

The Genesis and Evolution of Montreal's Protestant Institution for Deaf-Mutes, 1870 –
1900

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Abstract

In 2015, the Quebec government passed *Bill 10: An Act to modify the organization and governance of the health and social service network, in particular by abolishing the regional agencies*.¹ Since its adoption, this bill has led to the mass reorganization of services used by people with disabilities in Montreal. One of the organizations affected, presently known as the MAB-Mackay Rehabilitation Centre, traces its roots to the late nineteenth century with the founding of the Protestant Institution for Deaf-Mutes. Using an interdisciplinary critical disability studies and Deaf studies framework, this primary-source archival research will answer two questions: (1) what were circumstances in Montreal's Anglophone and Protestant community during the nineteenth century that gave rise to this institution?, and (2) how did the Protestant Institution for Deaf Mutes change from 1870-1900? By tracing the genesis and evolution of the institution during the nineteenth, this project hopes instigate future research into the lives of the deaf/disabled in Montreal, addressing the absence of Quebec's disability history from the field of Canadian disability history.

¹ *Bill 10: An Act to Modify the Organization and Governance of the Health and Social Service Network, in Particular by Abolishing the Regional Agencies*, 2015, <http://www2.publicationsduquebec.gouv.qc.ca/dynamicSearch/telecharge.php?type=5&file=2015C1A.PDF>.

Introduction

In 2015, the Quebec government passed *Bill 10: An Act to modify the organization and governance of the health and social service network, in particular by abolishing the regional agencies*.² Since its adoption, this bill has led to the mass reorganization of services used by people with disabilities in Montreal. One of the organizations affected, presently known as the MAB-Mackay Rehabilitation Centre, traces its roots to the late nineteenth century with the founding of the Protestant Institution for Deaf-Mutes. Originally established as a residential school for deaf children, the original institution metamorphosed over the years, merging with the School for Crippled Children in 1960 and the Montreal Association for the Blind (MAB) in 2007.³ Since the passing of Bill 10, various departments of the MAB-Mackay Rehabilitation Center have been relocated and decentralized. The school portion of the centre is expected to move to a new site by the end of 2018.⁴ It is clear that the institution as it is presently constituted is rapidly dissolving. Despite being in existence for almost a century and a half, there is very little published addressing the history of this institution. Even now, something has yet to be published on this institution's history from the perspectives of the residents themselves. Now is a key moment to work to preserve the Centre's history before archival material is thrown out, destroyed, and subsequently lost

² Ibid.

³ MAB-Mackay Rehabilitation Centre, "History," *MAB-Mackay Rehabilitation Centre*, accessed October 19, 2015, <http://www.mabmackay.ca/pages/4/History?langue=en&menu=4&sousmenu=6>.

⁴ Kalina Laframboise, "EMSB to Build New Mackay Centre School in N.D.G.," *Montreal Gazette*, September 1, 2015, <http://montrealgazette.com/news/local-news/emsb-opening-new-building-for-mackay-centre-in-n-d-g>.

forever. As a rare provider of Anglophone disability services in the province, its history is worthy of preservation and investigation in order to learn more about the lives of people with disabilities in Montreal. It is interesting that within this climate of healthcare reform and increased austerity measures enacted by the provincial government, Quebec is also seeing a rise in disability activism and scholarship.⁵ It is this current political climate that fuels my research with a sense of urgency and purpose, echoing the sentiments of Geoffrey Reaume who writes, “the historical memory of our collective past can, one would hope, make for a better future where disabled people are not marginalized and oppressed as has so often happened in Canadian history”.⁶

Attempting to completely address the history of those persons who have attended the institution over the past century and a half since its inception, in the context of a Major Research Paper (MRP) is an impossibility. Instead, this MRP aims to kick-start such an investigation by mapping the evolution of the Protestant Institution for Deaf-Mutes, from 1870-1900, bringing attention, where possible, to the lives and experiences of the students themselves. By examining this slice of history, the project hopes to instigate future research into the lives of the deaf/disabled in Montreal. Using an interdisciplinary critical disability studies and deaf studies framework, this primary-source archival research will answer two questions: (1) what were circumstances in

⁵ One evidence of this is Quebec’s first-ever Critical Disabilities Symposium hosted by Concordia University, *Inviting Movements*, held on May 4-5th 2016. “Symposium: Inviting Movements,” *CDMC Concordia*, accessed April 28, 2016, <http://cdmc.concordia.ca/inviting-movements/#program/>.

⁶ Geoffrey Reaume, “Disability History In Canada: Present Work In The Field And Future Prospects,” *Canadian Journal of Disability Studies* 1, no. 1 (2012): 39, doi:10.15353/cjds.v1i1.20.

Montreal's Anglophone and Protestant community during the nineteenth century that gave rise to this institution?, and (2) how did the Protestant Institution for Deaf Mutes change from 1870-1900? By positioning these two questions as the central focus to my research, I can trace how understandings of deafness and disability changed over time, building the foundation for how deafness and disability is understood in Montreal today. Using my hybridized framework, I can explore these transitions in terms of the social, the political, the economic and the educational shifts that occurred.

This MRP is divided into 5 sections, each illustrating a different phase within the institution's first 30 years of existence. The first section provides the reader with some background context as to public perceptions and understandings of deafness in the United States and Canada by the mid-nineteenth century. Following this preface, the second section follows the genesis of the Protestant Institution for Deaf Mutes, starting with Thomas Widd's immigration to Montreal in 1868, and ending with the birth of the Mackay Institution for Protestant Deaf-Mutes in 1878, when Joseph Mackay steps in to rescue the school from financial ruin. The third section will follow the evolution of the school until Thomas Widd's retirement in 1883, when Harriet E. McGann assumes the roles of superintendent. Tracing the changes that occurred under her leadership, the fourth section highlights the trend from manualism to oralism at the school, including the addition of an 'auricular class', and ends at the close of the century. Section five concludes this project by contrasting the institution in 1900 with the original school established in 1870. Throughout the paper, the themes of education, labour, religion and

deafness/disability will be discussed as part of the critical analysis, all in order to trace the evolution of the Protestant Institution for Deaf Mutes over time.

Methodology

My personal entry point to the subject of deaf and disability history in Montreal is informed by my own experiences growing up hard-of-hearing in the region. As a child, and then as a teenager, I used to switch between identifying as ‘deaf’, ‘hard of hearing’ and ‘hearing impaired’ for at that point in my life they were all interchangeable. It was upon learning American Sign Language (ASL), and being introduced to the social model of disability, that I began to understand the nuances within the d/Deaf community⁷ and navigated my own identity as a person with a disability. Growing up in the hearing world, and having gone to the Montreal **Oral** School for the Deaf, I did not identify as being culturally deaf (Deaf). The interdisciplinary theoretical framework that I adopt in this project is a direct product of my own personal resistance to sequestering my experiences to the realm of ‘disability’ or ‘d/Deafness’. Just as my own experiences cannot be so easily segregated, an understanding of the genesis and evolution of the Protestant Institution for Deaf-Mutes cannot be explored by singularly using a critical disability studies or Deaf studies perspective.

⁷ Genie Gertz and Patrick Boudreault, *The SAGE Deaf Studies Encyclopedia* (SAGE Publications, 2016). Within the scholarly Deaf Studies community, ‘deaf’ refers to an audiological condition whereas ‘Deaf’ pertains to a “cultural category or affiliation”. Here, and throughout my paper, I may use ‘d/Deaf’ purposely, recognizing that issues of audiology/impairment/disability and culture/language/Deafness are not so easily separated.

Geoffrey Reaume describes the field of disability history as being full of “pitfalls and promises”,⁸ and mapping the changes that take place at the institution from 1869 to 1900 is no exception. Among the ‘pitfalls’ are the limited sources available in the public record, and the large absence of first-person perspectives from those records. Rather than be discouraged by this lack, my determination to pursue this area of research is renewed through a focus on the ‘promises’. Motivating my research is the opportunity to bring a critical lens to the history, introducing complexity to the narrative as I re-examine and re-interpret the records. The following sections describe my methodological considerations as I approach this project.

Archival Research

In order to answer this project’s two central research questions: (1) what were the circumstances in Montreal’s Anglophone and Protestant community during the nineteenth century that gave rise to the Protestant Institution for Deaf Mutes? and (2) how did the Protestant Institution for Deaf Mutes change from 1870-1900?, an analysis of primary sources is required. Three main libraries/archives were identified containing information relevant to this project: *Bibliothèque et archives nationales du Québec* (BAnQ), McGill University’s *Rare Books and Special Collections*, and Gallaudet University Library’s *Deaf Collections and Archives*. From these collections, a total of 16 annual reports were retrieved, 10 of which were the full-text report, and with the remaining 6 being excerpts from the Principal/Superintendents reports. The archives technician at Gallaudet University, Christopher Shea, was extremely helpful in retrieving

⁸ Reaume, “Disability History In Canada,” 36.

the Principal/Superintendents reports, however my access to these materials were limited due to distance. It is worth noting that Gallaudet's *Deaf Collections and Archives* contains the full-text of those annual reports, and an additional 6 reports that were not considered in this analysis.⁹ Despite this limitation, I believe the sampling of 16 reports provides adequate material to trace the major trends occurring over the three decades that I am interested in for this project. Ideally, a project of this nature would use writings and records authored by the students themselves, to counter the singular version of events recounted in the annual reports¹⁰. It is highly unlikely that these were even written, much less preserved for over a century, due to the social position of the students and the characteristics of the time period itself.¹¹ The absence of first-person records used in this Major Research Paper suggests the opportunity for further research, with investigations into the potential of using genealogical research in order to gain more insight on the students of this institution for future projects.

Supplementary to these annual reports are articles pulled from newspapers and periodicals on the subject of the institution and/or authored by Thomas Widd. In this

⁹ This limitation was a direct result of Gallaudet University Library's policy of digitizing a maximum of 50 pages of documents for off-site researchers—the sources I had retrieved already meeting that limit.

¹⁰ In his PhD thesis, Perreault references two journals of students James McClelland and Arthur Wiggett, which he uses in his PhD thesis. The location of these journals is not mentioned. If any more have survived, they would be found in family collections. Stéphane D Perreault, "Intersecting Discourses Deaf Institutions and Communities in Montreal, 1850-1920." (McGill University, 2003).

¹¹ The absence of first-person writings is not unique to this project. Most of the student writings available would have been selected by school officials and published in the annual reports – clearly providing researchers with a skewed sample. Deaf historian R. A. R. Edwards addresses the limitations and opportunities of these writings in *Words Made Flesh* (51-52).

regard, *The Lost Stories Project* proved to be a rich resource, as the writings of Thomas Widd, founder and original superintendent of the school, had been previously curated and made publicly available online¹². In 1960, Lorna Helen Haworth submitted an MA thesis to McGill University's Faculty of Education titled, *A History of the Mackay School for the Deaf*¹³. Haworth's thesis and Carbin's work, *Deaf Heritage in Canada*¹⁴ were useful in pointing me towards additional primary sources for my analysis. My goal in this project is not to reproduce the work that other researchers have already done, but to critically examine the primary sources myself, bringing to the surface, where possible, the experiences and lives of the students themselves rather than recounting a narrative, top-down history. Certainly the existence of one unpublished thesis and a few pages in a book, out of nearly 150 years of institutional history highlights the necessity for this topic to be addressed again more directly, and from a critical perspective.

Finally, the secondary literature used in this project provides the theoretical grounding to the critiques put forward through my analysis of primary sources, drawing the fields of Deaf studies and disability studies into conversation through my overarching theoretical framework. These sources are used to add dimension or background information for the reader, drawing in additional historical or critical insight to contextualize this project.

¹² "Lost Stories: Thomas Widd," accessed November 10, 2015, <http://loststories.ca/widd.html>.

¹³ Lorna Helen Haworth, "A History of Mackay School for the Deaf" (McGill University, 1960).

¹⁴ Clifton F. Carbin, *Deaf Heritage in Canada: A Distinctive, Diverse and Enduring Culture*, ed. Dorothy L. Smith (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1995).

