," *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'histoire de l'éducation* 24, 1 (Spring 2012): 53.

<sup>148</sup> Cook, *Sex, Lies and Cigarettes*, 15-21.

## Notes – Chapter Two

<sup>1</sup> Houston and Prentice, *Schooling and Scholars in Nineteenth-Century Ontario*; Curtis, *Building the Educational State*.

<sup>2</sup> Prentice, *The School Promoters*; Tomkins, *A Common Countenance*; Axelrod, *The Promise of Schooling*; Mark Moss, *Manliness and Militarism: Educating Young Boys in Ontario for War*. (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2001).

<sup>3</sup> Curtis, *Building the Educational State*.

<sup>4</sup> Prentice, *The School Promoters*.

<sup>5</sup> Houston, S. "Politics, Schools, and Social Change in Upper Canada," In *Education and Social Change: Themes from Ontario's Past*, ed. M. Katz and P. Mattingly. (New York: New York University Press, 1975).

<sup>6</sup> Axelrod, *The Promise of Schooling*, 57.

---

<sup>7</sup> K. Delhi, "Health Scouts for the State? School and Public Health Nurses in Early Twentieth-Century Canada," *Historical Studies in Education* 1/2 (Fall 1990), 247-64.

<sup>8</sup> Tomkins, *A Common Countenance*, 123; see also, Moss, *Manliness and Militarism*.

<sup>9</sup> Francis, N., Lathrop, A. "Children who drill, seldom are ill." Drill, Movement and Sport: The Rise and Fall of a 'Female Tradition' in Ontario Elementary Physical Education – 1850s to 2000." *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'histoire de l'éducation* (May 2011), 75.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid*, 63-65.

<sup>11</sup> Galer, "A Friend in Need or a Business Indeed?" 10.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid*, 11.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid*, 10.

<sup>14</sup> Robert Mathison, "Report of the Superintendent," *Annual Report to the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities, for the Year Ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1881*, 484-5.

<sup>15</sup> Carbin, *A Deaf Heritage in Canada*, 61.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid*. See also "Educational Proceedings of the Upper Canada Legislature, 1837-38." In J. George Hodgins (ed.), *Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada* Vol. III (1836-1840), Ch. VI p. 102. Toronto: Warwick Bros. & Rutter, Printers, 1895.

<sup>18</sup> Carbin, *A Deaf Heritage in Canada*, 61.

<sup>19</sup> "Deaf and Dumb and Blind of Canada," *The Daily Globe* (March 23, 1857), 2.

<sup>20</sup> Carbin, *A Deaf Heritage in Canada*, 61

<sup>21</sup> *The Daily Globe*. News. (September 16, 1854), 3.

<sup>22</sup> "Deaf and Dumb and Blind of Canada," *The Daily Globe* (March 23, 1857), 2.

<sup>23</sup> J.W. Langmuir, "Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville," *Fourth Annual Report of the Inspector of Asylums, Prisons, &c., for the Province of Ontario, 1870-1871*, 96 & 166.

<sup>24</sup> Carbin, *A Deaf Heritage in Canada*, 61.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>26</sup> Jones and Rutman, *In the Children's Aid*.

<sup>27</sup> Robert Mathison, "Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb" *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb*, 1883, 8.

<sup>28</sup> *Third Annual Report of the Society for the Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb, and of the Blind* for the year 1861.

<sup>29</sup> Carbin, *A Deaf Heritage in Canada*, 32.

---

<sup>30</sup> Carbin, *A Deaf Heritage in Canada*, 62. Dr. Beverly Morris (hearing) was appointed superintendent. Principal of the Phoebe school, Dr. Charles Howe, had a Deaf son who joined the school and he and his wife were deeply interested in Deaf education.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid. See also Carbin's footnote 86 for chapter 3. "Master's Report", *Report of the Society for the Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb and of the Blind, for the Year 1859*. Toronto: Rowsell & Ellis, Printers, 1860.

<sup>33</sup>Carbin, *Deaf Heritage in Canada*, 62.

<sup>34</sup> 'Editorial Summary' *The Daily Globe* (September 2, 1858), 2.

<sup>35</sup> Axelrod, *The Promise of Schooling*, 22.

<sup>36</sup> *Third Annual Report of the Society for the Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb, and of the Blind for the year 1861*, 6.

<sup>37</sup> Cowden, "Children of Silence", 67-68. See also, J.G. Hodgins, *Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada* (Toronto: L.K. Cameron, 1907), 169.

<sup>38</sup> Carbin, *A Deaf Heritage in Canada*, 92.

<sup>40</sup> Cowden, "Children of Silence", 70-71.

<sup>41</sup> Carbin, *A Deaf Heritage in Canada*, 92.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Wesley Palmer, "Report of the Principal of the Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville," *Fourth Annual Report of the Inspector of Asylums, Prisons, &c., for the Province of Ontario, 1870-71*, 169.

<sup>46</sup> Wesley Palmer, "Report of the Principal of the Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville," *Fifth Annual Report of the Inspector of Asylums, Prisons, &c. for the Province of Ontario, 1871-72*, 174; J.W. Langmuir, "Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville," *Sixth Annual Report of the Inspector of Asylums, Prisons, &c., for the Province of Ontario, 1872, 73*, 39-40.

<sup>47</sup>J.W. Langmuir, "Part III – Institutions for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, and the Blind," *Tenth Annual Report of the Inspector of Asylums, Prisons and Public Charities for the Province of Ontario, for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1877*, 153-155.

<sup>48</sup> Carbin cites this as the reason in *A Deaf Heritage in Canada*, 9. Relying heavily on this source, the 'drinking problem' claim is again put forth in Christina Wakefield's, *Talking on Their Fingers: A Study of the Ontario Deaf According to the 1891 Canadian Census*. Masters of Arts thesis, University of Victoria, 2009, 159.

<sup>49</sup> Cowden, "Children of Silence," 107-128.

<sup>50</sup>J.W. Langmuir, "Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville," *Twelfth Annual Report of the Inspector of Asylums, Prisons and Public Charities for the Province of Ontario, for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September 1879*, 197.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid.

---

<sup>52</sup> Mathison, in addition to his journalistic pursuits, held the position of bursar of the London Asylum for the Insane (1872-1878) and manager of industries and bursar for the Toronto Central Prison (1878-1879). Carbin, *Deaf Heritage in Canada*, 95.

<sup>53</sup> J.W. Langmuir, "Institution for the education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville," *Twelfth Annual Report of the Inspector of Asylums, Prisons and Public Charities for the Province of Ontario, for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September 1879*", 198.

<sup>54</sup>J.W. Langmuir, "Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville," *Tenth Annual Report of the Inspector of Asylums, Prisons and Public Charities for the Province of Ontario, for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September 1880*, 182.

<sup>55</sup>Robert Mathison, "Report of the Superintendent for the Year Ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1879," *Twelfth Annual Report of the Inspector of Asylums, Prisons and Public Charities for the Province of Ontario, for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September 1879*,"396-397.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid, 396-406.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid, 396.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid, 396-7.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid, 396-406.

<sup>61</sup> The National Deaf-Mute College is now known as Gallaudet University.

<sup>62</sup>Chamberlain, T.F. "Inspector's Summary of the year's operations." *Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities, Upon the Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, Being for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1898*, 10.

<sup>63</sup>Robert Mathison, "Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville," *Twenty-Second Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville – Being for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1892*, 14.

<sup>64</sup>Robert Mathison, "Appendix L. – Report of the Superintendent and Principal of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb," *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the Year 1904*, 234.

<sup>65</sup>Robert Mathison, "Appendix K. – Report of the Superintendent and Principal of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb," *Report of the Minister of Education, Province of Ontario for the year 1906*, 458.

<sup>66</sup>C.B. Coughlin, "Appendix L. – Report of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville," *Report of the Minister of Education, Province of Ontario for the year 1907*.

<sup>67</sup> Carbin, *Deaf Heritage in Canada*, 98.

<sup>68</sup>C.B. Coughlin, "Appendix L. – Report of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville," *Report of the Minister of Education, Province of Ontario for the year 1907*, 507 & 508-511.

<sup>69</sup>H.J. Clark, "Appendix J. Literary Examiner," *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the Year 1908*, 258-9.

<sup>70</sup> Carbin, *Deaf Heritage in Canada*, 98.

---

<sup>71</sup> C.B. Coughlin, "Appendix H. Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario School for the Deaf," *Report of the Minister of Education, Province of Ontario for the year 1913*, 515.

<sup>72</sup> *Handbook of Information, Ontario School for the Deaf*, (Belleville: The Canadian 1912).

<sup>73</sup> Axelrod, *Promise of Schooling*, 35.

<sup>74</sup> "Sections of the Ontario Truancy and Compulsory School Attendance Act Applicable to the case of Deaf Children," in "Appendix H – Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario School for the Deaf." *Report of the Minister of Education, Province of Ontario for the year 1913*, 531.

<sup>75</sup> Sixth Annual Report of The Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb at Belleville, Ont, for Fiscal year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1876. Belleville: "The Daily Ontario" Steam Printing Establishment, 1877, 5.

<sup>76</sup> J.W. Langmuir, "Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville," *Fourth Annual Report of the Inspector of Asylums, Prisons, &c., for the Province of Ontario, 1870-1871*, 93.

<sup>77</sup> Wesley Palmer, "Report of the Principal of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville," *Fourth Annual Report of the Inspector of Asylums, Prisons, &c., for the Province of Ontario, 1870-1871* 166.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid*, 166-7.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>80</sup> Axelrod, *The Promise of Schooling*, 22.

<sup>81</sup> Wesley Palmer, "Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville," *Fifth Annual Report of The Inspector of Asylums, Prisons, & c., for the Province of Ontario, 1871-1872*, 174. The list of groups who did visit is as follows: Grand Lodge of Good Templars of Canada; Young Men's Christian Association Convention; the British Templars Grand Lodge; and Hastings Teachers' Association.

<sup>82</sup> Rosemarie Garland-Thomson, "Seeing the Disabled," in *The New Disability History*, P. Longmore and L. Umansky eds (New York: New York University Press, 2001).

<sup>83</sup> Wesley Palmer, "Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville," *Fifth Annual Report of The Inspector of Asylums, Prisons, & c., for the Province of Ontario, 1871-1872*, 174.

<sup>84</sup> Ninth Annual Report of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, at Belleville Ontario for the Fiscal year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1879 , 4.

<sup>85</sup> Author, title *Ninth Annual Report of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, at Belleville Ontario for the Fiscal year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1879*. 28.

<sup>86</sup> *Ibid*, 29.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid*, 30.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid*, 29.

<sup>89</sup> C.B. Coughlin, "Appendix J. – Report of the Superintendent Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb." *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the Year 1908*, 244.

<sup>90</sup> See, for example, Tamara Myers, "The Voluntary Delinquent: Parents, Daughters and the Montreal Juvenile Delinquents' Court in 1918," *Canadian Historical Review* 80, 2 (June 1999): 242-268.

---

<sup>91</sup> Third Annual Report of The Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, at Belleville Ontario for the Fiscal year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September 1873, 20.

<sup>92</sup> Wesley Palmer, "Superintendent's Report," *Fourth Annual Report of The Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, at Belleville Ontario for the Fiscal year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September 1874.* , 16.

<sup>93</sup>Veronica Strong-Boag. " "Children of Adversity": Disabilities and Child Welfare in Canada from the Nineteenth to the Twenty-First Century," *Journal of Family History*, 32, 4 (October 2007), 420.

<sup>94</sup>J.W. Langmuir, "Report of the Inspector," *Fourth Annual Report of the Inspector of Asylums, Prisons, &c., for the Province of Ontario, 1870-71*, 90.

<sup>95</sup> Fourth Annual Report of The Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, at Belleville Ontario for the Fiscal year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September 1874. Toronto: Hunter, Rose and Co, 1875, 6.

<sup>96</sup> Wesley Palmer, "Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville," *Fifth Annual Report of The Inspector of Asylums, Prisons, & c., for the Province of Ontario, 1871-1872*, 176.

<sup>97</sup> William Nurse, "Mechanical Pursuits for Deaf Mutes," in *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education and Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, Being for the Year Ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1883*, 60.

<sup>98</sup> John Bullen, Hidden Workers: Child Labour and the Family Economy in Late Nineteenth-Century Urban Ontario. *Labour/Le Travail* 18, (1986): 163-87.