Theoretical Framework

The advent of the residential school for the deaf marked the beginnings of Deaf culture and Deaf identity in Canada.¹⁵ Therefore, in the context of this project, an analysis of 19th century deaf history by singularly using the contemporary lens of Deaf studies would be anachronistic without drawing considerations of disability into the conversation. Countering arguments that have been made by Deaf studies scholar Harlan Lane, who firmly states that deafness and disability are entirely separate, and that deafness is *not* a disability¹⁶, however, Deaf history scholar, Tavian Robinson argues that during the nineteenth century such a decisive separation is not possible.¹⁷ My hope is to engage with the archival material using a framework that brings together two theories that are often polarized instead of hybridized. Deaf studies pioneer, Yarker Andersson,

¹⁵ R. A. R. Edwards, *Words Made Flesh: Nineteenth-Century Deaf Education and the Growth of Deaf Culture*, History of Disability Series (New York: New York University Press, 2012), 53, 54. Edwards argues that, “Many young deaf people, throughout the antebellum period, grew up mistakenly believing that they were the only deaf person on earth”. The establishment of residential schools for the deaf in the United States brought deaf people together in an unprecedented way. “The happy discovery of a shared deafness is what would eventually create cultural Deafness in these residential schools. Cultural deafness was grounded in the physiology of deafness. That is, without deafness, there would be no Deafness. The one gave birth to the other, in the residential school setting”. I posit here that the residential school played a similar role in the development of Deaf culture in Canada.

¹⁶ Harlan L. Lane, “Do Deaf People Have a Disability?,” *Sign Language Studies* 2, no. 4 (2002): 356–379.

¹⁷ Deaf/disability scholar Tavian Robinson states, “at least during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, some deaf people did not associate positive meanings with the term *deaf*; rather they characterized their deafness as an affliction [...] This comparative and contextual understanding of disability is important for understanding the fluid meaning of deaf as well as disability”. Tavian Robinson, “‘We Are of a Different Class’: Ableist Rhetoric in Deaf America 1880-1920,” in *Deaf and Disability Studies: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Susan Burch and Alison Kafer (Washington, D.C: Gallaudet University Press, 2010), 19.

states that “Deaf and disability studies invites us to expand our understanding of what it means to be human, and in so doing, it clarifies the ways that issues like access, stigma, empowerment, and community are shared between and within diverse groups”.¹⁸ The hope here is to use the two fields of study dialogically, looking at what is possible through their conversation, rather than their consolidation, for “a single field might inadvertently promote issues of commonality over diversity and that’s inherently limited”.¹⁹

As Disability studies scholars Burch and Kafer state in the introduction to their edited collection, *Deaf and Disability Studies: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*,

Questions of identity, history and language loom large in a project like this one.

And the questions are neither easy nor discrete: mapping where issues of identity diverge from those of history, or untangling questions of language from those of identification, quickly becomes impossible.²⁰

With Deaf studies, discussions of educational practices and language are centered, allowing for engagement with critical topics such as the manualism versus oralism debate. Critical disability studies then allows us to complicate what it means to be ‘deaf’, expanding a conversation orbiting around deafness to include multiple minds and bodies. Burch and Sutherland write, “by incorporating, expanding, and sometimes challenging traditional social models of interpretation in their work, scholars of Disability examine

¹⁸ Yerker Andersson and Susan Burch, “Deaf and Disability Studies: A Conversation with Yerker Andersson,” in *Deaf and Disability Studies - Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Susan Burch and Alison Kafer (Gallaudet University Press, 2010), 196.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 198.

²⁰ Susan Burch and Alison Kafer, *Deaf and Disability Studies: Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press, 2010), xiii.

the meaning of such fundamental concepts as identity, community, citizenship, and normalcy from a cultural perspective”.²¹ Thus, by using the two theories in tandem, a fuller understanding of the context in which the Protestant Institution for Deaf Mutes appeared, and how it changed over the next 30 years, can be explored.²²

The Deaf-Mute in Canada in the 19th Century

The first public school for the deaf in North America was founded in Hartford Connecticut in 1817 through the combined efforts of a father, Dr. Mason Fitch Cogswell, a clergyman, Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet, and a French deaf teacher, Laurent Clerc. Together they established the Connecticut Asylum for the Education and Instruction for Deaf and Dumb Persons, which soon became known internationally as the ‘American Asylum’. This school set a precedent for the education of deaf children and soon institutions were being set up throughout the states. Prior to the establishment of these schools, deaf children from wealthy families would be sent abroad to Europe for their education or have private tutors teach them at home. The large majority of deaf children, however, came from families who could not afford this expense. Those deaf children remained at home and uneducated.²³ Early twentieth century author Harry Best wrote that

²¹ “Who’s Not Yet Here? American Disability History,” *Radical History Review* 2006, no. 94 (December 21, 2006): 128, doi:10.1215/01636545-2006-94-127.

²² Brenda Jo Brueggemann, “The Tango Or, What Deaf Studies and Disability Studies DO-DO,” in *Deaf and Disability Studies: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. Susan Burch and Alison Kafer (Gallaudet University Press, 2010), 245–66. Using the metaphor of the tango, Brueggemann discusses the relationship of Deaf Studies to Disability Studies. “It is not about building binaries, delineating differences, or even articulating boundaries but more about the subtle bodily shifts each makes as, in the dance, first one leads and then the other.” (248)

²³ Carbin, *Deaf Heritage in Canada*, 52–69.

prior to accessing an education, “ the deaf had been outcasts from society, had no place among civilized beings, and were a dead weight in the community”.²⁴ The establishment of residential schools would radically change the lives of many deaf Americans starting in the 1800s.

During the first half of the nineteenth century, many Canadian parents would also send their children to be educated at the newly opened schools in the States. While more affordable than a trip to Europe, this expense still proved to be a major barrier for most families, leaving the majority of the deaf population unable to access an education. It was not until over 30 years after the establishment of the institution at Hartford that the first successful school for the deaf was opened in Montreal in 1848—l’Institution des Sourds-Muets de Montreal.²⁵ Prior to 1848 there had been at least two failed attempts at opening other schools in Quebec, the earliest one recorded in Quebec City in 1831. Both schools were forced to closed due to a lack of finances, being dependent on charitable donations and provincial support.²⁶ During this time, health and social services were largely perceived to be the responsibility of religious institutions, and not the state. By the time the Protestant Institution for Deaf Mutes would be established in 1870, there would be two residential schools already in operation in the city. L’Institution des Sourds-Muets survived financially, and was soon accompanied by a sister school, l’Institution des

²⁴ Harry Best, *The Deaf - Their Position in Society and the Provision for Their Education in the United States* (New York: Thomas Y. Cromwell Company Publishers, 1914).

²⁵ *L’institution des sourds-muets* (Catholic Institution for Deaf and Dumb Males) Translation by Carbin, *Deaf Heritage in Canada*, 70.

²⁶ Haworth, “A History of Mackay School for the Deaf.” Chapter II of Haworth’s thesis provides some interesting context regarding some of the economic shifts happening in the mid-1800s, which may have had a key role in why schools started prior had failed, while those established during or after this era succeeded.

Sourdes-Muettes, run by the Daughters of Charity, in 1850, leaving the original institution under the care of the Clerics of Saint-Viator. The presence of these two Catholic institutions provided fertile grounds for the emergence of a Protestant institution in a society culturally divided across religious and linguistic differences.²⁷

**Thomas Widd, The Protestant Institution for Deaf-Mutes, and the Early Years
(1868-1878)**

In 1867, Thomas Widd and his wife, Margaret Widd (nee Fitzakerly) and their son Charles immigrated from England to Hamilton Ontario. By 1868 the family had moved to Montreal where Thomas took a job as the assistant editor for *The Daily Witness*.²⁸ Widd recognized the importance of educating the deaf-mute, as both he and his wife had been students at the Yorkshire Institution for the Deaf and Dumb in England. Soon after his arrival, he quickly became convinced that the province of Quebec was in desperate need of an educational institution for deaf Protestants, as at the time there were only Catholic schools for the deaf in operation in the city. Thomas Widd used his position at *The Daily Witness* to pen articles on the importance of educating the deaf-mute. His advocacy for a Protestant school for the deaf was fuelled by the petitions of Anglo-

²⁷ Perreault, “Intersecting Discourses Deaf Institutions and Communities in Montreal, 1850-1920.” Here Perreault provides some important background historical context as to the social conditions that gave rise to two very distinct deaf communities in Montreal starting in the nineteenth century. It is useful for bringing this work specifically on the Protestant Institution for Deaf Mutes into the broader societal context of the time.

²⁸ Carbin, *Deaf Heritage in Canada*, 91. *The Daily Witness*, the *Montreal Daily Witness* and *The Montreal Witness* are all used interchangeably amongst the publications I am referencing. As to avoid confusion, I will use the title ‘*The Daily Witness*’ as it was referred to by Thomas Widd himself.

Protestant parents of deaf children who did not have access to an education,²⁹ and by his own experiences of being ostracized from Montreal's deaf community on account of religious differences. Widd writes that Montreal's deaf Catholic community, "taunted me with being the only 'heretic deaf-mute' in Montreal".³⁰

An early correspondence on the topic of deaf-mute education in the province was initiated after Thomas Widd published an article in the *New Dominion Monthly* in September 1868. Thomas Widd ardently counselled Protestant parents *not* to send their children to the Catholic schools, boldly stating that remaining uneducated would be preferable to attending the institutions run by priests and nuns in the city.³¹ This article sparked a public exchange in *The Daily Witness*, where Widd argued against sending Protestant deaf-mutes to Catholic institutions, despite it being the only local option available at the time. Widd warned,

As soon as their minds are sufficiently expanded to understand, papal poison is administered; they are prejudiced against their parents, and against their parents' creed, and persuaded that they have souls which can only be saved by the Church of Rome.³²

Widd followed up his warnings by suggesting that "A Protestant Deaf-and-Dumb Institution is greatly needed in this large city". He called upon Protestant Montrealers to

²⁹ Thomas Widd, *The Deaf and Dumb and Blind Deaf-Mutes*, (22 St. James Street, Montreal: F. E. Grafton, 1880), 47.

³⁰ Carbin, *Deaf Heritage in Canada*, 83.

³¹ Thomas Widd, "The Deaf and Dumb of the Past, Present and Future (Continued)," *New Dominion Monthly* 2, no. 6 (September 1868): 357. At that point, the nearest option available for Protestant parents was to send their students to the "Deaf and Dumb School of Ontario" in Hamilton.

³² Thomas Widd, "The Deaf and Dumb," *Montreal Witness*, August 12, 1868.

“assist each other in establishing a school in Montreal, and thus put a stop to the spread of superstition and ignorance in this prosperous land”.³³ Widd illustrated the urgency of establishing a Protestant school for the deaf by recounting a story of a young man who went to the Protestant school for the deaf in Hartford,

On his return to this city, the priests and teachers at the Mile-End school were always after him, and at last forcibly took away his Bible and religious books, and made him take Romish publications, and threatened him with violence unless he renounced all Protestant opinions and embraced Romanism.³⁴

Widd’s ardent claims were denied by the Catholic community, and sparked a backlash from the city’s Catholic periodical: *The True Witness*. In this paper, Widd was accused of trying to “deprive the [Catholics] of the control over the education of their own children, and to transfer it to Protestants”.³⁵ Over a series of months, Widd and an editor at *The True Witness* parried as they denied the other’s accusations, and launched their own volley of attacks. The outrage at Widd’s editorials even provoked the reception of “threatening letters”, even death threats.³⁷

While the back-and-forth between *The Daily Witness* and *The True Witness* seems only to have lasted a couple of months, the larger conversation on the topic of Protestant

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Thomas Widd, “The Deaf and Dumb,” *Montreal Witness*, August 22, 1868.

³⁵ “The Deaf and Dumb,” *Montreal Weekly Witness*, August 21, 1868.

³⁷ Thomas Widd, “The Deaf and Dumb,” *Montreal Witness*, September 30, 1868. One of the two threats mentioned in the article reads: “thomas Widd vous note safe dans montreal lave montreal soon vous tell lices about le holy Catholique vous ma enemy. i shoot vous soon.” Thomas Widd, “The Late Deaf and Dumb Controversy,” *Montreal Weekly Witness*, October 16, 1868.

deaf education lasted over a year.³⁹ This series of exchanges in the local paper caught the attention of local Anglo-Protestant philanthropists, amassing a group of people who would be key to establishing what would later be known as the Protestant Institution for Deaf Mutes. Widd's ability to garner support for the school was aided, in part, by the public's amazement at his own literacy skills, as many in society still doubted the possibility of educating the deaf in the first place.⁴⁰ At the conclusion of 1868, Mr. McGann, principal of the Ontario Institution at Hamilton, and some of his students were invited to come give an exhibition and a lecture to showcase the effectiveness of deaf-mute instruction to a gathering of interested Montrealers. This display obviously had an impressive effect on its concerned audience, as by January 7th 1869 a society was formed to set in motion the creation of a Protestant School for the deaf.⁴¹

Preparations for the new school lasted from January of 1869 until the opening of the school on the 15th of September, 1870.⁴² Preliminary duties included tallying the number of school-aged Protestant deaf-mutes there were in the province, fundraising, and securing a venue. Prior to establishing a school, the newly-founded society had to collect statistics regarding the potential students in the province. Very early in the preparations for the new school, Frederick Mackenzie, the society's secretary-treasurer, charged himself with the task of identifying the number of deaf-mutes in the province. According

³⁹ According to the documents curated by the Lost Stories project, the debates between the two papers extended from August to October, 1868.

"Lost Stories: Thomas Widd."; Widd, *The Deaf and Dumb and Blind Deaf-Mutes*, 48.

⁴⁰ Widd, *The Deaf and Dumb and Blind Deaf-Mutes*, 46, 48.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 49. For the names of the "Ladies" and "Gentlemen" that formed the society see here.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 49–52.

to the numbers in the 1861 census, there were 854 deaf-mutes in the province: 486 males and 384 females. These statistics were insufficient, as the census did not provide them with all the information they were interested in, particularly their age, whereabouts, and religious background.⁴³ Widd believed the number of deaf-mutes to be much higher than that recorded by the census, so Frederick Mackenzie set to work. Mackenzie commenced by contacting Protestant ministers throughout the province, sending out circulars asking them to provide the “names, age, sex, circumstance, etc.”⁴⁴ of the deaf-mutes in their area. These circulars were distributed in January of 1869, and by April 30th they had the reports of “57 deaf-mutes, 35 males and 22 females”, 36 of these being under the age of 16.⁴⁵

At this point in the planning, the committee posed three core questions regarding the future school they were to establish. They wanted to know: (1) “between what ages can deaf-mutes receive instruction?”, (2) “whether both sexes should be educated together?”, and (3) “whether the blind and the deaf-mutes should be educated together?”⁴⁶ The questions were put out to Thomas Widd and several unnamed ‘experts’ and the decision was made to educate the sexes together, with a separate school for the blind, from the ages 7 to 25 years.⁴⁷ At the end of that year, on December 15th 1869, Reverend

⁴³ “Third Annual Report” (Protestant Institution for Deaf-Mutes, 1873), Gallaudet University Archives.

⁴⁴ Widd, *The Deaf and Dumb and Blind Deaf-Mutes*, 50.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

Collins Stone, principal of the American Asylum in Hartford,⁴⁸ was invited to attend a committee meeting, where he recommended that the plans for the school go ahead, with Thomas Widd as the manager and his wife Margaret as the matron. The decision to move ahead with the plans and open the school in September was made following a committee meeting on May 4th 1870.

Subsequently, the next step to complete prior to opening the school was securing a location. Following the meeting in May, an appropriate venue was sought out. Initially, Mr. W. H. Van Vliet, the Major of Lacolle (a community 40 miles south of Montreal) offered to donate one of three possible sites for the future institution. However generous, this offer was rejected by the committee in favour of a location closer to Montreal, as “the committee thought that to remove the Institution so far away would deprive it of the contributions from the benevolent of Montreal, its main source of support”.⁴⁹ While they would search for funding, the committee knew that the school would be reliant on charitable public support. Instead of taking Mr. Van Vliet’s offer, the committee moved to rent a house just outside the city limits on Cote St. Antoine in July 1870. Renovations were made to the building to create a multi-purpose room that was used as a school-room, parlour and sitting room. The chosen schoolhouse was described as to accommodate around 20 pupils, with “very scant provision for teachers”, yet in Widd’s own words “[the house] could only comfortably accommodate 15 at most!”.⁵¹

⁴⁸ American Asylum, “Fifty-Fifth Annual Report of the Directors and Officers of the American Asylum at Hartford, for the Education and Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb,” 1871.

⁴⁹ Widd, *The Deaf and Dumb and Blind Deaf-Mutes*, 49.

⁵¹ Widd, *The Deaf and Dumb and Blind Deaf-Mutes*, 51, 55.

Potential pupils identified and a location secured, the committee was left to figure out how to finance the institution. Funding for the school was collected through the efforts of committee members,⁵² and a request was made for a government grant. Prior to confederation in 1867 the provincial legislature of Lower Canada had promised \$80,000 for the purposes of deaf-mute education that had not yet been disbursed. Widd expressed his opinion that he thought it unlikely that sum would be paid out.⁵³ However, when their request was initially denied, committee members petitioned the government again, demanding “the same right to aid from the State as their Roman Catholic fellow-citizens”.⁵⁴ At the time, the two Catholic institutions for the deaf were receiving \$1,500 each annually from the state to supplement their income from charitable donations.⁵⁵ They finally succeeded in securing a \$1,000 grant for their first year, and all the pieces were in place to launch the school. The Protestant Institution for Deaf-Mutes opened its doors to its first students on September 15th 1870, and was formally opened to the public by the Protestant Bishop of Montreal on November 1st 1870.

The First Year: “It was, indeed, a year of real hard work, care and anxiety”

Many lessons were learned in the school’s first year of operation, which Thomas Widd described as “exhaustive” and “wearisome”.⁵⁶ That session, the school welcomed

⁵² Ibid., 49. At this point in time, funding was almost exclusively raised through the efforts of one member, Thomas Cramp.

⁵³ Ibid., 46.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 52.

⁵⁵ Widd, “The Deaf and Dumb,” September 30, 1868.

⁵⁶ Widd, *The Deaf and Dumb and Blind Deaf-Mutes*, 55.

16 pupils: 13 boys and 3 girls.⁵⁷ These students were “descendants of the early settlers, the United-Empire loyalists”,⁵⁸ and many of them came from homes that could not afford the school fees.⁵⁹ The school’s daily schedule was not only taxing on the principal and the matron, but on the students themselves. The school’s primary mandate was to “give deaf-mutes a knowledge of language (written or otherwise) [...] and to inculcate habits of industry, with moral and religious training”.⁶⁰ Pupils were in the schoolroom eight hours a day, six days a week. An additional three hours per day were used “to training the pupils in habits of industry”, and on Sundays a three-hour Sabbath school was taught in sign language.⁶¹ Students were described as presenting a “great diversity of intellect” and had to be divided into different classes.⁶² Margaret Widd taught the lowest class, with Thomas teaching the other two. The students were taught using the “combined” method, which uses a combination of natural signs, writing and both the single and double-handed manual alphabet.⁶³ During that first year, instruction was given exclusively in written or

⁵⁷ Ibid., 52.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 47.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 52. When the school first opened, tuition was \$90.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 53. In *Words Made Flesh*, Edwards remarks that English literacy “provided the key to their inclusion in the wider society” (19). The school was the preparatory grounds where deaf pupils would be socialized and prepared for citizenship through education in the English language, and a trade. Edwards also suggests that the emphasis on manual skills was not only motivated by the desire to have the deaf participate in the economy, but also because teaching something like drawing was actually easier than teaching the deaf to read (56).

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Ibid. “Natural signs” is the precursor to what would later become codified as American Sign Language (ASL). This signing system was different from “methodological signs”, another popular method for educating the deaf. Edwards describes the difference and impact of these two systems in *Words Made Flesh*, 33-40. It is also interesting to note that both the single and double-handed alphabets were used. This attests to the specific

signed language; the “articulation method” been suggested early on, but the idea was abandoned as an impossibility, only to be revisited in the second year.⁶⁴

The work of the school was often interrupted by visitors arriving to inspect the success of the institution. Thomas Widd would frequently be required to pause his teaching to show the visitors around the building, answering their questions through writing.⁶⁵ He spent his after-school hours answering correspondence, and producing monthly reports for the board of directors. His wife, Margaret, also had her share of responsibilities, as she not only taught, but also did all the domestic work for the school with the help of a single female cook and the two female students, all the while taking care of her own family.⁶⁶ It is no small wonder that such an intense schedule took a toll on both the teachers and the students. The first year of the Protestant Institution for Deaf-Mutes concluded on June 13th 1871, as the students were presented for their public examination.

The Public Examination

The public examination played a significant role at the institution from its inception. The public examination served several purposes: (1) the evaluation of student’s progress during the previous school year, (2) a public spectacle to prove the educability of the deaf-mute, and (3) a way to gather funding to continue the work of the school.

genesis of the school. Widd, coming from England, would have used the double-handed alphabet, whereas most American schools for the deaf would have used the single-handed alphabet, a derivative of the French system brought over by Laurent Clerc. For more information on Laurent Clerc, see 11-31.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

These examinations became such an annual event that proceedings from the day were subsequently published in issues of local newspapers.⁶⁷

At the conclusion of the school's session of study, students gathered in front of an audience and publicly evaluated on what they had learned that year. The examiner would often be a prominent member of Montreal society, and in later years, members of local clergy would conduct the examinations. In 1871, J. W. Dawson, then principal of McGill University, conducted the first examination. That first exam was a source of anxiety for both the students and the teachers, as they "felt no small distrust as to the results of their labors",⁶⁸ however, it concluded satisfactorily to the audience, and resulted in an examination tour around the province where enough funding was procured to provide the school with a printing press the next year.

In subsequent years, as the curriculum of the school developed, so did the examinations. Students were literally put on display, much to the pleasure of the audience. By the school's tenth year of operation, in 1880, the structure of the examination had become more formalized. The examination was designed so that the audience could witness the progression of the students in the various classes, starting with the youngest pupils and ended with the oldest. Classes were examined based on subject matter: writing, spelling, arithmetic, Bible history, and Geography forming the basics of the curriculum.

There was an important 'performative' aspect of the examination. Students in the lower classes would have to spell words onto a blackboard that were described to them in

⁶⁷ "Thirteenth Annual Report" (Mackay Institution for Protestant Deaf-Mutes, 1883).

⁶⁸ Widd, *The Deaf and Dumb and Blind Deaf-Mutes*, 54.

sign language by another student. Older students would give an ‘impromptu address’: an unscripted address written by a student to the audience. For example, in 1880 one 12-year-old girl wrote,

It is very pleasant to see so many friends here this afternoon. We thank you call for coming to our meeting. I hope you will kindly excuse us if we make any mistake. I am only a little girl, but I will do my best to please you. I hope the ladies and gentlemen will visit our school at some time⁶⁹

Articulation was another aspect of the examination that gained in prominence throughout the years after it was introduced in the second year. Students were required to read aloud, and pronounce certain words. A note in the thirteenth annual report mentions “[students] being able to pronounce such difficult words as Kamschatka, cosmopolitan, enlightenment, &c. (sic)”.⁷⁰ At times, visitors would be the ones posing questions for the students to answer as part of the exam.⁷¹ Usually songs such as the national anthem or “twinkle twinkle little star” were performed in sign language as part of the examination proceedings, about which one person commented “[was] a very graceful and suggestive performance, though sad, owing to its soundless character”.⁷² Companion to the live performances of the students was also a display of a sampling of the student’s handiwork, including drawing and printing specimens for the public to admire.

⁶⁹ “Tenth Annual Report” (Mackay Institution for Protestant Deaf-Mutes, 1880), HV2580 M62 M33 10th 1880, McGill University: Rare Books and Special Collections.

⁷⁰ “Thirteenth Annual Report,” 101.

⁷¹ “Fifteenth Annual Report” (Mackay Institution for Protestant Deaf-Mutes and the Blind, 1885), 229.

⁷² Ibid.