<sup>99</sup> Seventh Annual Report of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb at Belleville, Ontario, for the Fiscal year ending September 30<sup>th</sup>, 1877. Belleville: "The Daily Ontario" Steam Printing Establishment, 1878, 15.

<sup>100</sup>J.W. Langmuir, "Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb," "Report of the Principal of the Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville," *Fourth Annual Report of the Inspector of Asylums, Prisons, &c., for the Province of Ontario, 1870-71*, 90.

<sup>101</sup>See the Inspector and the Principal's reports in, *Eleventh Annual Report of the Inspector of Asylums, Prisons and Public Charities for the Province of Ontario, for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1878*.

<sup>102</sup>C.B. Coughlin, "School for the Deaf," in Appendix H – "Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario School for the Deaf," *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the year, 1913*, 515.

<sup>103</sup> Section 3 & 5(b), *Ontario Truancy and Compulsory School Attendance Act, 1913*

<sup>104</sup> Section 5, subsection 2, *Ontario Truancy and Compulsory School Attendance Act, 1913*.

<sup>105</sup>Wesley Palmer, " Report of the Principal of the Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville," *Fifth Annual Report of The Inspector of Asylums, Prisons, & c., for the Province of Ontario, 1871-1872*, 173-176.

### Notes – Chapter Three

<sup>1</sup> Pupils' Locals, Mr. Denys Class. *The Canadian Mute* 8, 1 (November 1, 1899), 4.

<sup>2</sup> Baynton, *Forbidden Signs*, 26.

<sup>3</sup> As early as the first annual report, Principal Palmer outlined the methods of teaching that would be employed at the OIED. Although oral articulation was not available during the first year of operation, he began to look into it, on the advice of the Inspector of Prisons and Asylums and by the second school year an oral articulation class was formed

---

with the 12 'semi-mute' students. Wesley Palmer, "Report of the Principal Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville," *Fourth Annual Report of the Inspector of Asylums, Prisons, &c.*, for the Province of Ontario, 1870-71, 169-70.

<sup>4</sup> Images taken from [www.abcteach.com](http://www.abcteach.com)

<sup>5</sup> Baynton, *Forbidden Signs*, 12.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 13-14.

<sup>7</sup> Baynton, "A Silent Exile on this Earth," 34-35.

<sup>8</sup> "Tearing Things to Tatters," 2, 13 *The Canadian Mute* (December 1, 1893), 2.

<sup>9</sup> Baynton, *Forbidden Signs*, 4.

<sup>10</sup> J. MacDougall, "Irreconcilable Differences: The Education of Deaf Children in Canada," *Education Canada* 44 (1) (Winter 2004), 16.

<sup>11</sup> M. Winzer, "The Ladies Take Charge: Women Teachers in the Education of Deaf Students," in *Women and Deafness: Double Visions* B.J. Brueggemann and S. Burch eds. (Washington, D.C.: Gallaudet University Press, 2006), 114.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup> *The Canadian Mute* 3, 10 (November 1, 1894), 2.

<sup>14</sup> *The Canadian Mute* 4, 1 (April 15, 1895), 2. See also, "Editorial: Statistics about the Deaf," *The Canadian Mute* 4, 15 (February 1, 1896), 2.

<sup>15</sup> Editorial: Schools for the Deaf *The Canadian Mute* 10, 3 (January 15, 1902).

<sup>16</sup> "Language for the Deaf" *The Canadian Mute* 2, 18 (February 15, 1894), 2; J. Ashley, "Editorial: The Dominant Language," *The Canadian Mute* 4, 1 (April 15, 1895), 2.

<sup>17</sup> "Single Hand Alphabet for the Deaf" *The Canadian Mute* 1, 1 (February 15, 1892), 7.

<sup>18</sup> In the "Home News" Column it indicates that the alphabet was printed "by request" in that particular edition of *The Canadian Mute*, there is no indication as to who made the request. William Nurse, "Home News" *The Canadian Mute* 2, 16 (January 15, 1894), 7.

<sup>19</sup> William Nurse, "Home News" *The Canadian Mute* 2, 17 (February 1, 1894), 5.

<sup>20</sup> Baynton, "A Silent Exile on this Earth," 34-35.

<sup>21</sup> "Plain Spelling" *The Canadian Mute* 4, 17 (March 2, 1896), 2; untitled, *The Canadian Mute* 4, 20 (April 15, 1896), 4.

<sup>22</sup> See also, "Right Habits of Finger Spelling," *The Canadian Mute* 7, 2 (October 15, 1898), 6.

<sup>23</sup> To a School-Mate, *The Canadian Mute* 2, 12 (November 15, 1893), 3.

<sup>24</sup> Pupils' Locals – Mr. Denys class. *The Canadian Mute* 9, 18 (February 1, 1901), 3.

<sup>25</sup> Pupils' Locals, Mr. Denys' Class, *The Canadian Mute* 11, 14 (November 2, 1914), 3.

<sup>26</sup> William Nurse, "Home News" *The Canadian Mute* 12, 18 (February 1, 1905), 5.

- 
- <sup>27</sup> “Pupils’ Locals, Mr. Coleman’s Class” *The Canadian Mute* 13, 4 (May 1, 1905), 3.
- <sup>28</sup> Unauthored, *The Canadian Mute* 1, 2 (March 1, 1892), 6.
- <sup>29</sup> “Talking by Manual Alphabet,” *The Canadian Mute* 10, 15 (October 15, 1902), 3.
- <sup>30</sup> “Manual Alphabet for Hearing Persons” *The Canadian Mute* 3, 14 (January 1, 1895), 2.
- <sup>31</sup> Untitled, *The Canadian Mute* 8, 11 (April 2, 1900), 2.
- <sup>32</sup> William Nurse, “Home News” *The Canadian Mute* 6, 2 (June 1, 1897), 5.
- <sup>33</sup> Editorial, “The Manual Alphabet” *The Canadian Mute* 5, 8 (November 2, 1896), 2.
- <sup>34</sup> Editorial, “A Competent Witness” *The Canadian Mute* 1, 19 (February 1, 1893), 2; unauthored, *The Canadian Mute* 8,1 (November 1, 1899), 2; Editorial, “The Combined System” *The Canadian Mute* 8, 3 (December 1, 1899), 2.
- <sup>35</sup> untitled, *The Canadian Mute*, 2, 15 (January 1, 1894), 2.
- <sup>36</sup> “The Ideal School for the Deaf, *The Canadian Mute* 1, 16 (December 16, 1892), 1.
- <sup>37</sup> Editorial: The Chicago Schools *The Canadian Mute* 4, 11 (December 16, 1895), 2.
- <sup>38</sup> Editorial. “President Gallaudet’s Mission.” *The Canadian Mute* 6, 8 (November 15, 1897), 4.
- <sup>39</sup> *The Canadian Mute* 13, 4 (June 1, 1905), 2.
- <sup>40</sup> “The Use and Abuse of Signs” *The Canadian Mute* 1, 1 (February 15, 1892), 4.
- <sup>41</sup> “Sign Names,” *The Canadian Mute* 5, 19 (April 15, 1897), 2.
- <sup>42</sup> “Pupils’ Locals – Girls Side.” *The Canadian Mute* 2, 11 (November 1, 1893), 5.
- <sup>43</sup> “Pupils’ Locals – Girls side,” *The Canadian Mute* 3, 18 (March 1, 1895), 4.
- <sup>44</sup> See for example, William Nurse, “Home News,” *The Canadian Mute* 5, 20 (May 1, 1897), 5; William Nurse, “Home News,” *The Canadian Mute* 6, 3 (June 15, 1897), 7; William Nurse, “Home News,” *The Canadian Mute* 6, 17 (April 1, 1898), 5; “Mr. Denys’ Lecture,” *The Canadian Mute* 7, 6 (December 15, 1898), 5; “Pupils’ Locals – Mr. Coleman’s Class.” *The Canadian Mute* 9, 15 (June 12, 1901), 5;
- <sup>45</sup> William Nurse, “Home News.” *The Canadian Mute* 8, 7 (February 1, 1900), 5; “Pupils’ Locals – Boys side,” [Mr. Balis gives Lecture] *The Canadian Mute* 3, 18 (March 1, 1895), 3.
- <sup>46</sup> William Nurse, “Home News” *The Canadian Mute* 3,9 (October 15, 1894), 5.
- <sup>47</sup> William Nurse, “Home News,” *The Canadian Mute* 7,4 (November 15, 1898), 5. See also, William Nurse, “Home News,” *The Canadian Mute* 7,7 (January 2, 1899), 7.
- <sup>48</sup> “Pupils’ Locals – Mr. Denys’ Class.” *The Canadian Mute* 12, 17 (January 16, 1905), 3.
- <sup>49</sup> “Pupils’ Locals,” *The Canadian Mute* 3, 1 (April 2, 1894), 3; “Pupils’ Locals,” *The Canadian Mute* 3, 3 (May 1, 1894), 4; William Nurse, “Home News,” *The Canadian Mute* 7,4 (November 15, 1898), 5; “Pupils’ Locals,” *The Canadian Mute* 2, 15 (January 1, 1894), 4.

- 
- <sup>50</sup> “Personalities.” *The Canadian Mute* 11, 19 (January 15, 1904), 5.
- <sup>51</sup> March 15, 1905 editorial, p. 2.
- <sup>52</sup> “Religious Education of the Deaf,” *The Canadian Mute* 11, 19 (January 15, 1904), 2.
- <sup>53</sup> “Ontario Christian Endeavor,” *The Canadian Mute* 13, 9 (October 15, 1905), 5.
- <sup>54</sup> Jessica Lee, “Family Matters: Female Dynamics within Deaf Schools,” in *Women and Deafness: Double Visions* B.J. Brueggemann and S. Burch eds. (Washington, D.C.: Gallaudet University Press, 2006), 13.
- <sup>55</sup> Butler, *Gender Trouble*, xv.
- <sup>56</sup> Baynton, *Forbidden Signs*, 6-10.
- <sup>57</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>58</sup> G. F. Stewart, “Editorial: Speech in Chapel Exercises,” *The Canadian Mute* 13, 11 (November 15, 1905), 2.
- <sup>59</sup> Unauthored, “Opposed to Dr. Coughlin: Deaf Mutes Say Appointment is an Unwise One,” *The Globe* (October 29, 1906), 8.
- <sup>60</sup> H.J. Clark, “Literary Examiner,” *Report of the Minister of Education, Province of Ontario for the year 1908*, 258-9.
- <sup>61</sup> Ibid, 258.
- <sup>62</sup> N. Gleadow, “Pupils’ Locals,” *The Canadian Mute* 15, 1 (May 15, 1907), 3; See also, “Thank you all very Much” of the same edition, 4.
- <sup>63</sup> G.F. Stewart, “Editorial: Some Notable Changes,” *The Canadian Mute* 15, 4 (October 1, 1907), 2.
- <sup>64</sup> C.B. Coughlin, Appendix J. – Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb,” *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the Year 1911*, 339.
- <sup>65</sup> C.B. Coughlin, “Appendix L. – Report of the Superintendent and Principal of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb,” *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the Year 1907*, 499-508.
- <sup>66</sup> Ibid, 499-509.
- <sup>67</sup> William Nurse, “Home News,” *The Canadian Mute* 14, 20 (May 1, 1907), 5; “Pupils’ Locals (Girls’ Side)” *The Canadian Mute* 14, 14 (February 1, 1907), 6.
- <sup>68</sup> “Pupils’ Locals (Girls’ Side)” *The Canadian Mute* 14, 14 (February 1, 1907), 6.
- <sup>69</sup> Evelyn Hazlitt, “Pupils’ Locals – Miss Templeton’s Class,” *The Canadian Mute* 16, 12 (March 1, 1909), 3. See also, “Pupils Locals’ – Girls’ Side,” *The Canadian Mute* 14, 14 (February 1, 1907), 6; Gertie Hoy, “Pupils’ Locals – Miss Mcardle’s class,” *The Canadian Mute* 18, 1 (December 1, 1910), 5.
- <sup>70</sup> Edward Payne, “Pupils’ Locals – Mr. Ingram’s Class.” *The Canadian Mute* 17, 6 (February 15, 1911), 4.
- <sup>71</sup> Annie Steele, “Locals,” *The Canadian Mute* 21, 4 (November 15, 1913), 3.
- <sup>72</sup> Mary Maria McLaren, “Locals,” *The Canadian Mute* 21, 8 (January 15, 1914), 3.