Local religious leaders were also a prominent presence at these examinations, often closing the examination proceedings with both a benediction and a call to the Anglo-Protestant community to do more to provide for the deaf mute. For example, in 1880 Rev. Dr. Sullivan said, “there was not one who was sitting in the room who had not thanked God for the blessing conferred upon him not having his children born deaf and dumb, and all present must have felt that they should do more for the Mackay Institution than they had done in the past”.⁷³ This reverend, and others, used pity and the Christian duty of charity to solicit financial help for the school. The imagery of ‘imprisonment was frequently used to stir up the Protestant to charity. The Board of Managers themselves stated, “That work is, to rescue deaf and dumb persons from an isolation which can only be compared to that of prisoners—to rescue them from a dreary cheerless condition of life, and, above all, from a state in which they are peculiarly exposed to temptation, to sin, and its consequent wretchedness”.⁷⁴ The solution to this imprisonment was education, and the means of education was through financing. The yearly examinations were indispensable to this end, as they provided a platform proving the effectiveness of their cause, where prominent persons would become interested in the work of educating the deaf, and show their support through their donations.

Students of the Institution

Although information about the students who attended the institution is limited, some general clues as to their circumstances can be gathered from the annual reports.

⁷³ “Tenth Annual Report,” 9.

⁷⁴ “Second Annual Report” (Protestant Institution for Deaf-Mutes, 1872), 8, Gallaudet University Archives.

Occasionally, more details can be extracted from the text, providing important clues as to who these students were, where they came from, what their circumstances were, and what they did after they left the institution.

In 1875, Thomas Widd published several tables in his Principal's Report with some quantifiable information about the pupils who had attended over the previous 5 years. From 1870 to 1875, 32 students had attended the school, during which time 12 students 'left' the institution: 6 of them were discharged as 'ineligible',⁷⁵ 3 were prevented attending by their families who needed their labour at home, and 3 graduated from the institution. Of those 32 students, the majority were reported as being congenitally deaf, with the remainder having acquired their deafness in childhood as a result of some kind of sickness.⁷⁶ Students largely came from counties outside of the city of Montreal, some travelling great distances from Quebec City and Ottawa to attend the school. The majority of students came from families in situations of poverty, were children of farmers or orphans. This not only meant that their families were unable to pay for their tuition, but that many students came to school with insufficient clothing. As a result, the Widds started a used clothing collection and Mrs. Widd would spend much time altering and repairing them for the students.⁷⁷ While no statistics were consistently

⁷⁵ "Fourth Annual Report" (Protestant Institution for Deaf-Mutes, 1874), 10, Gallaudet University Archives.; "Second Annual Report," 9. We know that of these 6, at least 3 of them were girls. One boy was considered ineligible during the second year of the school, on account of a 'weak mind'

⁷⁶ "Fifth Annual Report" (Protestant Institution for Deaf-Mutes, 1875), 9, Gallaudet University Archives. Causes of deafness included: sunstroke, unnamed illness, 'spotted fever', small-pox, scarlet fever, brain fever, unnamed 'sickness', 'idiocy', fever, "disease from bathing" and "by fall from a chair".

⁷⁷ "Second Annual Report," 12.

collected regarding the numbers of male versus female students, it is evident from the annual reports that there were significantly more boys in attendance than girls during the schools first five years of existence.

It is also important to note that students at the school were sometimes visited with diseases or infections that would prove to be fatal. In fact, while most students were congenitally deaf, a large portion of them had lost their hearing to scarlet fever or meningitis, the affects of these illnesses sometimes weakening their systems permanently. The first death of a student recorded was John Charles Moore, described as being “one of the brightest and most promising scholars”⁷⁸. He had taken ill at home over the summer months, and passed away from heart disease on September 12th 1874.

Starting in 1875, a list of names of pupils in attendance at the Protestant Institution for Deaf-Mutes began to be collected and published in the annual reports. This list of names is a valuable resource for anyone who wishes to delve into genealogical research and uncover more about who these students were, what their lives were like, and what they did after they left the Protestant Institution for Deaf-Mutes. See Appendix 2 for a list of names gathered from the annual reports used in this project.

Discrimination and Ableism at the School

A formalized list of admission requirements appears by the Tenth Annual Report (see Appendix 1), yet informal criteria still existed from the outset. Widd described the students as having a “variety of intellectual gradation” with some being “possessed of strong and active minds”, while others are “extremely dull, and hardly advance beyond

⁷⁸ “Fifth Annual Report,” 11.

the rudiments”.⁷⁹ As early as the first year of the establishment of the Protestant Institution for Deaf-Mutes, there are a few reported (and many unreported cases I am sure) of students being rejected or removed from the Institution on the basis of a “weak mind” or otherwise labelled as “ineligible”.⁸⁰ Mrs. Widd taught the lowest class of deaf-mutes, and expressed her struggles in teaching this group. At the end of the second year, the annual report states that “they have been reformed in manners and trained to behave like reasonable creatures”, attesting to the lack of instruction some of them experienced prior to entering the institution.⁸¹ Thomas Widd gives the examples of one unnamed, deaf, dumb, and blind young woman who had arrived at the school, and yet did not remain for the entire school year:

[She had arrived] in a most deplorable state. Her constitution was enfeebled by long confinement and neglect, and at times she was subject to fits of ungovernable temper; at other times she showed signs of great intelligence, and some progress was made in learning the manual alphabet, with the aid of raised letters, which were procured for her benefit. After being a few weeks in the Institution she was able to communicate her wants in signs, and could go about the house unaided. Her health, however, began to fail, and her parents contemplating a removal to the West, and it being found that the Institution in its early infancy had not the

⁷⁹ “Second Annual Report,” 14.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 15.

necessary accommodation and staff of teachers which her case required, her parents were desired to remove her.⁸²

She would be the first of several students at the school who left or were asked to leave over the course of the next several years. This exclusion of certain students based on intellect was necessary for Widd to maintain that a deaf student's "only deficiency, as a class, is their want of hearing and speech".⁸³ Thomas Widd would repeatedly emphasize that the institution was a school, and not an "asylum", a message continuously replayed throughout the decades that followed.

There was a significant moral element to Widd's motives in educating the deaf-mute. Widd (along with many others) believed that without education, the uneducated deaf person had no 'conscience', stating that "their moral and intellectual condition before instruction is little *above* that of the more intelligent brutes, and *lower* than that of the most unenlightened savages".⁸⁴ This further illustrates why Widd so zealously separated the deaf-mute from the 'brute', believing that the deaf could acquire language and thus a moral conscience, whereas the intellectually disabled remained beyond help. It was the moral responsibility of the Protestant to help, through education, "the poor deaf-mutes—whose calamity brings them down to semi-idiotcy and cretinism, and even below the blind".⁸⁵ In addition to a minimum mental capacity, the school was exclusively reserved for Protestant students – as it was noted that Catholics were refused admission.⁸⁶

⁸² Widd, *The Deaf and Dumb and Blind Deaf-Mutes*, 52.

⁸³ "Second Annual Report," 15.

⁸⁴ Widd, *The Deaf and Dumb and Blind Deaf-Mutes*, 24.

⁸⁵ "Fourth Annual Report," 14.

⁸⁶ "Fourth Annual Report," 14.

This selection process based on perceived intellect becomes increasingly articulated in the annual reports as the years wear on.

Early Struggles: “when friends were few and the funds all exhausted”⁸⁷

Over the first several years following its establishment, the institution faced numerous obstacles. Failures in trade and widespread financial depression made it impossible to raise enough funds to support the costs of running the school. At that time, the school’s main source of income came from public subscriptions, supplemented by the school fees (of those students whose families could afford to pay them) and the \$1,000 yearly grant from the government. The estimated cost of educating one student at the institution was 110\$ per pupil, per school year.⁸⁸ News of the school had spread across the province; by their second year they were already operating over-capacity and they had to refuse many applications for admission. Accommodations were tight, with 22 students (later as many as 27!), the Widd family, and two additional teachers being crammed in the house. However, with finances continuously ebbing, the acquisition of a new school site seemed a distant possibility. Two of the members of the board of directors advanced money from their own private funds in order that the school remain in operation. The schoolhouse that they had been leasing was purchased with the small funds they had, providing them with an additional cottage where they set up as a laundry,

⁸⁷ “Tenth Annual Report,” 8.

⁸⁸ “Third Annual Report,” 12. This was a significant difference when compared to the Institution in Ontario at the time, whose expenses were \$198.70 per student, per year.

printing press and carpenters shop, and fitted with three bedrooms that alleviated some of the crowding in the main schoolhouse.⁸⁹

In the context of these financial struggles, life at the school continued to evolve. After the first year of exhaustion and near-burnout, the schedule was modified to classes being held 5 hours a day, 5 days a week. The school year started mid-September and continued until mid-June, without a break during the Christmas holidays. The “combined method” continued to be the method of instruction. Miss Clara Bulmer was hired as an assistant teacher for the school’s second year, and took on the responsibility of piloting an articulation class for a few selected “semi-mute”⁹⁰ students. This class was deemed successful and remained an integral component of the school’s curriculum throughout the century. By the 1874-1875 school year, the “Visible Speech” method was introduced to the articulation class.⁹¹

Students continued to play an important role in labouring for the school. Girls were expected to assist the matron in all domestic duties, as she managed the care of school’s “wardrobe, kitchen, dormitories, bathrooms, &c.”⁹² Henry Porter, a student at the Institution who had previously attended the New York Institution, was hired on to teach the boys carpentry. When he left the school in 1874, Gordon Redmond, another student of the institution, assumed his role as teacher and carpentry remained an

⁸⁹ “Second Annual Report,” 12.

⁹⁰ “Second Annual Report.” A ‘semi-mute’ would have been a student who had lost their hearing later in childhood, or students who were hard of hearing, capable of hearing some sounds.

⁹¹ “Fifth Annual Report,” 12–13.

⁹² “Second Annual Report,” 12.

important aspect of the boys' education.⁹³ After school hours, boys were trained in carpentry, drawing, gardening and assisted Thomas Widd with the printing press. The printing trade occupied an important place in early deaf education as it not only opened the doors to a future career path, but also promoted literacy among the deaf. By 1874, the Protestant Institution for Deaf Mutes was publishing the *Côte St. Antoine Times and Canadian Deaf-Mute Chronicle*. This was Canada's first contribution to a series of deaf-produced publications named "Little Paper Family Publications", linking the Montreal school with a wider, emerging deaf community.⁹⁴ Not limited to the printing trade, Widd repeatedly emphasized the importance of work and training the students in the trades, warning "there is no more pitiable object in any civilized community than an uneducated deaf-mute without any occupation. He generally becomes a permanent pauper or beggar, living miserably in prisons and almshouses". Widd continued by stating that "indeed, in many instances, the instruction in trades is the only benefit derived from their stay in an Institution". In the throes of the industrial revolution, it is no surprise that the school put such an emphasis on productivity.

During these times, Widd also struggled convincing the parents of deaf-mutes of the merit of their child's education. He remarked, "while some of the parents of deaf-

⁹³ "Fifth Annual Report," 14. Thomas Widd gives us a description of Gordon Redmond: "One young man, an orphan, totally uneducated, who has recently been admitted, worked very hard during the past two years to save money to buy clothes and pay for his board and tuition. He is 25 years of age, but, by the diligence with which he applies himself to his studies, gives us reason to believe that he will make very good use of this time in the Institution, and derive great benefit from instruction". "Second Annual Report," 10.

⁹⁴ Carbin, *Deaf Heritage in Canada*, 294-95.; Edward A Fay, ed., "Institution Items - Montreal Protestant Institution," *American Annals of the Deaf and Dumb* 20, no. 1 (January 1875): 42.

deaf-mutes appreciate the great value of the instruction received by their children at the Institution, there are others who fail to do so, and are indifferent as to whether their children are educated or not”.⁹⁵ Punctuality was also a issue, with parents not sending their students to school immediately upon the opening of the school year, likely extending their homestay to help with farming duties.⁹⁶

Widd spent a considerable amount of time writing public correspondence regarding the potential of a deaf-mute to acquire an education, as well as continuing his advocacy work on behalf of the adult deaf-mute in the city.⁹⁷ At this point, the school was also acting as a social hub for adult Protestant deaf-mutes from the city. Widd’s vision was that an association for deaf-mutes would be founded, offering religious services and lectures in sign language, where adults could support one another in sickness and help each other with employment.⁹⁸ There existed already a Catholic society for the deaf, however Montreal’s Anglo-Protestant deaf-mutes would have to wait over half a century for Widd’s vision to be realized, as the Montreal Association for the Deaf was only formally established in 1929.⁹⁹ In the meantime, graduates and other deaf-mutes in the community would congregate to the school on Sundays, and some continued to visit and volunteer at the school.

⁹⁵ “Second Annual Report,” 11.

⁹⁶ “Third Annual Report,” 9.

⁹⁷ “Second Annual Report,” 18.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ “History,” *Canadian Association of the Deaf - Association Des Sourds Du Canada*, accessed June 11, 2016, <http://cad.ca/sur-lasc/history/>.

Financial Depression And Joseph Mackay

By 1876 the school was still in deep financial crisis and in dire need of larger premises. An attempt to raise the money to acquire a new site in 1874 failed, and resulted in an additional \$3,559.92 of debt.¹⁰⁰ Financial depression was widespread and the Protestant Institution had difficulty just covering its operating expenses and the debt it owed. It was during this period of discouragement that Joseph Mackay,¹⁰¹ a wealthy local merchant, appears, and has a significant impact on the future of the school. Charles Alexander, then president of the institution, described this perilous time in his own words,

While we were trying to make both ends meet, in the time of our anxiety God raised up a friend to help us in the very way we wished—that is, to extend our efforts by means of a larger building—and put it into the heart of an old and respected fellow-citizen, Joseph Mackay, Esq., to give us a splendid piece of land, and to erect thereon at his own expense a stone building capable of accommodating 80 pupils and their teachers¹⁰²

Joseph Mackay's generous donation was valued at \$35,000, and allowed for the building of a spacious new school on Cote St Luc road. What made his contribution unique was that rather than being a posthumous legacy, Mackay was still alive and had a continuing

¹⁰⁰ "Tenth Annual Report," 31. Their lack of funds resulted in a failed business deal where they were not only unable to purchase a new plot of land for the school, but lost the deposit they had already paid.

¹⁰¹ For a basic background of who Joseph Mackay was, and his role in Montreal society at the time, see: D. Suzanne Cross, "MACKAY (MacKay, McKay), Joseph," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* 11 (1982),

http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/mackay_joseph_11E.html.

¹⁰² Widd, *The Deaf and Dumb and Blind Deaf-Mutes*, 57.

impact on the future of the school.¹⁰³ The cornerstone was laid on June 6th 1877, and the completed building formally opened on February 12th 1878. These new premises were a four-storey, Gothic style building that afforded much more space for both the students and teachers. The deed of donation came with six requirements, two of which are listed here as they would have a direct impact on the students:

1. [The] Institution shall be conducted on a Protestant non-denominational basis and all members of the Board of Governors and Board of Managers, as well as the principal, professors, teachers and matron of said Institution shall be Protestant
2. A religious service or services for the benefit of the inmates of said institution shall be conducted within the said building regularly on each and every Sabbath day, and the said board of managers shall invite in turn the acting ministers in the churches of Montreal [...] to conduct said services¹⁰⁴

The involvement of Joseph Mackay at the institution not only marked a literal shift in the school, with the building of a new site, but also seemed to mark the Institution's transition from a grassroots initiative to a permanently established school. In honour of its donor, the school was renamed to "The Mackay Institution for Protestant Deaf-Mutes". The inauguration of the new building attracted the attendance of over 400 people, among whom were very powerful and influential members of society at the time, including Canada's Governor General and his wife, Lord and Lady Dufferin. The President of the Institution did not waste the occasion, and used the opportunity to petition those in

¹⁰³ Ibid., 70.

¹⁰⁴ "Thirteenth Annual Report," 144–48.

attendance to increase their generosity, evidently sparking a renewed period of philanthropic interest in the school.

A Decade In Review

After having dedicated the past decade of their lives to the education of the Protestant deaf-mute, it would seem that Thomas and Margaret Widd anxiety over the school's future could be somewhat alleviated. The Anglo-Protestant deaf-mute in Montreal was much indebted to their labour and advocacy work. In those ten years, 1868-1878, 41 students received an education in a societal climate where "many people still believe that it is physically impossible to educate the deaf-mute, and few know of the existence of schools for their instruction".¹⁰⁶ By the end of the first decade since the opening of the school, 75 deaf-mutes had received their education.¹⁰⁷ Describing his thanks to Thomas Widd, one student wrote "You have dispelled the gloom of intellectual night in which we long lay groping, and brought us into the broad sunlight of knowledge",¹⁰⁸ and yet another said, "When I compare my former state and condition before I became a pupil with my present, I am filled with amazement and wonder, and consider myself a new man lifted into a new world".¹⁰⁹

Likewise, Mr. and Mrs. Widd are much indebted to the graduates of the institution, who contributed much time and labour to the school. One of these students

¹⁰⁶ "Fourth Annual Report," 14.

¹⁰⁷ "Tenth Annual Report," 19.

¹⁰⁸ Widd, *The Deaf and Dumb and Blind Deaf-Mutes*, 65. Excerpt of a letter written by John Macnaughton. These statements regarding student's transformative experiences of education are consistent with those of students attending American institutions, as described by Edwards, *Words Made Flesh*, 77-88.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 65-66. Part of a letter written by J. Outterson.

was James McClelland who managed the printing office and supervised the boys. These collaborations between the Widds and graduates of the institution continued into its next decade, with the Mackay Institution for Protestant Deaf-Mutes providing a social hub and gathering-place for the deaf mutes in the city.

The Mackay Institution for Protestant Deaf-Mutes (and the blind) (1878 – 1883)

From 1878 to 1883 life at the Mackay Institution for Protestant Deaf-Mutes was marked by a series of significant events: the Board of Managers successfully managed to clear the institution of its debts, a bout of scarlet fever erupted in winter of 1880-81, and Thomas Widd takes a leave of absence. This section begins after the opening of the new school site, and concludes with Thomas Widd's retirement, illustrating the progress of the institution, and some of the events that marked this period.

Significant Events and Changes

With the new premises capable of accommodating 80 pupils, the effort to recruit new students was renewed. There were 33 students in attendance during the session in 1877-78, yet this number was still much too small given the estimated number of deaf-mutes in the province according to the 1881 census. Of those who were not in attendance at the school, the Board of Managers was left to wonder, “were the others abandoned or neglected”?¹¹⁰ Despite the lack of accommodations for new students no longer being an issue, the Mackay Institution for Protestant Deaf-Mutes continued to face barriers. One of the obstacles to the expansion of the student population was that despite being existence

¹¹⁰ “Eleventh Annual Report” (Mackay Institution for Protestant Deaf-Mutes, 1881), 9, HV2580 M62 M33 11th 1881, McGill University: Rare Books and Special Collections.

for thirteen years, the public continued to misunderstand the purpose of the school. Widd comments,

Notwithstanding the length of time which has elapsed since the Institution was commenced, and the numerous published reports which have been issued, there are yet many people who fail to comprehend the objects for which the Mackay Institution was founded. Some believe it to be an asylum or permanent home for Deaf-Mutes of all ages, and others think it is a hospital for the cure of deafness. When the public are informed that the Institution is a Boarding School for the secular instruction and religious and moral training of deaf mute children of good mental calibre, they will recognize the objects for which the school is maintained¹¹¹

The school continued to maintain that it was not an asylum, making it clear that they were not an institution for the ‘feeble-minded’. This was reflected in the school’s terms of admission, where the first requirement was that: “(I) Every child admitted shall be deaf and dumb; shall not be deficient in intellect; not subject to fits; not labouring under any infectious disorder; shall have been vaccinated, or have had he small-pox and must be of good moral character”.¹¹² This was reinforced by some of the pre-admission questions that had to be answered by the parents, and attested to by both a medical practitioner and church minister. These questions included, “Has the child ever been afflicted with fits, or any other nervous affection?” and “Does the child make intelligible signs and give proof

¹¹¹ “Thirteenth Annual Report,” 105.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 153.

of memory?”¹¹³ For the rest of the nineteenth century the institution continued to distance itself from the ‘asylum’ and clarify its role to the rest of society.

Another important obstacle to expansion was that despite the increased capacity of the newly built school, they continued to be financially limited. The government had increased their yearly grant to \$1,729, yet a large proportion of the students continued in their inability to pay full school fees.¹¹⁴ With their more intense financial struggles behind them, Thomas Widd, members of the Board of Managers, and some students and their relations were significantly more successful with their campaigns for subscriptions. This often involved travelling to the country to solicit donations for the school. Graduates, and sometimes even current students, devoted a significant amount of energy to fundraising, and their efforts should not be overlooked.

The work to recruit additional students and secure their funding was successful, as by the end of the 1882-83 school year there were 42 students being taught at the institution, even though the age of admission was changed to be between 7 and 15 years old.¹¹⁵ The Mackay family continued to be a valuable financial support, even after the death of Joseph in 1881, as his brother Edward assumed the role as President in 1882, followed by their nephew Hugh in 1883. The increased funding efforts and the generous

¹¹³ Ibid., 154.

¹¹⁴ Mr. Thomas White explains, “the Protestants of the Province of Quebec were situated in a peculiar position in relation to institutions of this kind. In every other province, and in Ontario especially, such institutions were the special charge of the Government, but here, owing to a difference in race and language and to our disagreements as to the methods of carrying on such work, they were left largely to the benevolence of the Protestant inhabitants”, Ibid., 100, 110.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., 153.

legacies of Joseph and Edward Mackay made it possible for the school to finally be on a “sound financial basis” by 1883.¹¹⁶

The same season of sickness that claimed the life of Joseph Mackay also circulated through the institution in 1881. From the start of the school year, through the winter and into the spring, scarlet fever, “throat affections” and “bilious attacks” plagued the institution, severely interrupting this session of studies. Classes went on hiatus for two months while the teachers and staff tended to the students.¹¹⁷ Dr. Scott, the school’s physician since 1870, was made to visit 40-50 times during winter and early spring to care for the pupils, many of them being forced to go home to recover, thankfully no students died from this bout of sickness. Despite the interruptions during the winter of 1880-81, work at the school continued to progress.

By 1881 new outbuilding had been constructed to host a variety of workshops for the continuation of the students’ training in the trades. Carpentry, printing and type setting were the main trades taught, with dressmaking being introduced for the girls. In addition, John Macnaughton, a graduate of the Institution in 1882 taught a special watercolour and drawing class after school hours, all the while working as a lithographic engraver and artist in the city.

In 1883 there is a first mention of the public examinations being held in competition with another local school. This meant that the deaf students at the institution would be competing with the hearing pupils from the Royal Arthur School¹¹⁹. It was also

¹¹⁶ “Thirteenth Annual Report.”

¹¹⁷ “Eleventh Annual Report,” 17.

¹¹⁹ “Thirteenth Annual Report,” 106.

thought that these competitions would be “likely to benefit and stimulate the Deaf-Mutes”.¹²⁰ Students did well in some areas of the exam, however were “on the whole surpassed by their more privileged competitors”. This was not because the students were less knowledgeable than their peers, but mostly due to miscommunication and language barriers.¹²¹ Students also started receiving prizes at the end of the school year. Bibles and other books were awarded for industry, “good conduct”, “general proficiency” and other admirable characteristics.¹²² The prizes and competition initiated during this period would be maintained and quickly become part of the school’s culture and traditions. Students continued to spend the Christmas holidays at school, with donors providing treats and presents for the students’ festivities. Another school tradition that is mentioned for the first time in the thirteenth annual report is the school’s annual end-of-year picnic on St. Helen’s Island. Briefly mentioned in this report, later records would describe it as a day of fun and entertainment for the students.¹²³

During this time period from 1878-83, the demographics of the students attending the institution noticeably begins to shift. By 1883, the average age of the students in is 10 years old, compared to 15 when the school first started in 1870 (see Appendix 3). The

¹²⁰ Ibid., 114.

¹²¹ Ibid., 119.

¹²² Ibid., 122.