---

<sup>73</sup>William Nurse, "Home News" *The Canadian Mute* 15, 17 (April 15, 1908), 5. This excerpt appears in the home news column but it appears to be written by one of the boys in the print shop. For other examples of students enjoying lectures in signs after November 1906 see, William Nurse, "Home News," *The Canadian Mute* 16, 10 (February 1, 1909), 5.

<sup>74</sup> William Nurse, "Home News," *The Canadian Mute* 18, 1 (December 1, 1910), 5.

<sup>75</sup> A. Eastman, "Pupils' Locals," *The Canadian Mute* 16, 8 (January 1, 1909), 3.

<sup>76</sup> Beullah Wilson, "Locals – Miss Templeton's Class," *The Canadian Mute* 18, 3 (January 2, 1911), 4.

<sup>77</sup> "Pupils' Locals – Boys' Side," *The Canadian Mute* 14, 14 (February 1, 1907), 6.

<sup>78</sup>"Pupils' Locals," *The Canadian Mute* 14, 17 (March 15, 1907), 6. See also, William Nurse, "Home News," *The Canadian Mute* 14, 17 (March 15, 1907), 5.

<sup>79</sup>See for example, William Nurse, "Home News," *The Canadian Mute* 14, 19 (April 15, 1907), 5; B. Wilson, "Locals," *The Canadian Mute* 21, 16 (May 15, 1914), 3.

<sup>80</sup> "Locals – Mr. Coleman's Class," *The Canadian Mute* 19, 4 (February 15, 1912), 3.

<sup>81</sup> Clarice Ford, "Pupils' Locals – Miss Hunter's Class," *The Canadian Mute* 18, 1 (December 1, 1910), 5.

<sup>82</sup> "Pupils' Locals – Mr. Coleman's Class," *The Canadian Mute* 16, 15 (April 15, 1909), 3.

<sup>83</sup> Lorne Colcough, "Locals," *The Canadian Mute* 21, 16 (May 15, 1914), 3.

<sup>84</sup> C.I. Balkwill, "Pupils' Locals – Mr. Balis' Class," *The Canadian Mute* 19, 3 (February 1, 1912), 3. See also, M Golds, "Pupils' Locals – Mr. Campbell's Class," *The Canadian Mute* 19, 4 (February 15, 1912), 3.

<sup>85</sup> M. Powell, "Locals," *The Canadian Mute* 20, 2 (February 1, 1914), 3.

<sup>86</sup> November 1, 1909 – for the King's Birthday, the students signed the national Anthem in unison. William Nurse, "Home News," *The Canadian Mute* 17, 3 (November 1, 1909), 5; At a memorial service for the King. Mr. Balis signed a hymn, 6 girls signed a hymn and then 6 girls signed God save the King. June 1, 1912 – Locals – Mr. Nurse signed god save the King and we all signed with him. June 2, 1913 – Victoria Day addresses, Mr. Campbell and pupils signed God save the King.

<sup>87</sup>"Victoria Day" *The Canadian Mute* 15, 20 (June 1, 1908), 3. Students signed 'God Save the King'. On the same page in an untitled clip, student Grace Stevens tells us how they repeated the signs of the national anthem for Victoria Day.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

## Notes – Chapter Four:

<sup>1</sup> Osborne, "Citizenship Education and Social Studies," 42.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Carbin, *Deaf Heritage in Canada*, 92-93.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

---

<sup>5</sup> For example, in July of 1874 the OIED hosted the Convention of Instructors of the Deaf and Dumb, supported by the American Annals of the Deaf and Dumb. For the same year, Palmer attended the Third Conference of Principals and Superintendents of American Institutions for the Deaf and Dumb held in Philadelphia, in July of 1874. Wesley Palmer, "Report of the Principal of the Institution of the Deaf and Dumb." *Fourth Annual Report of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, at Belleville, Ont. For the fiscal year, ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1874* (Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Co., 1875), 24-5.

Palmer would continue to attend and participate in American conferences and the trend continued under Mathison and Coughlin.

<sup>6</sup> Wesley Palmer, "Report of the Principal of the Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville." *Fifth Annual Report of the Inspector of Asylums, Prisons, &c. for Ontario, 1872*, 174.

<sup>7</sup> Wesley Palmer, "Report of the Principal of the Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville," *Third Annual Report of The Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, at Belleville Ontario for the Fiscal year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September 1873*, 193-4.

<sup>8</sup> Wesley Palmer, "Report of the Principal of the Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville." *Fourth Annual Report of the Inspector of Asylums, Prisons, &c. for Ontario, 1870*, 168.

To ensure uniformity in this method of instruction a weekly class was held for the teachers. J.W. Langmuir, "Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville." *Fifth Annual Report of the Inspector of Asylums, Prisons, &c. for Ontario, 1871-1872*, 48.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Wesley Palmer, "Report of the Principal of the Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville," *Fourth Annual Report of the Inspector of Asylums, Prisons, &c., for the Province of Ontario, 1870-1871*, 169.

<sup>11</sup> In Mathison's first year as Superintendent he, Inspector Langmuir and Dr. Carlyle the public school examiner all pointed out that Mathison had achieved a classification and standardized curriculum despite Palmer indicating that it could not be done.

<sup>12</sup> J.W. Langmuir, "Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville," *Ninth Annual Report of the Inspector Prisons, Asylums &c., for the Province of Ontario for the year ending September 30<sup>th</sup>, 1876*, 52.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> J.W. Langmuir, "Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville," *Eleventh Annual Report of the Inspector Prisons, Asylums &c., for the Province of Ontario for the year ending September 30<sup>th</sup>, 1878*, 173.

<sup>16</sup> J.W. Langmuir, "Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville," *Twelfth Annual Report of the Inspector Prisons, Asylums &c., for the Province of Ontario for the year ending September 30<sup>th</sup>, 1879*, 199.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid, 200.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> Osborne, "Citizenship Education and Social Studies," 43.

<sup>20</sup> J.W. Langmuir, "Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville." *Eighth Annual Report of the Inspector of Asylums, Prisons, &c. for Ontario. 1875*, 41.

<sup>21</sup> J.W. Langmuir, "Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville," *Eleventh Annual Report of the Inspector Prisons, Asylums &c., for the Province of Ontario for the year ending September 30<sup>th</sup>, 1878*, 172.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

---

<sup>23</sup>J.W. Langmuir, "Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville," *Ninth Annual Report of the Inspector Prisons, Asylums &c., for the Province of Ontario for the year ending September 30<sup>th</sup>, 1876*, 52.

<sup>24</sup>T.F. Chamberlain, "The Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb," *Twenty-Third Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education and Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, Being for the year ending September 30<sup>th</sup>, 1893*, 12.

<sup>25</sup>Robert Mathison, "Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb" *Twenty-Eighth Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education and Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, Being for the year ending September 30<sup>th</sup>, 1898*, 19-20.

<sup>26</sup>Robert Mathison, "Report of the Superintendent for the Year Ending September 30<sup>th</sup>, 1879," *Twelfth Annual Report of the Inspector Prisons, Asylums &c., for the Province of Ontario for the year ending September 30<sup>th</sup>, 1879*, 396-7.

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid*, 397.

<sup>28</sup>*Ibid*.

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid*, 398-404.

<sup>30</sup>Robert Mathison, "Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb," *Twenty-Third Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education and Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, Being for the year ending September 30<sup>th</sup>, 1893*, 15.

<sup>31</sup>Robert Mathison, "Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb," *Twenty-Ninth Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education and Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, Being for the year ending September 30<sup>th</sup>, 1899*, 12.

<sup>32</sup>Robert Mathison, "Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb," *Twenty-Fifth Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education and Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, Being for the year ending September 30<sup>th</sup>, 1895*, 16-17.

<sup>33</sup>A.B. Davidson, "The Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb" and **author** "Literary Examiner" *Twenty-Seventh Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education and Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, Being for the year ending September 30<sup>th</sup>, 1897*, 9 & 70.

<sup>34</sup>*Ibid*.

<sup>35</sup>Robert Mathison, Appendix K. – "Report of the Superintendent and Principal of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb." *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the Year 1906*, 441-450.

<sup>36</sup>Robert Mathison, "Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb," *Twenty-Ninth Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education and Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, Being for the year ending September 30<sup>th</sup>, 1899*, 12.

<sup>37</sup>*Ibid*.

<sup>38</sup>Robert Mathison, "Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb," *Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education and Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, Being for the year ending September 30<sup>th</sup>, 1896*, 13.

<sup>39</sup>"The Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb," *Thirty-Second Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education and Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, Being for the year ending September 30<sup>th</sup>, 1902*, 2.

<sup>40</sup> Langmuir's point about the annual reports would be well founded. In years to come they would become increasingly slim and contain less and less information about the school curriculum, pedagogical approaches to teaching the d/Deaf to communicate, the trades curriculum and life at the OIED in general.

---

<sup>41</sup>Robert Mathison, Appendix L. – “Report of the Superintendent and Principal of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb,” *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the Year 1905*, 235.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid, 234.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid.

<sup>45</sup>C.B. Coughlin, Appendix K. – “Report of the Superintendent and Principal of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb.” *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the Year 1906*, 458.

<sup>46</sup>R.A. Pyne, “Observations of the Minister,” *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the Year 1908*, xi.

<sup>47</sup>C.B. Coughlin, Appendix L. – “Report of the Superintendent and Principal of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb.” *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the Year 1907*, 499-507.

<sup>48</sup>C.B. Coughlin, Appendix J. – “Report of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb.” *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the Year 1908*, 249.

<sup>49</sup> C.B. Coughlin, Appendix L. – “Report of the Superintendent and Principal of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb.” *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the Year 1907*, 499.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid, 503.

<sup>51</sup> Coughlin notes that the Teachers Association, drawn from the teachers at the institution, spent the summer before constructing this new curriculum. He goes on to note that he expected that they would again need to review it the following summer to bring it further in line with the public school. C.B. Coughlin, Appendix L. – “Report of the Superintendent and Principal of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb.” *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the Year 1907*, 499.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid, 508.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid, 499.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid, 499-500.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid.

<sup>58</sup>C.B. Coughlin, Appendix J. – “Report of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb.” *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the Year 1908*, 243.

<sup>59</sup>C.B. Coughlin, Appendix J. – “Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb.” *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the Year 1910*, 267.

<sup>60</sup>C.B. Coughlin, Appendix H. – “Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb.” *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the Year 1913*, 512.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid, 529.

<sup>62</sup>C.B. Coughlin, Appendix H. – “Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the Year 1914.” *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the Year 1914*, 567.

---

<sup>63</sup>Hall, *Representation*, 3

<sup>64</sup>M. Kingwell, *The World we Want: Virtue, Vice and the Good Citizen* (Toronto: Viking Penguin, 2000), 5.

<sup>65</sup>Rosaldo, "Cultural Citizenship, Inequality, and Multiculturalism," 254.

<sup>66</sup>David Mitchell, Sharon Snyder, "The Eugenic-Atlantic". See also, Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: modernity and double consciousness* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995); Paul Gilroy, *Against Race: imagining political culture across the color line* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000).

<sup>67</sup>R. Beiner, *Theorizing Citizenship*, 3.

<sup>68</sup>Prentice, *The School Promoters*; Osborne, "Education is the Best National Insurance".

<sup>69</sup>Clark, "The Historical Context of Social Studies in English Canada."; Tompkins, *A Common Countenance*; Von Heyking, *Creating Citizens*.

<sup>70</sup>Osborne notes that language and literature also played an important role in reinforcing these lessons. Osborne, "Citizenship Education and Social Studies," 44.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid, 45.

<sup>73</sup>J.W. Langmuir, "Inspector's Report on Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville" *Fourth Annual Report of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, at Belleville, Ont., for fiscal year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1874*, 10.

<sup>74</sup>See, for example, J.L. Granatstein, *Who Killed Canadian History?* (Toronto: Phyllis Bruce Books Perrenial, 2007). Originally published in 1997, it received a second printing in 2007 with some updated material. The argument remains the same, Granatstein laments the loss of traditional 'national' history and places the blame on "newer" fields rooted in "social" history.

<sup>75</sup>Osborne, "Citizenship Education and Social Studies," 45-6.