¹²³ Harriet McGann included an excerpt from *The Witness* in her report, describing the picnic: “There were races of various kinds competed for, with a heart and good grace by both boys and girls of the pupils [...] All present, pupils and visitors, were provided with abundance of eatables and cooling drinks, and suitable prizes in the way of earrings, broches, scarf-pins, rings, fishing-tackle, &c. and a number of boxes of confectionery were awarded to the successful competitors amongst the girls and boys in the various games. The day was a pleasant one and all enjoyed it very much, &c., &c”. “Fifteenth Annual Report,” 226.

ratio of boys to girls starts to change, with female students attending the institution in greater proportions. By the end of the 1882-83 school year, the Managers moved to expand the mandate of the school to include the education of the blind starting in the next year. This was to be a secondary endeavour, as the focus would remain on the education for the deaf, but this addition would allow Montreal's Anglo-Protestant philanthropists to consider the creation of a school for the blind. Thus, starting in 1883 the school would be named the Mackay Institution for Protestant Deaf-Mutes and the Blind.

Labour

It is difficult to determine, through a reading of the annual reports, what role student labour played in the every day functioning of the school. For example, in the thirteenth annual report there is a mention of a windmill pump being constructed, which "obviates the necessity of requiring the boys to pump for some hours each day".¹²⁴ This is the first time that this particular task was mentioned in the annual reports, yet would have been a significant component of the boy's daily routine. This phrase alludes to the fact that students played a large role in taking care of the physical necessities of their school, their labour used, in some cases to offset the costs of operating the institution. During the early years of financial difficulty, there is evidence suggesting that students picked and sold apples that were grown on the premises to help finance the school.¹²⁵ Later on, both carpentry and printing alleviated some of the institution's financial stress, allowing the boys to do jobs for local clients or friends, and attend to the institution's own printing and

¹²⁴ "Thirteenth Annual Report," 115.

¹²⁵ "Tenth Annual Report," 30. From 1869-1880 there is \$255.50 recorded in "sales of apples" in the financial report.

carpentry needs.¹²⁶ While the printing press progressively became less popular with the advent of new technology at the end of the nineteenth century, carpentry and cabinet making gained in importance, with students attending to the school's maintenance and taking orders from local clients.¹²⁷ By the end of the nineteenth century, girls were taught various sewing arts and were expected to make their own dresses and repair the institution's bed and table linen.¹²⁸

The use of student labour becomes more interesting upon examination of a table published in the *American Annals of the Deaf and Dumb* in 1883 (see Appendix 5). Among other things, this chart compared existing institutions for the deaf in Canada at that time and listed their sources of financial support. Both Catholic institutions indicated that they were financed through provincial support, voluntary contributions, and student labour, whereas the Protestant school did not indicate student labour as a means of income, but listed student fees instead.¹²⁹ The omission of student labour is inconsistent with the reality presented in the Mackay Institution's annual reports. In addition to the examples of student labour already listed, the fourteenth annual report states that "non paying pupils to be made useful about the institution out of school hours".¹³⁰ This implies that students who could not afford to pay the school fees were informally indentured and

¹²⁶ "Third Annual Report," 13. The Canadian Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Animals is the only such "friend" that appears in this annual report.

¹²⁷ "Twenty-Ninth Annual Report" (Mackay Institution for Protestant Deaf-Mutes and the Blind, 1899), 9.

¹²⁸ "Fifteenth Annual Report," 225.

¹²⁹ Edward A Fay, "Tabular Statement of the Institutions of the World - Canada," *American Annals of the Deaf and Dumb* 28, no. 1 (1883): 60.

¹³⁰ "Fourteenth Annual Report" (Mackay Institution for Protestant Deaf-Mutes and the Blind, 1884), 206.

made to work off the cost of their education. It is evident from the perusal of the schools' annual reports that student labour was integral to the support and maintenance of the institution. The question is then, why is it conspicuously absent from the 1883 table? Is it because student labour was devalued, and whatever profits from their work were absorbed into overall operating costs? Was it a conscious choice for the sake of public relations, not wanting to seem exploitative in a late nineteenth century society that was becoming increasingly concerned with child labour? This discrepancy opens up the potential of future inquiry into the labour practices at North American residential schools for the deaf during the nineteenth century. Of all the schools listed in the United States and Canada, Montreal's Catholic Institutions were the only ones who listed student labour as a means of financial support.¹³¹ I am certain that, as is with the case of the Mackay Institution in Montreal, instances of student's labour remain unremarked throughout the annual reports. Future investigations in this area are recommended in order to highlight the vital role that students played at the schools they attended.

Changes in Staff

Starting immediately after the move to the new premises, the Widd family begins to take a less active role in the running of the school. There is no mention of Margaret Widd after 1878, once a new matron (Mrs. A. Smyth) and assistant teacher (Miss S. E. Littlefield) were hired. Even Thomas Widd himself took on a reduced workload by 1880,

¹³¹ Fay, "Tabular Statement of the Institutions of the World - Canada." The Catholic schools offered quite a varied array of trades. The boys did electrotyping, book-binding, cabinet making, printing, shoemaking, tailoring, and woodturning, and the girls did dress making and sewing.

continuing in his role as principal but transferring the teaching of the lower classes to Edith Terrill (Miss Littlefield's replacement) and James McClelland (past graduate of the institution). There were several staff changes over the next couple of years; notably the hiring of Harriet E. McGann in the role of articulation teacher. When Thomas Widd took a leave of absence for health reasons after the start of 1882-83 school year, Harriett McGann was poised to take over his role as superintendent and leader of the school upon his official resignation in 1883.

Harriet McGann was the daughter of John B. McGann, founder of the Ontario Institution for the Education and Instruction of the Deaf and Dumb in 1870. She had previously worked at two different schools for deaf mutes, and most recently as an articulation teacher at the Michigan Institution for the Deaf and Dumb. Harriet herself was hearing, and clearly preferred oral teaching methods.¹³² In 1883 she wrote, "The progress of the Articulation and Lip Reading Classes has been highly gratifying, and fully realizes my expectations. In the future, I hope to have more time to devote to this most important branch of the education of the deaf-mutes".¹³³ This statement was prophetic, as Harriet McGann shapes the rest of the nineteenth century at the Mackay Institution for Protestant Deaf-Mutes and the Blind in her role as superintendent.

The Milan Convention and Trends in Deaf Education

Prior to launching into a discussion about the rise of oralism at the Mackay Institution for Protestant Deaf Mutes, it is essential to contextualize this shift within the

¹³² Carbin, *Deaf Heritage in Canada*, 85–86.

¹³³ "Thirteenth Annual Report," 116.

trends of deaf education in the wider American and European context. The year 1880 marked a significant event in deaf history, as 164 leaders from institutions for the deaf in the North America and Europe gathered in Italy for the Milan Convention. This convention was meant to be an international forum where educators could come together to discuss methods and best practices for teaching deaf-mutes.¹³⁴ Instead of its pronounced purpose, it was largely represented and run by advocates of the oral method for teaching the deaf, and was perhaps the most influential attack on sign language in deaf history up until that point. The only Canadian present was Rev. Alfred Bélanger, director of l'Institution Catholique des Sourds-Muets, the institution for Catholic deaf-mute boys in Montreal. Interestingly, in contrast to the Mackay Institution for Protestant Deaf-Mutes who had been using the combined method, the Catholic institution was already a firm proponent of oral methods.¹³⁵

Edward Milner Gallaudet¹³⁶, director of the Columbia Institution for the Deaf at the time, wrote a critique of this conference for the *American Annals of the Deaf and Dumb*. In his article, Gallaudet criticized the conference for being partisan with the articulation method, and firmly advocated for a continuation of the combined system: “a system which welcomes every practicable means of advancing and perfecting the education of all the deaf and dumb”.¹³⁷ This combined method was characteristic of most American schools for the deaf during this period, where the priority was to teach deaf

¹³⁴ Edward Miner Gallaudet, “The Milan Convention,” *American Annals of the Deaf* 26, no. 1 (1881): 1–16.

¹³⁵ Carbin, *Deaf Heritage in Canada*, 11.

¹³⁶ Edward Gallaudet is the son of Thomas Gallaudet, who, along with Laurent Clerc, established the first school for the deaf in the United States in 1817.

¹³⁷ Gallaudet, “The Milan Convention,” 11.

students language, using articulation, manual signs, reading and writing methods.

Gallaudet felt that exclusively using the ‘pure oral’ method promoted at the conference would be insufficient to educate the range of pupils at deaf schools. In the same publication, James Denison, the only deaf delegate present at the conference, shared his impressions. Denison supported some of Gallaudet’s critiques of the ‘pure oral method’, yet he recognized the strengths and weaknesses of both methods, and admitted that “though he *suspects* that too much was claimed for articulation at Milan, he *knows* that in America it had not had fair play until very lately”.¹³⁸ Gallaudet’s opposition to the pure oral method, though supported by others in attendance, were in minority at the conference as reflected by the first two resolutions passed at the Milan Convention:

1. The Convention, considering the incontestable superiority of articulation over signs in restoring the deaf-mute to society and giving him a fuller knowledge of language, declares that the oral method should be preferred to that of signs in the education and instruction of deaf mutes
2. The Convention, considering that the simultaneous use of articulation and signs has the disadvantage of injuring articulation and lip-reading and the precision of ideas, declares that the pure oral method should be preferred¹³⁹

Despite the fact that Gallaudet and others disagreed with the pure oral teaching methods, it would only take a few short decades until 80% of deaf children in America were taught

¹³⁸ James Denison, “Impressions of the Milan Conference,” *American Annals of the Deaf and Dumb* 26, no. 1 (January 1881): 41–50.

¹³⁹ Giulio Tarra, “Resolutions of the Milan Convention,” *American Annals of the Deaf and Dumb* 26, no. 1 (January 1881): 64–65.

using the oral method, without any sign language.¹⁴⁰ It is not surprising, then, that by the 1893, Harriet McGann, already a convert to the articulation method, published this statement in the annual report: “In the Mackay Institution we use every means to *suppress the use of signs*”.¹⁴¹ The following section will highlight the school’s transformation under the leadership of Harriet McGann and trace the rise of oralism at the Mackay Institution for Protestant Deaf-Mutes and the Blind.

Harriet McGann and the rise of Oralism (1884-1900)

Harriet McGann worked at the Mackay Institution for Protestant Deaf Mutes for nearly 40 years of her life, from 1881 to 1917.¹⁴³ Throughout her tenure as superintendent during the rest of the nineteenth century, many changes took place in the school. The Institution opened up a class for the blind, an ‘auricular class’, and started accepting students expressly for the articulation classes. The later part of the 1800s saw small changes to the school, such as modifications to the curriculum and the expansion of the trades program, but there are two trends are most markedly prominent: the rise of oralism and the emergence of the medical model of disability. This section traces the changes undergone by the institution during Harriet McGann’s superintendence until the close of the nineteenth century, opening up the possibilities for future inquiry into the historical lives of the deaf-mute of Montreal.

¹⁴⁰ For a discussion of why oral methods were so appealing and caught on so violently, see: Edwards, *Words Made Flesh*.

¹⁴¹ “Twenty-Third Annual Report” (Mackay Institution for Protestant Deaf-Mutes and the Blind, 1893), 8.

¹⁴³ Carbin, *Deaf Heritage in Canada*, 85, 89. Harriet McGann would marry John Ashcroft in 1889, becoming Harriet Aschroft. For simplicity’s sake, I will refer to her as Harriet McGann throughout the paper.