<sup>76</sup>Dr. Carlyle's report was imbedded in the larger report by Inspector Langmuir. J.W. Langmuir, "Inspector's Report on the Ontario Institution for the Deaf & Dumb, Belleville," *Eleventh Annual Report of the Inspector of Asylums, Prisons and Public Charities for the Province of Ontario for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September 1878*, 171-72.

<sup>77</sup>Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 6.

<sup>78</sup>K. Anderson, *Vancouver's Chinatown: Racial Discourse in Canada, 1875-1980* (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991).

<sup>79</sup>Hall, *Representations*, 4.

<sup>80</sup>Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 145.

<sup>81</sup>Not surprisingly the Anglophone emphasis on nation building through the English language was seen as a threat to Francophone culture. See Bruce Curtis, "State of the Nation or Community of Spirit? Schooling for Civic and Ethnic-Religious Nationalism in Insurrectionary Canada," *History of Education Quarterly* 43, 3 (2003):325-349.

<sup>82</sup>Robert Mathison, "Report of the Superintendent for the Year Ending September 30<sup>th</sup>, 1879," *Twelfth Annual Report of the Inspector Prisons, Asylums &c., for the Province of Ontario for the year ending September 30<sup>th</sup>, 1879*, 398-404.

---

<sup>83</sup>Robert Mathison, “Report of the Superintendent for the year ending September 30<sup>th</sup>, 1880,” *Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities, for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1880*, 404-406. During the third and fourth year, the focus was on the divisions of water, county towns and counties of Ontario. During the fifth year the emphasis moved towards the physical features of the province in addition to divisions of water, chief towns and counties.

<sup>84</sup>Robert Mathison, “Report of the Superintendent for the year ending September 30<sup>th</sup>, 1880,” *Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities, for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1880*, 407-408.

<sup>85</sup>Ibid, 407.

<sup>86</sup>Pupils’ Locals, *The Canadian Mute*, 9, 20 (December 2, 1901), 3.

<sup>87</sup>Robert Mathison, “Report of the Superintendent for the year ending September 30<sup>th</sup>, 1880,” *Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities, for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1880*, 408.

<sup>88</sup>Osborne, “Citizenship Education and Social Studies,” 48.

<sup>89</sup>“Examiner’s Report,” *Thirty-third Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education and Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, Being for the year ending September 30<sup>th</sup>, 1903*, 18-19.

<sup>90</sup>Tomkins, *A Common Countenance*, 144-5; Moss, *Manliness and Militarism*, 2000.

<sup>91</sup>“Pupils’ Locals – Mr. Denys’ Class,” *The Canadian Mute* 9, 14 (June 1, 1901), 3.

<sup>92</sup>“Pupils’ Locals – Mr. Denys’ Class,” *The Canadian Mute* 9, 18 (November 1, 1901), 3.

<sup>93</sup>C.B. Coughlin, Appendix T. – “Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb.” *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the Year 1912*, 514.

<sup>94</sup>C.B. Coughlin, Appendix L. – “Report of the Superintendent and Principal of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb.” *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the Year 1907*, 499; 503-4.

<sup>95</sup>In his 1908 report to the government Public School inspector H.J. Clarke notes, “Another pleasing incident in this connection took place in the afternoon of the first day of my visit. The pupils were massed on the lawn and the ceremony of “Saluting the Flag” was carried out with military precision.” H.J. Clarke, “Appendix J – Report of the Public School Examiner.” *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the Year 1908*, 259.

<sup>96</sup>C.B. Coughlin, Appendix H. – “Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb.” *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the Year 1909*, 187.

<sup>97</sup>C.B. Coughlin, Appendix J. – “Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb.” *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the Year 1910*, 266.

<sup>98</sup>C.B. Coughlin, “Appendix T. – Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb.” *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the Year 1912*, 509.

<sup>99</sup>C.B. Coughlin, Appendix J. – “Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb.” *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the Year 1910*, 274-275.

<sup>100</sup>C.B. Coughlin, Appendix J. – “Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb.” *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the Year 1911*, 327.

<sup>101</sup>C.B. Coughlin, Appendix J. – “Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb.” *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the Year 1910*, 275.

---

<sup>102</sup>Osborne, "Citizenship Education and Social Studies," 49.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

<sup>104</sup> William Nurse, "Home News," *The Canadian Mute* 11, 15 (November 16, 1905), 5.

<sup>105</sup>Carbin, *Samuel Thomas Greene*, 102.

<sup>106</sup> Ibid, 103. In 1874, Lord Dufferin visited the school and established medals for the highest students in the literary and trades department, the society decided to name their organization after him.

<sup>107</sup> The October 15, 1903 newspaper noted that a number of members of the Dufferin Literary Society were back at school and elections would be held as soon as possible to elect officers. William Nurse, "Home News," *The Canadian Mute* 11, 13 (October 15, 1903), 5.

<sup>108</sup> "Dufferin Literary Society," *The Canadian Mute*, 11, 18 (January 1, 1904), 2.

<sup>109</sup>Carbin, *Samuel Thomas Greene*, 103.

<sup>110</sup>Carbin, *Deaf Heritage in Canada*, 179-182.

<sup>111</sup> William Nurse, "Home News," *The Canadian Mute* 11, 9 (May 15, 1903), 5.

<sup>112</sup>Osborne, "Citizenship Education and Social Studies," 53.

<sup>113</sup> Wesley Palmer, "Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville. Reports of the Principal and Surgeon." *Sixth Annual Report of the Inspector of Asylums, Prisons, &c, for Ontario, 1872-1873*, 195.

<sup>114</sup> J.W. Langmuir, "Inspector's Report on Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville." *Fourth Annual Report of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, at Belleville, Ont., for fiscal year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1874*. 6.

<sup>115</sup> K. Osborne, "Citizenship Education and Social Studies," 55.

<sup>116</sup> Tomkins, 1986, *A Common Countenance*, 123.

<sup>117</sup> William Nurse, "Home News," *The Canadian Mute* 10, 8 (April 1, 1902), 5.

<sup>118</sup>C.B. Coughlin, Appendix L. – "Report of the Superintendent and Principal of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb." *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the Year 1907*, 498.

<sup>119</sup> W. Spankie, Appendix L – "Report of the Public School Examiner." *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the Year 1907*, 569

<sup>120</sup>Quoted in C.B. Coughlin, "Appendix J. – Report of the Superintendent and Principal of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb." *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the Year 1908*, 248-9.

<sup>121</sup> C.B. Coughlin, "Appendix L. – Report of the Superintendent and Principal of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb." *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the Year 1907*, 503-4.

<sup>122</sup>Osborne, "Citizenship Education and Social Studies," 57.

<sup>123</sup>T.F. Chamberlain, "The Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb," *Twenty-Third Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education and Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, Being for the year ending September 30<sup>th</sup>, 1893*, 9.

---

<sup>124</sup>Ibid.

<sup>125</sup> Robert Mathison, "Report of the Superintendent," *Thirty-Second Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education and Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, Being for the year ending September 30<sup>th</sup>, 1902*, 8.

<sup>126</sup>Ibid.

<sup>127</sup> The winner of the silver medal was awarded to William Kay, of Stratford. Decades later, Kay would provide *The Canadian Mute* newspaper with many written essays on his memories of the early years at the institution. The bronze medal was awarded to William Smith of Lanark County. J.W. Langmuir, "Inspector's Report on the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville." *Fifth Annual Report of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb at Belleville, Ont., for fiscal year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September 1875*, 8.

<sup>128</sup> Reports of award winners permeated the annual report and school newspaper as "evidence" that the d/Deaf were not only capable of achieving on an intellectual level but capable of high achievement. The 1905 annual report noted, the following students as medal winners: Miss. Annetta Johnston – Stratton Gold Medal for General Proficiency; Miss. Mary Reilly – winner of Institution Silver Medal for General Proficiency; Miss Violet Gray – winner of Institution Medal in Domestic Science Class; Mr. Alexander Lobsinger, Silver Medal for Good Conduct. Robert Mathison, Appendix K. – "Report of the Superintendent and Principal of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb." *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the Year 1906*, 449.

<sup>129</sup> Robert Mathison, "Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb," *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education and Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, Being for the year ending September 30<sup>th</sup>, 1884*, 8.

<sup>130</sup> J.W. Langmuir, "Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville." *Sixth Annual Report of the Inspector of Asylums, Prisons, &c, for Ontario, 1872-1873*, 39.

<sup>131</sup> J.W. Langmuir, "Inspector's Report on the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville." *Fifth Annual Report of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb at Belleville, Ont., for fiscal year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September 1875*, 7-8.

<sup>132</sup> William Nurse, "Home News" *The Canadian Mute* 10, 14 (October 1, 1902), 5.

<sup>133</sup> C.B. Coughlin, Appendix J. – "Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb." *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the Year 1911*, 327.

<sup>134</sup> C.B. Coughlin, Appendix T. – "Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb." *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the Year 1912*, 518.

<sup>135</sup> Coughlin points to the importance of the OIED in religious instruction as follows, "Whatever opinions may be held as the advisability of religious instruction in the public schools, the case is quite different at this Institution. Hearing children have an opportunity to get their religious instruction at home and in the church and Sunday-school of their choice. Our pupils must get theirs at the Institution or go without, and the latter alternative is, of course, unthinkable." C.B. Coughlin, Appendix L. – "Report of the Superintendent and Principal of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb." *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the Year 1907*, 503.

<sup>136</sup> Due to an outbreak of Typhoid at the school the annual reports for the 1882-1883 school year did not include an academic report as classes were suspended early and no formal exams took place. In its place each teacher wrote an essay about their area of expertise. E. Terrill, "The Moral and Religious Training of Deaf-Mutes." *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education and Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, Being for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1883*, 50.

<sup>137</sup>Ibid, 50-51.

<sup>138</sup> Ibid, 51.

<sup>139</sup>Wesley Palmer, "Report of the Principal of the Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville." *Fourth Annual Report of the Inspector of Asylums, Prisons, &c, for Ontario, 1871*, 169.

<sup>140</sup>Wesley Palmer, "Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville. Reports of the Principal and Surgeon." *Sixth Annual Report of the Inspector of Asylums, Prisons, &c, for Ontario, 1872-1873*, 194.

<sup>141</sup>Wesley Palmer, "Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville. Report of the Principal," *Tenth Annual Report of the Inspector Prisons, Asylums &c., for the Province of Ontario for the year ending September 30<sup>th</sup>, 1877*, 328.

<sup>142</sup> Robert Mathison, "Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb." *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education and Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, Being for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1883*, 12.

<sup>143</sup>Robert Mathison, "Report of the Superintendent for the year ending September 30<sup>th</sup>, 1880." *Appendix to Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities, for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1880*, 402.

<sup>144</sup>J.W. Langmuir, "Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb," "Report of the Principal of the Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville," *Fourth Annual Report of the Inspector of Asylums, Prisons, &c., for the Province of Ontario, 1870-71*, 93.

### Notes – Chapter Five:

<sup>1</sup>Robert Mathison, Appendix K - "Industrial Departments, 1905-1906," *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the year 1906, Part 1*. 454.

<sup>2</sup>Robert Mathison, "The Superintendent's Report." *Thirty-Third Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, being for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1903*, 12.

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, N. Forestell, "'And I Feel Like I'm Dying from Mining for Gold': Disability, Gender, and the Mining Community, 1920 -1950," *Labor: Studies in Working-Class History of the Americas* 3, 3 (2006): 77-93; S. Rose, "'Crippled' Hands: Disability in Labour and Working-Class History," *Labor: : Studies in Working-Class History of the Americas* 2, 1(2005): 27-54; R. Rennie, "The Historical Origins of Industrial Disease: Occupational Health and Labour Relations in the Fourspar Mines, St. Lawrence, Newfoundland, 1933-1945," *Labour/Le Travail* 55 (2005):107-42.

<sup>4</sup>Paul Longmore & David Goldberger, "The League of the Physically Handicapped and the Great Depression: A Case Study in the New Disability History," *The Journal of American History* 87, 3 (December 2000), 888-890.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid, 890.

<sup>6</sup>Robert Mathison, "Report of the Superintendent of the Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb," *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Instruction and Education of the Deaf and Dumb Belleville, Being for the Year Ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1889*, 26.

<sup>7</sup> Axelrod, *The Promise of Schooling*, 107.

<sup>8</sup> Kudlick, "A History Profession for Every Body," 164.

<sup>9</sup> Axelrod, *The Promise of School*, 107.

<sup>10</sup> Alison Taylor. "Education for Industrial and "Postindustrial" Purposes," *Educational Policy* 11, 1 (March 1997), 6. For more on industrialization and labour see seminal works by Bryan Palmer, *Working-Class Experience: The rise and reconstitution of Canadian labour, 1800- 1980*, (Toronto: Butterworth, 1983); Kealey, Greg. *Toronto workers respond to industrial capitalism 1867-1892* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980).

---

<sup>11</sup> K. Sharman and L. Glassford, "The Appeal of Technical Education in Tough Times: A Comparison of the Toronto and Windsor Experiences, 1890-1930." *Historical Studies in Education* 23, 2 (Fall 2011), 55.

<sup>12</sup> Sharman and Glassford, "The Appeal of Technical Education in Tough Times," 55. Robert Stamp, *The Schools of Ontario, 1876-1976*. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 51-96.

<sup>13</sup> Tomkins, *A Common Countenance*, 115-128.

<sup>14</sup> John Bullen, *Children of the industrial age: Children, work, and welfare in the late nineteenth-century Ontario*. Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Ottawa. 1989; Terrance Morrison, "Reform as social tracking: The case of industrial education in Ontario 1970-1900." *Journal of Educational Thought*, 8, (1974): 87-110; Taylor. "Education for Industrial and "Postindustrial" Purposes," 11; Sharman and Glassford, "The Appeal of Technical Education in Tough Times," 55.

<sup>15</sup> Sharman and Glassford, "The Appeal of Technical Education in Tough Times", 55-56; Taylor. "Education for Industrial and "Postindustrial" Purposes."

<sup>16</sup> Taylor, "Education for Industrial and "Postindustrial" Purposes," 11.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid, 12.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid. John Seath's report, *Education for Industrial Purposes*, was published in December 1910. See also, S. Semple. *John Seath's concept of vocational education in the school system of Ontario 1884-1911*. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Toronto, 1964.

<sup>19</sup> Sharman and Glassford, "The Appeal of Technical Education in Tough Times," 61; Taylor, "Education for Industrial and "Postindustrial" Purposes," 12.

<sup>20</sup> Tomkins, *A Common Countenance*.

<sup>21</sup> Robert Mathison, "Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville," *Twenty-Third Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, being for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1893*, 16.

<sup>22</sup> This is apparent in the following observation made by Inspector Chamberlain in 1898, "The industrial improvements of late years have kept pace with the literary work." T.F. Chamberlain, "Inspector's Summary of the year's operations." *Twenty-Eighth Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, being for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1898*, 9.

<sup>23</sup> Galer, "A Friend in Need or a Business Indeed?", 35.

<sup>24</sup> J.W. Langmuir, "Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville," *Third Annual Report of The Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, at Belleville Ontario for the Fiscal year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September 1873*, 39-40.

<sup>25</sup> William Nurse, "Mechanical Pursuits for Deaf Mutes," *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education and Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, Being for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1883*, 59.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid, 60.

<sup>27</sup> Robert Mathison, "Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville," *Twenty-Third Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, being for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1893*, 16; Robert Mathison, "Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville," *Nineteenth Annual*

---

*Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Instruction and Education of the Deaf and Dumb Belleville, Being for the Year Ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1889, 26-27.*

<sup>28</sup>C.B. Coughlin, Appendix J - "Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville." *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the year 1908, 249.*

<sup>29</sup>C.B. Coughlin, Appendix H - "Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb." *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the year 1909, 183.*

<sup>30</sup>Robert Mathison, "Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville," *Twenty-Third Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, being for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1893, 16.*

<sup>31</sup>Ibid.

<sup>32</sup>Robert Mathison, "The Superintendent's Report." *Thirty-Third Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, being for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1903, 12.*

<sup>33</sup>Robert Mathison, "Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville," *Twenty-Third Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, being for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1893, 16.*

<sup>34</sup>Untitled. *The Canadian Mute* 2, 19 (March 1, 1894), 2.

<sup>35</sup>Robert Mathison, "The Superintendent's Report." *Thirty-Third Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, being for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1903, 13.*

<sup>36</sup>Ibid.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid, 11.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid, 11-12.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid, 12.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid, 12-13.

<sup>42</sup>Munro, G. "Pupil's Locals'." *The Canadian Mute* 4, 14 (January 15, 1896), 4; see also the Home News column in the same edition, p. 5.

<sup>43</sup>Easton, "Identity and Politics in the 'Silent Worker' Newspaper", 58.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid, 58-9.

<sup>45</sup>Wesley Palmer, "Report of the Principal of the Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville," *Third Annual Report of The Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, at Belleville Ontario for the Fiscal year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September 1873, 194-5.*

<sup>46</sup>J.W. Langmuir, "Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville," *Tenth Annual Report of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, at Belleville Ontario for the Fiscal year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1880, 180.*

<sup>47</sup> Specifically: Men's light sewed boots (by Duncan Bloom), men's heavy sewed boots (by John. A. Ibister), farmer's heavy kip boots (by J. Baizana), farmer's light calf boots (Duncan Bloom), boy's school boots (John a. Ibister), girl's school boots (by John A. Ibister), woman's lace boots (Duncan Bloom), brogans (James Chantler) and slippers (J. Baizana). Robert Mathison, "Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville," *Twenty-Third Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, being for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1893*, 18.

<sup>48</sup> Specifically, Suit of clothes (by Robert Hanson), Suit of clothes (by Hepzibeth Hoggard), girl's dress (by Aggie McFarland), lady's apron (by Frances Calvert), child's pinafore (by Mabel Ball), pair of mittens (by Louisa Smith), pair of drawers (by Lotta Henry), pillow shams (by Maggie Gilbert). Robert Mathison, "Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville," *Twenty-Third Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, being for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1893*, 18.

<sup>49</sup> C.B. Coughlin, Appendix J - "Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb." *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the year 1910*, 268.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid, 268-9.

<sup>52</sup> Forestell, "'And I Feel Like I'm Dying from Mining for Gold,'" 87.

<sup>53</sup> Ex. "Poor Girls." *The Canadian Mute* 2, 6 (June 1, 1893), 8.

<sup>54</sup> T.F. Chamberlain, "Inspector's Summary of the year's operations." *Twenty-Seventh Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, being for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1897*, 11; T.F. Chamberlain, "Inspector's Summary of the year's operations." *Twenty-Eighth Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, being for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1898*, 9.

<sup>55</sup> Robert Mathison. "Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville," *Twenty-Eighth Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, being for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1898*, 21.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid, 29.

<sup>57</sup> Robert Mathison, Appendix L - "Report of the Superintendent and Principal of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb." *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the year 1905, Part 1*, 278.

<sup>58</sup> C.B. Coughlin, Appendix J - "Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, 1910-1911." *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the year 1911*, 340.

<sup>59</sup> Robert Mathison, Appendix K - "Industrial Departments, 1905-1906." *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the year 1906, Part 1*, 454.

<sup>60</sup> C.B. Coughlin, Appendix L - "Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville." *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the year 1907*, 507.

<sup>61</sup> William Nurse, "Home News," *The Canadian Mute* 11, 6 (April 1, 1903), 5.

<sup>62</sup> H.J. Clark, Appendix H - "Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario School for the Deaf." Literary examiner's report," *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the year 1913*, 530.

<sup>63</sup> Robert Mathison, "Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville," *Twenty-Fifth Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, being for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1895*, 19.

---

<sup>64</sup> Galer, "A Friend in Need or a Business Indeed?", 19.

<sup>65</sup>William Nurse, "Home News," *The Canadian Mute* 1, 5 (April 15, 1892), 5.

<sup>66</sup>Shortly after Coughlin took over a new column was added to the newspaper in which the various matches were listed and highlights provided.

<sup>67</sup>M. O'Brien, "Examiner's Report." *Thirty-Second Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, being for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1902*, 21.

<sup>68</sup> Untitled. *The Canadian Mute* 1, 1 (February 15, 1892), 5.

<sup>69</sup> "Letters from Former Pupils". Mary Lynch. *The Canadian Mute* 2, 14 (December 15, 1893), 4.

<sup>70</sup> William Nurse, *The Canadian Mute* 2, 14 (December 15, 1893), 5.

<sup>71</sup>Robert Mathison, "Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville." *Thirty-Second Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, being for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1902*, 15.

<sup>72</sup>Arthur Brown, "Examiner's Report." *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the year 1905, Part 1*, 283.

<sup>73</sup>Robert Mathison, "Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb," *Twenty-First Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities for the Province of Ontario 1891*, 11.

<sup>74</sup>Robert Mathison, Appendix K - "Industrial Departments, 1905-1906," *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the year 1906, Part 1*, 455.

<sup>75</sup>Easton, "Identity and Politics in the 'Silent Worker' Newspaper," 58.

<sup>76</sup>Arthur Brown, "Examiner's Report." *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the year 1905, Part 1*, 284.

<sup>77</sup> "Pupils Locals' – Boys Side of the Institution." *The Canadian Mute* 1, 19 (February 1, 1893), 3.

<sup>78</sup>Robert Mathison, "Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville," *Twenty-Third Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, being for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1893*, 17.

<sup>79</sup>Robert Mathison, "Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb," *Twentieth Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Instruction and Education of the Deaf and Dumb Belleville, Being for the Year Ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1890*, 18.

<sup>80</sup>Arthur Brown, "Examiner's Report." *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the year 1905, Part 1*, 284. See also, W. Nurse. "Home News." *The Canadian Mute* 2, 8(June 15, 1893), 7.

<sup>81</sup>Robert Mathison. "Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville," *Twenty-Eighth Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, being for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1898*, 21.

<sup>82</sup>Robert Mathison, "Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville." *Thirty-Second Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, being for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1902*, 15.

---

<sup>83</sup>C.B. Coughlin, Appendix H - "Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario School for the Deaf." *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the year 1913*, 512.

<sup>84</sup> Robert Mathison. "Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville," *Twenty-Eighth Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, being for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1898*, 21. See also, Robert Mathison, "Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb." *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education and Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, being for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1883*, 12.

<sup>85</sup>Robert Mathison, "Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville," *Twenty-Fifth Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, being for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1895*, 20.

<sup>86</sup>Carbin, *Deaf Heritage in Canada*

<sup>87</sup>Robert Mathison, "Report of the Superintendent and Principal of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb." *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the year 1905, Part 1*, 273.

<sup>88</sup>Appendix K - "Deaf-Mutes in the Postal Service." *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the year 1906, Part 1*, 452.

<sup>89</sup>Ibid.

<sup>90</sup>Ibid.

<sup>91</sup> William Nurse, "Home News" *The Canadian Mute* 3, 8 (October 1, 1894), 5.

<sup>92</sup> A Graduate. "Peddling," *The Canadian Mute* 4, 16 (February 15, 1895), 2.

<sup>93</sup> Bullen, "Hidden Workers,"; Sutherland, "We Always Had Things to Do."

<sup>94</sup>Robert Mathison, "Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville." *Thirty-Second Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, being for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1902*, 7.

<sup>95</sup> T. McCoy, "The Unproductive Prisoner: Labor and Medicine in Canadian Penitentiaries, 1867-1900," *Labor: Studies in Working-Class History of the Americas* 6, 4 (2010): 95-112.

<sup>96</sup>Ibid, 96-98.

<sup>97</sup> McCoy notes that Inspector Moylan believed that personal qualities to be gained from prison labour included, "formation of habits of industry, self-control, and the feeling of self-respect created by a sense of independence". As quoted in the "Fourth Annual Report of the Directors of Penitentiaries of the Dominion of Canada for the year 1871." See footnote 14, p. 99.

<sup>98</sup>Carbin, *A Deaf Heritage in Canada*, 62-3.

<sup>99</sup>Ibid.

<sup>100</sup> William Nurse, "Home News." *The Canadian Mute* 2, 5 (May 15, 1893), 5.

<sup>101</sup> "Pupils Locals; - Boys side of the Institution" *The Canadian Mute* 2, 2 (March 15, 1893), 4.

---

<sup>102</sup> Robert Mathison. "Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville," *Twenty-Eighth Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, being for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1898*, 29.

<sup>103</sup> "Dish Breakers," *The Canadian Mute* 1, 7 (March 16, 1892), 5.

<sup>104</sup> "Pupils Locals' – Girls Side of the Institution," *The Canadian Mute* 2, 1 (March 1, 1893), 4.

<sup>105</sup> "Pupil's Locals'." *The Canadian Mute* 3, 16 (February 1, 1895), 4.