General Changes

The work of advocating for the education of the deaf was continued by Harriet McGann. In her 1889-90 Superintendent's report, she wrote a petition to the parents of deaf-mutes at the institution, pleading with them not to withdraw their children from the school before their education was complete.¹⁴⁴ Occasional records of parents withdrawing their children from the school to assist with labour at home may have prompted this reaction. It was McGann's personal mission to "place the Mackay Institution on equal footing with the first schools in the country".¹⁴⁵ Although enrolment remained relatively small throughout the remainder of the century, the reputation of the school evidently expanded, as by 1890, of the 49 students registered 7 were from out of province as far as California and British Columbia.¹⁴⁶

Coincident with the appearance of Harriet McGann at the school is the publication of a formalized set of "Rules and Regulations" that students were to follow while at the institution (See Appendix 4). By this time, the age of admission was modified to be from 5 to 18 years of age. According to these 'rules and regulations', boys and girls continued to be separated except in the school-room, the dining-room and during worship. Curfew

¹⁴⁴ "The ignorant deaf-mute, even if an object of charity, may be comparatively content, from the absence of knowledge and understanding; while the semi-educated, with his awakened and crudely developed reasoning powers, has the ambitions, but is minus the ability of the highly educated, and cannot consequently be particularly happy and contented, in contrast with which the well educated may aspire, attain, and keep himself abreast with the world at large, and enjoy the society of his fellowmen."

"Twentieth Annual Report" (Mackay Institution for Protestant Deaf-Mutes and the Blind, 1890), 21.

¹⁴⁵ "Fourteenth Annual Report," 174.

¹⁴⁶ "Twentieth Annual Report," 9.

was 8:00 pm for students under 12 years old, and 9:00 pm for the older pupils.¹⁴⁷ Students were expected to be in the classroom from 9-12 pm, and from 1:30 – 3:00 pm,¹⁴⁸ and at Sunday services at 3:00 pm. In addition, the expectation was that every student, boy or girl, would devote an allotted time every day to developing a trade skill. This development in the trades continued to be vital to the school’s mission of “[aiding] him in becoming a self-supporting member of society at the expiration of the school term”.¹⁴⁹ This emphasis on cultivating ‘workable skills’ resulted in girls being taught sewing, fancy needlework, cooking and training in housekeeping duties, “all so necessary in the directing of our girls towards a good and useful womanhood”.¹⁵⁰ Their training was significantly expanded under the stewardship of Mrs. McGann, however, it was not limited to domestic tasks; girls were also trained in chair caning and printing.¹⁵¹ By 1885 the boys and girls at the institution were taking care of the printing needs of significant local clients, namely the Canadian Pacific Railway and Molson’s Bank, these contracts serving to defray the cost of the printing press. However, by 1894 the Board of Managers began discussing other options for the pupils to “earn their living”, as technology had changed so that there was a decreased demand for printers. Early suggestions involved shoemaking, flower and vegetable gardening, house painting and the continuation of

¹⁴⁷ The curfew was initially set at 7:30 for the younger students, but as of the 1883-83 school year it was pushed to 8:00 pm. You can compare the “Thirteenth Annual Report”, 157-8., with “Fourteenth Annual Report,” 206.

¹⁴⁸ By 1893 this was extended to 3:30 pm instead of 3:00 pm. “Twenty-Third Annual Report,” 36.

¹⁴⁹ “Eighteenth Annual Report” (Mackay Institution for Protestant Deaf-Mutes and the Blind, 1888), 53.

¹⁵⁰ “Twentieth Annual Report,” 12.

¹⁵¹ “Fifteenth Annual Report,” 205.

carpentry training.¹⁵² The Board of Managers were greatly interested in the occupations of the graduates of the institution post-graduation, and published a list in the twenty-seventh annual report of the students' occupations.¹⁵³ Their continuous concern was that once students left the institution, they could be productive citizens, endowed with the education and skills needed to work.

In addition to ensuring their training in the trades, Harriet McGann made a few other modifications to the curriculum, and was particularly attentive to students' recreation and leisure habits. French classes were introduced in 1883-84, and would continue to the close of the century. There is no mention of the motives for introducing this subject, however this would have provided students with the literacy skills to navigate Quebecois society, which was, and largely continues to be, predominantly Francophone. Other additions included the donation of gymnastic equipment to the school¹⁵⁴, and later, enough books to start a formal library.¹⁵⁵ Starting in 1883 students were allowed a two-week vacation at Christmas time, while those remaining at the school were kept occupied with snowshoeing, and regular country walks.¹⁵⁶ These walks were a part of the daily routine throughout the school year, and students were expected to play

¹⁵² "Twenty-Fourth Annual Report" (Mackay Institution for Protestant Deaf-Mutes and the Blind, 1894), 5-6.

¹⁵³ "Twenty-Seventh Annual Report" (Mackay Institution for Protestant Deaf-Mutes and the Blind, 1897), 7. The list is as follows, "1 Artist, 1 Engraver, 1 Drug Clerk, 7 Printers, 1 Cook, 2 Housekeepers, 8 Farmers, 4 Farm-laborers, 5 Carpenters, 1 Mail Clerk, 1 Caretaker, 3 Machinists, 13 Assisting at Home, 1 Teacher, 1 Leather Cutter, 1 Upholsterer, 1 Tailor, 1 Chair-caner, 1 Furrier, 1 Photographer, 1 Harness-maker, 1 Miner, 1 Waiter, 1 Barber, 1 Doctor's Boy, 1 Working in a Cotton Factory"

¹⁵⁴ "Fourteenth Annual Report," 172.

¹⁵⁵ "Fifteenth Annual Report," 212.

¹⁵⁶ "Fifteenth Annual Report."

outside in good weather. Despite these activities, McGann continued to show a growing concern for student's physical health, stating, "I hope this session to be able to introduce regulated calisthenics for half an hour each day. This is more necessary for the girls, than for the boys, as the latter have ample play for the muscles in the various work-shops where they spend one and a half hours daily".¹⁵⁷ There is no mention of comparatively how long girls were expected to work in the workshops every day. At this point, in 1894, it seemed that girls were no longer printing or caning chairs like the boys but had reverted back to distinctly gendered duties: boys learned carpentry, cabinet-making, printing and chair-caning, while the girls learned dressmaking, cookery and other household duties.

While the curriculum was modified over time, there are also slight changes to the demographics of the school. By the end of 1899, there are 61 students enrolled, with nearly equal numbers of boys and girls in attendance.¹⁵⁸ However, the financial circumstances of the majority had generally not improved, many students coming from situations of poverty. In 1890 the Board of Managers noted that the new applications for admission continued to come from students who were unable to pay the tuition fees (now 200\$/year). Those students unable to pay the school fees were to "be made useful about the Institution out of school hours"¹⁵⁹ implying an expectation that they would repay the school for their tuition through their labour. While originally those who could not afford to pay for tuition would only have to take care of their clothing expenses, it is interesting to note that by 1890 students were being asked to bring with them "six table napkins, one

¹⁵⁷ "Twenty-Fourth Annual Report," 11.

¹⁵⁸ There were 32 boys and 29 girls enrolled in the 1888-89 school year. See: "Twenty-Ninth Annual Report," 28.

¹⁵⁹ "Fourteenth Annual Report," 206.

knife, fork and spoon, one pair blankets and one comforter”¹⁶⁰ in addition to their regular supply of outfits for the year. While it is true that the number of students attending the institution had increased over the years, this was also a time of greater financial security. The question remains to be answered as to why the material requirements for attendance had increased when the legacy of deceased friends had provided the school with a tidy endowment fund, and the government had increased their funding.¹⁶¹

Class for the Blind

It would be unthinkable to discuss the changes that took place at the Mackay Institution for Protestant Deaf Mutes and *the Blind* without mentioning the blind students themselves. Starting in the 1883-84 school year. That initial session welcomed only two boys: Albert and Alexander Stewart, to the class. Throughout the subsequent years, the number of students in that class would remain small, never reaching over half a dozen boys. The curriculum for blind students was rather rudimentary to begin with, starting with four basics: reading, spelling, history and arithmetic, but evolved as time wore on.¹⁶² Before long, the school had acquired a donation of materials to teach blind students (raised type and Braille),¹⁶³ with scripture, geography and music being added to their schedules. As of 1887, a group of young ladies from the neighbourhood would come to the institution for an hour every day after school hours and read aloud to the blind

¹⁶⁰ “Twentieth Annual Report,” 36.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., 5. In 1890 Premier Hon. Honore Mercier took an interest in the education of deaf-mutes and started contributing a \$3,000 grant to the school

¹⁶² “Fourteenth Annual Report,” 180.

¹⁶³ “Fifteenth Annual Report,” 218. These materials were donated by Dr. Anagnos, Superintendent of the Perkins Institution for the Blind in South Boston.

students. This continued, and by 1889 several young ladies from the Melville Presbyterian Church had volunteered to regularly teach these pupils.¹⁶⁴ The class for the blind operated parallel to that of the other students, and several trades were introduced particularly for them. Piano tuning, and chair caning were the trades of choice for this class of pupils, along with simple handicrafts such as knitting.¹⁶⁵ In the twenty-fourth annual report it is noted that, “the blind boys cane chairs during their recreation hours and the money thus earned is their own to be expended on clothing, etc”.¹⁶⁶ Evidently McGann’s concern for the recreation and leisure of her students did not extend to this class. The blind class also participated in the school’s annual examinations, their ability to read and musical talents capturing the public’s attention the most.¹⁶⁷

Students attending the Mackay Institution for Protestant Deaf-Mutes and the Blind could not always be distinctly categorized as either ‘deaf’ or ‘blind’. Charles Forrest, one of three blind pupils at the institution in 1892 had been training as a piano tuner for 2 years, but progressively lost his hearing. He was transferred to the Brantford, Ontario Institution for the Blind to be trained in basket and willow work, as the school in Montreal did not have the ability to continue his education in the trades as a deaf-blind student.¹⁶⁸ The presence of blind students at the institution continued for the remainder of the century, yet it is clear from the annual reports that the school continued to be primarily occupied with the education of the deaf.

¹⁶⁴ “Twentieth Annual Report,” 16.

¹⁶⁵ “Eighteenth Annual Report,” 58.

¹⁶⁶ “Twenty-Fourth Annual Report,” 11.

¹⁶⁷ “Twenty-Third Annual Report,” 13.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 9.

Rise of Oralism

As previously illustrated, Harriet McGann was explicitly favourable of the articulation before Widd's resignation, and this preference was made increasingly evident throughout her stewardship. Changes in the language of religious services, the disappearance of deaf teachers from the roster, and the early addition of an 'auricular class' were indicative of this shift. By the close of the nineteenth century, students would be segregated at the school, the 'oral' student kept separate from the "oral failures"¹⁶⁹.

When Thomas Widd was the principal of the Institution, he would conduct Sunday school and services in sign language.¹⁷⁰ After Thomas Widd's resignation in 1883, either a professor or students from the local theological colleges conducted Sunday services, with Mrs. McGann acting as an interpreter.¹⁷¹ This shift from religious instruction delivered in sign language to being delivered orally with the assistance of an interpreter is perhaps a subtler example of the rise of oralism in comparison with other changes at the school. Being deaf himself, Widd had been an early advocate for the use of sign language as a matter of social justice. He wrote, "The hearing children have everything prepared for them on leaving school—churches, lecture-halls, mechanic's institutes, colleges, and the effusions of the press. The deaf-mute cannot always enter these edifices with any advantage, unless the teachings are arranged for his benefit and

¹⁶⁹ Susan Burch, *Signs of Resistance: American Deaf Cultural History, 1900 to World War II* (NYU Press, 2004), 137. Burch explains that with the rise of oralism, the deaf who were unable to speak articulately were classified as "oralist 'failures'" and labelled as being mentally deficient.

¹⁷⁰ "Eleventh Annual Report," 20–21. Later it was noted that Widd would be accompanied by John Macnaughton and James McClelland.

¹⁷¹ "Fifteenth Annual Report," 226., and "Twenty-Third Annual Report," 10.

given in his particular language”.¹⁷² That being said, Thomas Widd was not opposed to the introduction of oral methods at the school. In 1880 he attended the Conference of Principals held at the Clarke Institution in Massachusetts, which in his own words, “cause[d] increased attention to instruction and training in articulation and lip-reading whenever practicable”.¹⁷³ What is notable here is Widd’s caveat “whenever practicable”, meaning that unlike McGann, he did not consider oral methods universally applicable.