<sup>106</sup> *The Canadian Mute*, 1, 7 (May 16, 1893), 5

<sup>107</sup> C.B. Coughlin, Appendix H - "Annual Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario School for the Deaf," *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the year 1913*, 513.

<sup>108</sup> C.B. Coughlin, Appendix L - "Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville." *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the year 1907*, 507.

<sup>109</sup> J.W. Langmuir, "Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville," *Third Annual Report of The Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, at Belleville Ontario for the Fiscal year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September 1873*, 40.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid*, 23.

<sup>111</sup> Robert Mathison. "Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville," *Twenty-Ninth Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, being for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1899*, 16.

<sup>112</sup> Robert Mathison, "Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville." *Thirty-Second Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, being for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1902*, 15.

<sup>113</sup> H. Reazin, H. "Report of Literary Examiner." *Twenty-Fifth Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, being for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1895*, 49.

<sup>114</sup> Robert Mathison, "Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville," *Twenty-Third Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, being for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1893*, 19.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>117</sup> William Nurse. "Home News" *The Canadian Mute* 2, 18 (February 15, 1894), 5.

<sup>118</sup> Robert Mathison, "Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville." *Thirty-Second Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, being for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1902*, 15.

<sup>119</sup> Robert Mathison, "The Superintendent's Report." *Thirty-Third Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, being for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1903*, 13; Robert Mathison, Appendix L - "Report of the Superintendent and Principal of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb." *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the year 1905, Part 1*, 271.

---

<sup>120</sup> Untitled. *The Canadian Mute*, 1, 1 (February 15, 1892), 4.

<sup>121</sup>Robert Mathison, "Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville," *Twenty-Second Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, being for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1892*, 14.

<sup>122</sup>C.B. Coughlin, Appendix H - "Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb." *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the year 1909*, 184.

<sup>123</sup>Ibid.

<sup>124</sup>H.J. Clarke, "Literary Examiner's Report," *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the year 1908*, 517.

<sup>125</sup>Robert Mathison, "Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville," *Twenty-Second Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, being for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1892*, 14.

<sup>126</sup>C.B. Coughlin, Appendix J - "Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, 1910-1911." *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the year 1910*, 334 & 340.

<sup>127</sup>H.J. Clarke, "Report of the Literary Examiner." *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the year 1908*, 259.

<sup>128</sup> Tomkins, *A Common Countenance*, 117.

<sup>129</sup> The term "Sloyd" was derived from the Swedish term "Dexterous". The program of manual training had also been implemented in the United States and included working with materials such as wood and clay. Robert Mathison, "Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville," *Twenty-Eighth Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, being for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1898*, 20-21.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid, 20.

<sup>131</sup>Robert Mathison, Appendix L - "Report of the Superintendent and Principal of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb." *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the year 1905, Part 1*, 271.

<sup>132</sup>Robert Mathison, "Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville." *Thirty-Second Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, being for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1902*, 7; J. Johnston, "Examiner's Report." *Thirty-Third Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, being for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1903*, 14.

<sup>133</sup>Robert Mathison, "The Superintendent's Report." *Thirty-Third Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, being for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1903*, 14.

<sup>134</sup>C.B. Coughlin, Appendix J - "Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb." *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the year 1910*, 274.

<sup>135</sup>Robert Mathison, "The Superintendent's Report." *Thirty-Third Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, being for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1903*, 14.

<sup>136</sup>Ibid, 7.

<sup>137</sup>Ibid.

<sup>138</sup>Ibid, 15.

<sup>139</sup>J. Johnston, “The Examiner’s Report.” *Thirty-Third Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, being for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1903*, 14.

<sup>140</sup>Robert Mathison, “Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville.” *Thirty-Second Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, being for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1902*, 15.

<sup>141</sup>C.B. Coughlin, Appendix J - “Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb,” *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the year 1910*, 274; C.B. Coughlin, Appendix J - “Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, 1910-1911,” *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the year 1911*, 340.

<sup>142</sup>Arthur Brown, “Examiner’s Report,” *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the year 1905, Part 1*, 283.

<sup>143</sup>C.B. Coughlin, Appendix J - “Report of the Superintendent of the Ontario Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, 1910-1911,” *Report of the Minister of Education Province of Ontario for the year 1911*, 335.

<sup>144</sup>Ibid.

<sup>145</sup>Ibid.

<sup>146</sup>William Nurse, “Mechanical Pursuits for Deaf Mutes,” *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities upon the Ontario Institution for the Education and Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville, Being for the year ending 30<sup>th</sup> September, 1883*, 59.

<sup>147</sup>Ibid.

<sup>148</sup> Ashley, J. “Editorial: Our Graduates.” *The Canadian Mute* 2, 8 (June 15, 1893), 2.

## Notes – Conclusion:

<sup>1</sup> J.W. Langmuir, “Ontario Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville.” *Sixth Annual Report of the Inspector of Asylums, Prisons, &c, for Ontario, 1872-1873*, 38.

<sup>2</sup>Pearce, “Not for Alms but Help.” Joanna Pearce’s work examines the shift from “charitable status funding” to government funding for education was significant in terms of citizens’ rights for blind students. The Institute asserted that it was also a sound fiscal move for the government to educate blind people because then it didn’t have to fund people later in life who were unemployable and dependent.

<sup>3</sup>“Opposed to Dr. Coughlin: Deaf Mutes Say Appointment is an Unwise One,” *The Globe* (October 29, 1906), 8. This article indicates that the Ontario Deaf Mute Association was encouraging the government to drop the term ‘dumb’.

<sup>4</sup> See, C. M. Mangion, “ ‘The business of life’: educating Catholic deaf children in late nineteenth-century England,” *History of Education* 41, 5 (September 2012), 575-594; Pearce, “Not for Alms but Help.”

---

## Bibliography

### *Government Documents:*

Ontario. *In the Matter of an Investigation into the Workings of the Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, Belleville*. Report and Recommendations made by A.J. Russell Snow, Commissioner. 1907.

Inspector of Prisons and Public Charities. *Annual Reports of Prisons and Public Charities of the Province of Ontario*, 1870-1904.

Superintendent of Education. *Annual Reports of the Public Schools of the Province of Ontario*, 1905-1914.

### *Other Documents:*

*Third Annual Report of the Society for the Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb, and of the Blind for the year 1861*. Toronto: Rowsell & Ellis Printers, 1862.

### *Archives and Special Collections:*

Archives of Ontario. RG 18-45, File: *Report & Recommendations re: Investigation of Deaf & Dumb Institute, Belleville*, B2A9378

Gallaudet University Archives. *The Canadian Mute/The Canadian*, v.9, n.21 (December 15, 1901) – v. 24, n. 20 (December 15, 1914).

Library and Archives Canada. *Handbook of information, Ontario School for the Deaf, Belleville, Ont (1912)*. [microform] CIHM/ICMH Microfiche series no. 87835.

–. *The Canadian Mute* [microform] v.1, n. 1 (February 15, 1892- v.9 n.20 (December 2, 1901). CIHM/ICMH Microfiche series no. P04409.

### *Books and Articles*

Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 1991.

Anderson, K. *Vancouver's Chinatown: Racial Discourse in Canada, 1875-1980*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991.

- 
- Anglin-Jaffe, H. "Sign, Play and Disruption: Derridean Theory and Sign Language." *Culture, Theory and Critique* 52, 1 (2011):29-44.
- Ashworth, M. *The Forces Which Shaped Them: a history of the education of minority group children in British Columbia*. Vancouver: New Star Book, 1979.
- Auerbach, C.F. and Silverstein, L.B. *Qualitative Data: An Introduction to Coding and Analysis*. New York: New York University Press, 2003
- Axelrod, Paul. *The Promise of Schooling: Education in Canada, 1800-1914*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997.
- Baker, G. "Eugenics and Migration: A Case Study of Salvation Army Literature about Canada and Britain, c. 1890-1921." *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History* 31, 1 (2014): 77-98.
- Barman, Jean. "Schooled for Inequality: The Education of British Columbia Aboriginal Children," in *Teachers and Schools in the History of British Columbia*. ed. Jean Barman et al. 57-80 Calgary: Detslig, 1985.
- . "Separate and Unequal: Indian and White Girls at All Hallows School, 1884-1920," in Barman et al. ed., *Indian Education in Canada v.1* 110-131. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986.
- "Oh No! It would not be Proper to Discuss That with you: Reflections on Gender and the Experience of Childhood." *Curriculum Inquiry* 24, 1 (1994): 53-67.
- Bauman, H.-D. L. "Listening to phonocentrism with Deaf eyes: Derrida's mute philosophy of (Sign) language." *Essays in Philosophy: A Biannual Journal* 9, 1 (2008).  
<http://www.humboldt.edu/~essays/bauman.html> p.1
- Baynton, Douglas, C. *Forbidden Signs: American Culture and the Campaign Against Sign Language*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.
- . "Disability and the Justification of Inequality in American History," in *The New Disability History: American Perspectives*, eds. Paul K. Longmore and Lauri Umansky, 33-57. New York: New York University Press, 2001.
- . " 'A Silent Exile on This Earth': The Metaphorical Construction of Deafness in the Nineteenth Century." In *Disability Studies Reader 2<sup>nd</sup> edition* Lennard Davis ed. 33-48 New York: Routledge, 2006.
- Beiner, R. *Theorizing Citizenship*. ed. R. Beiner. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995.
- Bennett, Paul. "Turning 'Bad Boys' into 'Good Citizens': The Reforming Impulses of Toronto's Industrial Schools Movement, 1883 to the 1920s." *Ontario History* 78, 3 (1986): 77-101.

- 
- . “Taming ‘Bad Boys’ of the ‘Dangerous Class’: Child Rescue and Restraint at the Victoria Industrial School, 1887-1935. *Social History*, 21, 41 (1988): 71-96.
- Berger, Carl. *The Writing of Canadian History*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993.
- Bueggemann, Brenda Jo. “Think-Between: A Deaf Studies Commonplace Book,” in *Signs and Voices: Deaf Culture, Identity, Language, and Arts*, ed. K. Lindren, D. DeLuca and D. Napoli, 30-42. Washington, D.C.: Gallaudet University Press, 2008.
- “The Tango: Or, What Deaf Studies and Disability Studies DO-DO.” In *Deaf and Disability Studies: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*. S. Burch and A. Kafer ed. 245-265. Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press, 2010.
- Bruno-Jofré, Rosa, “Citizenship and Schooling in Manitoba Between the End of the First World War and the End of the Second World War.” In *Citizenship in Transformation in Canada*, ed. Yvonne Hébert, 112-33. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002.
- “History of education in Canada: historiographic “turns” and widening horizons.” *Paedagogica Historica* 50, 6 (2014): 774-785.
- Bryce, B. “Linguistic Ideology and State Power: German and English Education in Ontario, 1880-1912.” *The Canadian Historical Review* 94, 2 (June 2013): 207-233.
- Buchanan, Robert. “The *Silent Worker* Newspaper and the Building of a Deaf Community, 1890-1929,” in *Deaf History Unveiled: Interpretations from the New Scholarship* J. V. Van Cleve eds. Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press, 1993.
- . *Illusions of Equality: Deaf Americans in Schools and Factory, 1850-1950*. Washington DC: Gallaudet University Press, 1999.
- Bullen, John. “Hidden Workers: Child Labour and the Family Economy in Late Nineteenth-Century Urban Ontario,” *Labour/Le Travail* 18, (1986): 163-87.
- . *Children of the industrial age: Children, work, and welfare in the late nineteenth-century Ontario*. Unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Ottawa. 1989
- Burch, Susan and Sutherland, Ian. “Who’s Not Yet Here? Lessons in American Disability Studies.” *Radical History Review* 94, (Winter 2006): 127-147.
- Burch, Susan and Kafer, Alison. “Introduction: Interventions, Investments, and Intersections.” in *Deaf and Disability Studies: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*. S. Burch and A. Kafer ed. xiii-xxvii. Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press, 2010.
- Burch, Susan. *Signs of Resistance: American Deaf Cultural History, 1900 to World War II*. New York: New York University Press, 2002.

- 
- Butler, Judith. *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York & London: Routledge, 1990.
- Carbin, Clifton. *A Deaf Heritage in Canada: A Distinctive, Diverse and Enduring Culture*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1996.
- . *Samuel Thomas Greene: A Legend in the Nineteenth Century Deaf Community*. Belleville: Epic Press, 2005.
- Chen, X. *Tending the Gardens of Citizenship: Child Saving in Toronto 1880s-1920s*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005.
- Chunn, Dorothy. "Boys will be Men, Girls will be Mothers: The Legal Regulation of Childhood in Toronto and Vancouver," *Sociological Studies of Child Development*, 3(1990), 87-110.
- Chupick, Jessica & Wright, David. "Teaching the 'Idiot' Child in Twentieth Century Ontario." *Disability & Society* 21, 1 (2006): 77-90.
- Clark, Penney. "The Historical Context of Social Studies in English Canada." In *Challenges and Prospects for Canadian Social Studies*, ed. A. Sears and I. Wright, 17-37. Vancouver, BC: Pacific Educational Press, 2004.
- "Introduction." in *New Possibilities for the Past: Shaping History Education in Canada*, ed. Penney Clark, 1-30. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011.
- Comacchio, Cynthia. "The History of Us: Canadian Families and Socioeconomic Change," *Labour/Le Travail*, 46, (2000):167-220.
- . "The Rising Generation: Laying Claim to the Health of Adolescents in English Canada, 1920-70," *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History* 19 (2002): 133-178.
- Conrad, Margaret. "A Brief Survey of Canadian Historiography," in *New Possibilities for the Past: Shaping History Education in Canada*, ed. Penney Clark, 33-54. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011.
- Cook, Sharon Anne. "'A Quiet Place...to Die': Ottawa's First Protestant Old Age Homes for Women and Men." *Ontario History, Ontario Historical Society* LXXXI, 1 (March 1989): 25-40.
- . *Through Sunshine and Shadow: The Women's Christian Temperance Unit, Evangelicalism and Reform in Ontario, 1874 -1930*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 1995.
- . *Sex, Lies and Cigarettes: Canadian Women, Smoking, and Visual Culture, 1880-2000*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2012.
- Corrigan, P. & Sayer, D. *The Great Arch: English State Formation as Cultural Revolution*. Oxford and New York, Basil Blackwell, 1985.

- 
- Cowden, Peter. "‘Children of Silence’: Education of the Deaf in Ontario, 1856-1906." Dissertation. State University of New York, Buffalo, 1990.
- Crowley, Terry. "Madonnas Before Magdalenes: Adelaide Hoodless and the Making of the Canadian Gibson Girl." *Canadian Historical Review* 67, 4 (1986): 520-547.
- Curtis, Bruce. *Building the Educational State: Canada West, 1836-187*. London: The Althouse Press, 1988.
- . "State of the Nation or Community of Spirit? Schooling for Civic and Ethnic- Religious Nationalism in Insurrectionary Canada," *History of Education Quarterly* 43, 3 (2003):325-349.
- Danylewycz, Marta. "Domestic Science Education in Ontario, 1900-1940." *Gender and Education in Ontario* ed. A. Prentice and R. Heap, 129-47. Toronto: Scholar’s Press, 1991.
- Davis, Lennard. *Bending over Backwards: Disability, Dismodernism and Other Difficult Positions*. New York: New York University Press, 2002.
- . eds. *The Disability Studies Reader, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition*. Routledge: New York & London, 2006.
- Delhi, Kari. "Health Scouts for the State? School and Public Health Nurses in Early Twentieth-Century Canada." *Historical Studies in Education* 1/2 (Fall 1990), 247-64.
- Derrida, Jacques. *Of Grammatology* translated by G. Spivak. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976.
- DesRoches, Cheryl. "Everyone in Their Place: The Formation of Institutional Care for the Elderly in Nineteenth-Century Ontario," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 15, (2004)" 49-70.
- Doe, Tanis. "The Difficulty with Deafness Discourse and Disability Culture." *Review of Disability Studies* 1 (1) (2004): 34-41.
- Easton, Terry. "Identity and Politics in the ‘Silent Worker’ Newspaper: Print Publication and the Laboring Deaf Body," *Women’s Studies Quarterly* 26(1/2) (Spring-Summer, 1998): 56-74.
- Forestell, Nancy. "‘And I Feel Like I’m Dying from Mining for Gold’: Disability, Gender, and the Mining Community, 1920 -1950." *Labor: Studies in Working-Class History of the Americas* 3, 3 (2006): 77-93.
- Francis, N. and Lathrop, A. "‘Children who drill, seldom are ill.’ Drill, Movement and Sport: The Rise and Fall of a ‘Female Tradition’ in Ontario Elementary Physical Education –

- 
- 1850s to 2000.” *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d’histoire de l’éducation* (May 2011): 61-80.
- Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972-1977*. New York: Pantheon, 1980.
- Gaffield, Chad. *Language, Schooling and Cultural Conflict: The Origins of the French Language Controversy in Ontario*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1987.
- . “Historical Thinking, C.P. Snow’s Two Cultures and a Hope for the Twenty-First Century,” *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 12, (2001): 3-25.
- Galer, Dustin. “A Friend in Need or a Business Indeed?: Disabled Bodies and Fraternalism in Victorian Ontario.” *Labour/La Travail*, 66 (Fall 2010): 13.
- Garland-Thomson, Rosemarie. “Seeing the Disabled,” in *The New Disability History*, P. Longmore and L. Umansky, 335-74 (New York: New York University Press, 2001).
- . “What Her Body Taught (or, Teaching about and with a Disability),” *Feminist Studies* 31, 1 (April 2005): 13-33.
- . “Feminist Disability Studies: A Review Essay,” *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 30, 2 (Winter 2005): 1557-87.
- Gee, James Paul. *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis Theory and Method*. New York and London: Routledge, 2005.
- Gibbons, S. “ ‘Our Power to Remodel Civilization’: The Development of Eugenic Feminism in Alberta, 1909-1921,” *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History* 31, 1 (2014): 123-142.
- Gilroy, Paul. *The Black Atlantic: modernity and double consciousness*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995.
- . *Against the Race: imagining political culture across the color line*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000.
- Gleason, Mona. “Embodied Negotiations: Children’s Bodies and Historical Change in Canada, 1930-1960.” *Journal of Canadian Studies* 34, 1(1999):112-138.
- . *Normalizing the Ideal: Psychology, Schooling and the Family in Postwar Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999.
- . “Disciplining the Student Body: Schooling and the Construction of Canadian Children’s Bodies, 1930-1960.” *History of Education Quarterly*, 41, 2 (2001): 189-215.

- 
- . “Race, Class, and Health: School Medical Inspection and ‘Health’ Children in British Columbia, 1890-1930.” *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History* 19 (2002): 95-112.
- . “From ‘Disgraceful Carelessness’ to ‘Intelligent Precaution’: Accidents and the Public Child in English Canada, 1900-1950.” *Journal of Family History* 30 (2005): 230-214.
- Glegg, Alastair. “Margaret Bayne and the Vancouver Girls’ Industrial School.” *Historical Studies in Education* 18, 2 (September 2006): 201-223.
- Granatstein, J.L. *Who Killed Canadian History?* Toronto: HarperCollins, 1998; 2007.
- Grekul, J. “Sterilization in Alberta, 1928 to 1972: Gender Matters.” *The Canadian Review of Sociology*, 43, 3 (2008): 247-266.
- Grekul, J. Krahn, H and Odynak, D. “Sterilizing the ‘Feeble-minded’: Eugenics in Alberta, Canada, 1929-1972.” *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 17, 4 (2004):358-384.
- Hall, Stuart. “Introduction.” *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* ed. Stuart Hall, 1-12. London: Sage, 1997.
- Haller, Beth. “The Little Papers: Newspapers at Nineteenth-Century Schools for Deaf Persons,” *Journalism History*, 19 (2) (September 1993), 43-50.
- Heron, Craig. *Booze: A Distilled History*. Toronto: Between the Lines Press, 2003.
- . “The Boys and their Booze: Masculinities and Public Drinking in Work-class Hamilton, 1890-1946.” *Canadian Historical Review* 86, 3 (2005):411-452.
- Hodgins, J. George (ed.), *Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada* Vol. III (1836-1840) Toronto: Warwick Bros. & Rutter, Printers, 1895.
- Hogeveen, Bryan. “‘You Will Hardly believe I turned out so Well’: Parole, Surveillance, Masculinity and the Victorian Industrial School, 1896-1935.” *Social History*, 37, 74 (2004): 201-227.
- . “‘The Evils with Which we are Called to Grapple’: Elite Reformers, Eugenicists, Environmental Psychologists, and the Construction of Toronto’s Working Class Boy Problem, 1860-1930,” *Labour/Le Travail* 55 (2005): 37-68.
- . “Discontinuity and/in the Early Twentieth Century Ontario Juvenile Court.” *Journal of Historical Sociology* 20, 4 (December 2007): 605-621.
- . “Accounting for Violence at the Victoria Industrial School.” *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 42, 83 (Mai-May 2009): 147-174.

---

Houston, Susan. "Victorian Origins of Juvenile Delinquency: A Canadian Experience." *History of Education Quarterly* 12, 3 (Autumn 1972): 254-280.

-. "Politics, Schools, and Social Change in Upper Canada," In *Education and Social Change: Themes from Ontario's Past*, ed. M. Katz and P. Mattingly, New York: New York University Press, 1975.

Houston, Susan, and Prentice, Allison. *Schooling and Scholars in Nineteenth Century Ontario*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988.

Ladd, Paddy. *Understanding Deaf Culture: In Search of Deafhood*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters Ltd, 2003.

Lane, Harlan. *When the Mind Hears: A History of the Deaf*. New York, NY: Vintage, 1989.

-. *The Mask of Benevolence: Disabling the Deaf Community*. New York, NY: Alfred Knopf, 1992.

-. "Constructions of Deafness." in *The Disability Studies Reader 2<sup>nd</sup> edition*. Lennard J. Davis (ed.), 153-171. New York, NY: Routledge. 2006.

Jones and L. Rutman, *In the Children's Aid: J.J. Kelso and Child Welfare in Ontario*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981.

Katz, M, and Mattingly, P, eds. *Education and Social Change: Themes from Ontario's Past*. New York: New York University Press, 1975.

Kealey, Greg. *Toronto workers respond to industrial capitalism 1867-1892*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980.

Kelm, Mary Ellen. "Colonizing Bodies: Aboriginal Health and Healing in British Columbia, 1900-1950." Vancouver: UBC Press, 1999.

Kingwell, M. *The World we Want: Virtue, Vice and the Good Citizen*. Toronto: Viking Penguin, 2000.

Kudlick, Catherine. "Disability History: Why We Need Another 'Other'," *American Historical Review* 108 (June 2003): 763-793.

-. "A History Profession for Every Body" *Journal of Women's History*, 18, 1 (Spring 2006): 163-167.

Kymlicka, Will. *Finding Our Way: Rethinking Ethnocultural Relations in Canada*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Learner, Gerda. "Reconceptualizing Differences Among Women," *Journal of Women's History*, 1, 3 (Winter 1990): 106-122.

- 
- Lee, Jessica. "Family Matters: Female Dynamics within Deaf Schools." in *Women and Deafness: Double Visions* B.J. Brueggemann and S. Burch eds. 5-20. Washington, D.C.: Gallaudet University Press, 2006.
- Lévesque, Stéphane. "History and Social Studies in Québec: An Historical Perspective." In *Challenges and Prospects for Canadian Social Studies* ed. Alan Sears and Ian Wright, 55-89. Vancouver: Pacific Educational Press, 2004.
- Lewis, Norah. *"I Want to Join Your Club: Letters from Rural Children, 1900-1920."* Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1996.
- *Freedom to Play: We Made our own Fun.* Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2002.
- Lindgren, Kristin, De Luca, Doreen and Napoli, Donna Jo. "Introduction," *Signs and Voices: Deaf Culture, identity, language and arts* ed. K. Lindgren, D. De Luca and D. J. Napoli , xiv –xv. Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press, 2008.
- Longmore, Paul & Goldberger, David. "The League of the Physically Handicapped and the Great Depression: A Case Study in the New Disability History," *The Journal of American History* 87, 3 (December 2000):888-921.
- Low, Brian. *NFB Kids: Portrayals of Children by the National Film Board of Canada, 1939-1989.* Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2002.
- MacDougall, J. "Irreconcilable Differences: The Education of Deaf Children in Canada," *Education Canada* 44, 1 (Winter 2004):16-26.
- Mangion, C.M. " 'The business of life': educating Catholic deaf children in late nineteenth-century England," *History of Education* 41, 5 (September 2012): 575-594
- McCoy, T "The Unproductive Prisoner: Labor and Medicine in Canadian Penitentiaries, 1867-1900." *Labor: Studies in Working-Class History of the Americas* 6, 4 (2010): 95-112.
- McLaren, Angus. *Our Own Master Race: Eugenics in Canada, 1885-1945.* Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1990.
- McLaren, K. " 'We Had No Desire to be Set Apart': Forced Segregation of Black Students in Canada West Public Schools and Myths of British Egalitarianism." *Social History/Sociale Histoire* 36, 3 (2004): 27-50.
- McLean, Lorna R. " 'The Good Citizen': Masculinity and Citizenship at Frontier College, 1899-1933," in *Constructing Canadian Citizenship: Historical Readings* ed. R. Adamoski, D. Chunn, and R. Menzies, 225-45. Vancouver, Broadview Press, 2002.
- "Education, Identity, and Citizenship in Early Modern Canada." *Journal of Canadian Studies/ Revue d'études canadiennes* 41, 1 (Hiver 2007 Winter):5-30.

- 
- “There is no magic by which such qualities will be acquired at the voting age: Teachers, curriculum, pedagogy and citizenship.” *Historical Studies in Education/Revue histoire de l'éducation* 22, 2 (fall/automne 2010): 39-57.
- Miller, J.R. *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995.
- Milloy, J. *A National Crime: The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879-1986*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1999.
- Mitchell, David & Snyder, Sharon. “The Eugenic-Atlantic: race, disability, and the making of an international eugenic science, 1800-1945.” *Disability & Society* 18, 7 (December 2003):843-864.
- Morisson, Terrance. “Reform as social tracking: The case of industrial education in Ontario 1970-1900.” *Journal of Educational Thought*, 8, (1974): 87-110.
- Moss, Mark. *Manliness and Militarism: Educating Young Boys in Ontario for War*. Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Myers, Tamara. “The Voluntary Delinquent: Parents, Daughters and the Montreal Juvenile Delinquents' Court in 1918.” *Canadian Historical Review* 80, 2 (June 1999): 242-268.
- Myers, Tamara and Sangster, Joan. “Retorts, Runaways and Riots: Patterns of Resistance in Canadian Reform Schools for Girls, 1930-60.” *Journal of Social History* 34, 3 (2001): 669-697.
- Opp, James. “Re-Imaging the Moral Order of Urban Space: Religion and Photography in Winnipeg, 1900-14.” *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 13, 1 (2002): 73-93.
- Osborne, Kenneth. “Education is the Best National Insurance: Citizenship Education in Canadian Schools, Past and Present.” *Canadian and International Education* 25, 2 (1996): 31-58.
- . “The Teaching of History and Democratic Citizenship,” in *The Canadian Anthology of Social Studies: Issues and Strategies for Teachers*, ed. Roland Case and Penney Clark, Vancouver: Pacific Educational Press, 1997.
- . “Citizenship Education and Social Studies.” In *Trends & Issues in Canadian Social Studies*, ed. Ian Wright and Alan Sears. Vancouver: Pacific Educational Press, 1998.
- . “Public Schooling and Citizenship Education in Canada.” *Canadian Ethnic Studies'/Etudes ethnique au Canada* XXXII, 1, (2000): 8-37.
- . “Teaching Canadian History: A Century of Debate.” In *New Possibilities for the Past: Shaping History Education in Canada*, ed. Penney Clark, 55-80. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011.

- 
- Palmer, Bryan. *Working-Class Experience: The rise and reconstitution of Canadian labour, 1800- 1980*. Toronto: Butterworth, 1983.
- Parr, Joy. *The Gender of Breadwinners: Women, Men and Change in Two Industrial Towns, 1880-1950*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990.
- Pearce, Joanna. "Not for Alms but Help: Fund-raising and Free Education for the Blind," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association/Revue de la Société historique du Canada* 23, 1 (2012): 131-155.
- Perrault, S. "National Identities on Display: Québec's Deaf Schools at the World's Columbian Exposition, 1893." *CCHA Historical Studies*, 75 (2009): 39-61.
- Phillips, Nelson and Hardy, Cynthia. *Discourse Analysis: Investigating Processes of Social Construction*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, Inc., 2002.
- Prentice, Allison. *The School Promoters: Education and Social Class in Mid-Nineteenth Century Upper Canada*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977.
- Prout, Alan. James, Alison. ed. *Constructing and Reconstructing Childhood: Contemporary Issues in the Sociological Study of Childhood*. London: Falmer Press, 1997.
- Reaume, Geoffrey. "Introduction to DSQ theme Issue on Disability in Canada." *Disability Studies Quarterly* 28, 1 (Winter 2008) <http://dsq-sds.org/article/view/63/63>.
- . "Disability History in Canada: Present Work in the Field and Future Prospects," *The Canadian Journal of Disability Studies* 1, 1 (2012):35-81.
- Rennie, R. "The Historical Origins of Industrial Disease: Occupational Health and Labour Relations in the Fourspar Mines, St. Lawrence, Newfoundland, 1933-1945." *Labour/Le Travail* 55 (2005): 107-42.
- Richardson, Theresa. *The Century of the Child: The Mental Hygiene Movement and Social Policy in the United States and Canada*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1989.
- Rose, Sarah. "'Crippled' Hands: Disability in Labour and Working-Class History," *Labor: Studies in Working-Class History of the Americas* 2, 1(2005): 27-54.
- Rosoldo, R. "Cultural Citizenship, Inequality, and Multiculturalism," in *Race, Identity and Citizenship*. R. Torres et al. eds, 253-67. Oxford: Blackwell, Publishing Inc., 1999.
- Sangster, Joan. *Regulating Girls and Women: Sexuality, Family and the Law in Ontario, 1920-1960*. Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- . *Girl Trouble: Female Delinquency in English Canada*. Toronto: Between the Lines Press, 2002.
- Shultz Myers, S. and Fernandes, J.K. "Deaf Studies: A Critique of the Predominant U.S. Theoretical Direction." *Journal of Deaf Studies and Deaf Education* 15,1 (2010): 30-49.

- 
- Sears, Alan. "Social Studies as Citizenship Education in English in Canada: A Review of Research." *Theory and Research in Social Education* 22 (1994): 6-43.
- Semple, S. *John Seath's concept of vocational education in the school system of Ontario 1884-1911*. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Toronto, 1964.
- Shakespeare, Tom. "The Social Model of Disability." In *Disability Studies Reader* ed. Lennard Davis, 197-204. (Routledge: Taylor & Francis, 2006).
- Sharman, Kathleen and Larry Glassford. "The Appeal of Technical Education in Tough Times: A Comparison of the Toronto and Windsor Experiences, 1890 – 1930." *Historical Studies in Education*, 23 no. 2 (2011): 54-71.
- Smyth, Elizabeth. 'A Noble Proof of Excellence': The Culture and Curriculum of a Nineteenth-Century Ontario Covert Academy. In *Gender and Education in Ontario* ed. A. Prentice and R. Heap, p. 269-289 Toronto: Scholars Press, 1991.
- Snell, James. *The Citizen's Wage: The State and the Elderly in Canada, 1900-1951*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996.
- Snyder, S., Brueggemann, B., & Garland-Thomson, R. *Disability Studies: Enabling the Humanities*. Modern Language Association Press, 2002.
- Spike, Sara. "Picturing Rural Education: School Photographs and Contested Reform in Early Twentieth-Century Rural Nova Scotia." *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'histoire de l'éducation* 24, 1 (Spring 2012): 49-71.
- Stamp, Robert. *Schools of Ontario: 1876-1976*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982.
- . "Samuel Greene and the Hearing Impaired." *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'histoire de l'éducation* 17, 1 (Spring/Printemps 2005):165-168.
- Stanley, Timothy. "White Supremacy, Chinese Schooling, and School Segregation in Victoria: The Case of the Chinese Student's Strike, 1922-23." *Historical Studies in Education* 1, (1989): 287-306.
- . "White Supremacy and the Rhetoric of Educational Indoctrination: A Canadian Case Study." In *Children, Teachers and Schools in the History of British Columbia* ed. Barman et al. p. 39-56. Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Ltd., 1995.
- . "Why I killed Canadian History: Conditions for an Anti-Racist History in Canada," *Historie Sociale/Social History* 33, (2000): 79-104.
- . "Bringing Anti-Racism into Historical Explanation: The Victoria Chinese Student's Strike of 1922-3 revisited." *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 13, (2002):141-65.

- 
- . *Contesting White Supremacy: School Segregation, Anti-Racism, and the making of Chinese Canadians*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011.
- Stokoe, William. “Sign Language Structure.” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 9 (1980): 356-90.
- Strong-Boag, Veronica. “‘Children of Adversity’: Disabilities and Child Welfare in Canada from the Nineteenth to the Twenty-First Century.” *Journal of Family History*, 32, 4 (October 2007):413-432.
- . “Forgotten People of all the Forgotten”: Children with Disabilities in English Canada from the Nineteenth Century to the New Millennium. In *Lost Kids: Vulnerable Children and Youth in Twentieth-Century Canada and the United States*. Edited by, M. Gleason, T. Myers, L. Paris and V. Strong-Boag. 33-49. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010.
- Sutherland, Neil. *Children in English-Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth-Century Consensus*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976; reprinted by Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2000.
- Taylor, Alison. “Education for Industrial and “Postindustrial” Purposes.” *Educational Policy* 11, 1 (March 1997):3-40.
- Tomkins, George. *A Common Countenance: Stability and Change in the Canadian Curriculum*. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall Canada, 1986; reprinted 2008.
- Thomas, C. “How is Disability Understood? An Examination of Sociological Approaches,” *Disability & Society* 19, 6 (2004): 569-583.
- Trépanier, T. “Networks, Lobbies and Pressures: Children’s Aid Societies and the Adoption of the Canadian Juvenile Delinquents Act of 1908.” *Paedagogical Historica* 38, 1 (February 2002):581-605.
- Valverde, Mariana. *The Age of Light, Soap and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991; reprinted 2008.
- “Some Remarks on the Rise and Fall of Discourse Analysis.” *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 65 (Mai-May 2000): 59-77.
- van Dijk, T.A. “Principles of critical discourse analysis.” *Discourse & Society* 42, 1 (1993),249-89.
- . “Aims of Critical Discourse Analysis” *Japanese Discourse* 1 (1995), 17-28.
- Von Heyking, Amy. *Creating Citizens: History and Identity in Alberta’s Schools, 1905-1980*. Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2006.

- 
- Wakefield, Christina. *Talking on Their Fingers: A Study of the Ontario Deaf According to the 1891 Canadian Census*. Masters of Arts thesis, University of Victoria, 2009.
- Wall, S. "To Train a Wild Bird": E.F. Wilson, Hegemony, and Native Industrial Education at the Shingwauk and Wawanosh Residential Schools, 1873-1893. *Left History* 9, 1 (2003): 7-42.
- Westheimer, Joel. "Patriotism and Education: Politics and Patriotism in Education." *Phi Delta Kappan*. 87, 8 (April 2006): 608-620.
- *Pledging Allegiance: The Politics of Patriotism in America's Schools*. New York: Teacher's College Press, 2007.
- "Thinking about Patriotism." *Educational Leadership* 65, 5 (February 2008): 48-54.
- Wilson, Mary. "Certified Women: Professional Program Curriculum at the Macdonald Institute for Domestic Science in Guelph, Ontario, Canada, 1903-1920." *History of Intellectual Culture* 8, 1 (2009): 1-17.
- Winzer, Margaret. "An Examination of Some Selected Factors That Affected the Education of and Socialization of the Deaf of Ontario, 1870-1900." Dissertation. University of Toronto, 1981.
- . "The Ladies Take Charge: Women Teachers in the Education of Deaf Students." in *Women and Deafness: Double Visions* B.J. Brueggemann and S. Burch eds. 110-129 Washington, D.C.: Gallaudet University Press, 2006.
- Woodward, James. "Implications for sociolinguistic research among the deaf." *Sign Language Studies* 1, 1972: 1-7.
- Yandell, K. "The Moccasin Telegraph: Sign-Talk Autobiography and Pretty-shield, Medicine Woman of the Crows." *American Literature* 84, 3 (September 2012):533-561.