Annual Reports published from 1884 to 1900 occasionally contradicted each other in reference to the school’s position on the oralism versus manualism debate. After having previously published, on numerous occasions, the school’s explicit mission to suppress sign language, establishing articulation as being of “paramount importance”,¹⁷⁵ McGann seemingly backtracks in 1890. There she began to promote the school’s use of the combined method, stating that “we use what is best of the sign, manual and oral methods to impart an education”, adding that using sign and oral methods together provides students with the best education¹⁷⁶. At this time, the majority of schools in the United States and Canada were using the combined method, yet by McGann’s own admission, “more prominence given by us to articulation”¹⁷⁷ in comparison. That same report contained a notice that at the Convention of Instructors of the Deaf and Dumb held

¹⁷² Widd, “The Deaf and Dumb of the Past, Present and Future (Continued).”

¹⁷³ “Tenth Annual Report,” 21. The Clarke Institution was the first oral school for the deaf in the United States, established in 1867. Deaf studies scholar Harlan Lane describes the beginnings and motivations behind the Clarke Institution in Harlan L. Lane, *When the Mind Hears: A History of the Deaf*, 1st ed.-- (New York: Random House, 1984), 281–336.

¹⁷⁵ “Fourteenth Annual Report,” 175.

¹⁷⁶ “Twentieth Annual Report,” 10.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 13.

in August 1890, McGann was one of the supporters of the establishment of “a society for the promotion of teaching speech and speech reading to the deaf”.¹⁷⁸ Years prior to this, McGann had stated that school’s energies were concentrated on trying to “suppress [signs] out of school and encourage oral conversation and conversation by means of the manual alphabet, thus our pupils acquire a greater command of language and use fewer muteisms”.¹⁷⁹ Despite these few inconsistencies, McGann was a clear supporter of articulation and oral methods.

By the 1891-92 school year a new class was added to the school. Named the ‘auricular’ class, this group was composed of “children whose deficient hearing or imperfect speech debar them from the advantages of a public school”.¹⁸⁰ This class took on a rehabilitative feel, as the goal was to “lessen their peculiarities” and “make them like people in possession of all their senses”¹⁸¹. This auricular class was not only composed of the hard of hearing who could speak, but also those students whose hearing was unaffected but they had difficulty with speaking, including “indistinctness, stammering, inability to articulate certain sounds, etc”.¹⁸² In these cases, rehabilitation was certainly the goal, ‘curing’ the students so they could attend public school. This new branch of education was a distinct product of oralism, putting deaf and hearing children in the same classroom so as to focus expressly on speech and lip-reading. McGann refers to one unnamed graduate as the “*summum bonum* of our ambition”, as he was born deaf and is

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., 14.

¹⁷⁹ “Fifteenth Annual Report,” 221.

¹⁸⁰ “Twenty-Third Annual Report,” 8.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² “Twenty-Fourth Annual Report,” 10.

now working a government job in Ottawa and “never resorts to pen, signs or finger language to make himself understood”.¹⁸³ The epitome of success was to effectively make the deaf student as ‘hearing’ as possible. A year after the beginning of the auricular class, the first evidence of segregation in the school during mealtimes and in the classrooms appears in the annual reports. Students were classified into two major categories: those who could speak, and those who signed. Sign language was still very much suppressed, but those ‘non-oral’ students were allowed to use the manual alphabet. McGann states that at the Institution “we use every means to *suppress the use of signs*”¹⁸⁴; one is left to their imagination as to what those ‘means’ were. Harriet McGann was not alone in her emphasis on the importance of oralism. The Board of Managers and the press continuously highlighted the accomplishments of the articulation class during their final examinations, with statements such as “the most important features in the proceedings was an exhibition of articulation by some of the pupils, which really astonished all present, so natural was their pronunciation of certain words and sentences”.¹⁸⁵

During Thomas Widd’s tenure as principal of the institution, several graduates began to work as teachers at the school. John Macnaughton, James McClelland, Jessie Macfarlane, Charles Meech and Eugene Libby were a few of the students who returned to teach after graduation. This hiring of deaf teachers gradually diminished until 1886 when

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ “Twenty-Third Annual Report,” 8.

¹⁸⁵ “Fourteenth Annual Report,” 183.

the staff was entirely made up of hearing and speaking instructors¹⁸⁶. The hiring of hearing and speaking staff allowed the school to expand their articulation classes, yet another evidence of the rise of oralism at the institution.

Comorbid with the rise of oralism is the emergence of the medical model, where an increasing number of specialists attended to the healthcare of students of the institution. Gone were the days of Dr. Scott, the one physician who attended the institution from its beginning in 1870 to his death in 1883.¹⁸⁷ By 1899, associated to the institution were a laryngologist, an oculist, an aurist, more than one general physician, a dermatologist and two dentists! The questions on the application form that originally consisted of 16 points had expanded to 30 by 1896. One of the questions introduced, perfectly illustrating the increasing medicalization of deafness was “have any attempts been made to remove the deafness or blindness, and if so, by whom and with what result?”¹⁸⁸ This search to ‘cure’ deafness at the close of the century stands in stark contrast to Widd’s critique of “quack and other remedies” searching to cure deafness published 20 years earlier.¹⁸⁹ While scientists and physicians had been attempting to resolve deafness for several decades, this quest for a cure became part of the educational institution itself by the end of the nineteenth century. The annual report published in 1894 even states that “those parents who have children of defective speech...[should] be

¹⁸⁶ The annual reports give few indications regarding the reason for this. Some students left to seek jobs elsewhere, but the question remains whether the school’s increasing emphasis on oral communication instead of sign contributed to their resignations.

¹⁸⁷ “Thirteenth Annual Report,” 116.

¹⁸⁸ “Twenty-Seventh Annual Report,” 20.

¹⁸⁹ Widd, *The Deaf and Dumb and Blind Deaf-Mutes*, 70.

induced by all means to send their children here for treatment”,¹⁹⁰ laying the groundwork for the school’s transformation into a rehabilitation centre in the twentieth century. The nineteenth century closes with no deaf staff, the suppression of sign language and the segregation of deaf students from their ‘oral’ peers.

A Reflection on the First Three Decades

While the Protestant Institution for Deaf Mutes was neither the largest nor the oldest institution for the deaf in Montreal during the nineteenth century, the story of its genesis and evolution can still make a valuable contribution to the field of Deaf/disability history. Important threads are woven together to create this story, each one of them offering an enormous potential for future projects. Mainly, I have followed the school’s transition to the twentieth century by tracing changes in educational philosophies and methods, bringing into the conversation discussions of labour, religion, and information about the students themselves.

As evidenced by the debates between Thomas Widd and the Catholic newspaper, religion played a huge role in the establishment of the Protestant Institution for Deaf Mutes, from its conception to its inauguration. Local Protestants were motivated via a moral understanding of disability and deafness – using their charitable donations to provide access to education—understanding it as their Christian duty to rescue the “poor deaf-mute”¹⁹¹. Thanks to the work of Thomas Widd and members of the local Protestant community, beginning in 1870 Protestant deaf-mute from the province of Quebec could

¹⁹⁰ “Twenty-Fourth Annual Report,” 14.

¹⁹¹ “Fourth Annual Report,” 14.

attend school. Many attending this institution would acquire the education necessary to participate in an economy that was going through major transformations during the industrial revolution. Training in the trades was an integral part of a deaf student's learning – opening up career possibilities in printing, carpentry and cabinet making, and more. While the school opened up the avenues to education for many who had been previously excluded on account of their deafness, the doors remained closed to many deaf-mutes labelled with a 'deficient intellect'. As the years wore on, the school, which had been an nucleus for the development of deaf identity, language and culture in Montreal, shifted to favouring oral methods.

While the Protestant Institution for Deaf-Mutes has morphed into a school/rehabilitation center known today as the MAB-Mackay Rehabilitation Centre, the influence of decisions made during the nineteenth century can still be felt. The institution remains the sole provider of services to Montreal's "Anglophone" d/Deaf community, and still occupies the site donated by Joseph Mackay over a century ago. My guiding statement for this research was coined by Geoffrey Reaume who envisioned a disability history where "disabled people lead lives that are as mundane and full of contradictions as that of most people who are not disabled".¹⁹² What I offer in this project is my own attempt to present a part of this institution's complicated history. Rather than be viewed as a definitive history of how the school started and changed over the first three years, I offer this as an interpretation. I hope that this research has posed more questions than it has answered: how did life at this Protestant institution compare to that at the two

¹⁹² Reaume, "Disability History In Canada," 39.

Catholic schools?¹⁹³ What happened to the students after they graduated? How does life at the institution change during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries? How do the histories of the deaf and the disabled in Montreal continue to intertwine and diverge over time? These are just a few of the questions that I have asked myself throughout this research. The answers to these questions will do much to address the gap in Quebec disability history, and perhaps fuel the present-day activism and fight for social justice for both d/Deaf and disabled in the province.

¹⁹³ For a book on the history of the Catholic institutions for the deaf, see the book: Stéphane-D. Perreault and Sylvie Pelletier, *Institut Raymond-Dewar et ses institutions d'origine* (Québec: Septentrion, 2010).

APPENDIX 1

Terms of Admission¹⁹⁴

The Mackay Institution for Protestant Deaf-mutes is a BOARDING SCHOOL for the education and moral and industrial training of Protestant deaf-mutes. It is not an asylum.

- I. Every child admitted shall be deaf and dumb: shall not be deficient in intellect; not subject to fits; not labouring under any infectious disorder; shall have been vaccinated, or have had the small-pox; and must be of good moral character.
- II. The sum required for each paying pupil shall be \$120 a year: or if two children of one family are in the Institution together, \$150 a year FOR BOTH. The payments to be made HALF-YEARLY IN ADVANCE. (The Board of Managers will, in certain deserving cases make a reduction in their terms for tuition and board, requiring only payment in part for the same.)
- III. Pupils will be admitted into the Institution from seven to twenty-five years of age. The usual term for the completion of education is seven years.
- IV. The duties of the School will commence on the First Wednesday in September annually
- V. The annual vacation will commence on the Third Wednesday in June, when all the pupils are expected to return home for the holidays
- VI. The following questions must be answered and attested by the Minister of the Church to which the child or its parents belong, and be a Medical Practitioner:--
 1. What is the name of the child?
 2. When and where was the child born?
 3. What are the names and occupation of its parents?
 4. Of what nationality are the latter?
 5. State the full address of the child's parents and nearest Post-office.
 6. Was the child born deaf? or at what age, and by what disease did it become deaf?
 7. Has the child ever been afflicted with fits, or any other nervous affection?
 8. Has the child had the small-pox or been vaccinated?
 9. Has it had the measles or Scarlet fever?
 10. Is the child generally healthy?
 11. Can the child dress and wait on itself, and are its personal habits cleanly?
 12. Does the child make intelligible signs and give proof of memory?
 13. How many brothers and sisters are there in the family?
 14. Are any other members of the family deaf and dumb?
 15. Were the parents of the children in any way related?

¹⁹⁴ "Tenth Annual Report," 45.

APPENDIX 2

Names of Students Retrieved from the 5th, 10th, 11th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 18th, 20th, 23rd, 24th, 27th, and 29th Annual Reports

Last name	First name
Aldrich	Rush
Aldrick or Aldrich	Rush
Alexander	Robert
Armstrong	Henry
Astle	Walter
Baker	Effie
Baldwin	Ora
Barley	Norman
Barry	John
Barry	Joseph
Bigrow	Charlotte
Boas	William
Boyd	Chester
Brethour	George
Brethour	Carrie
Brethour	Caroline
Brethour	John
Brethour	George
Brisbois	Henrique
Brisbois	Alice
Brown	Chester
Brownlee	Jessie
Burgland	Carl
Burns	Ida
Butt	William C
Caldwell	Hebert
Campbell	James
Carter	John
Chapman	Harold
Chapman	Hester F
Charters	Arthur

Last name	First name
Churton	Flora
Coffin	Percy
Cooke	William
Cushing	Ruby
Dansken	Winifred
Davis	Sadie
Denison	E. A.
Dubeau	Anne
Dutton	Lillian F
Elliott	William
Ellwood	Herbert
Etsy	Farrand C.
Ewing	Henry
Fenn	Henry
Forbes	Alex
Forrest	Charles
Forsythe	John
Foster	William
Franklyn	Elizabeth
Fraser	Jessie
Gale	Lavinia J
Gale	Genevra
Gamble	Charles
Garland	William H
Gear	Grace
Gillanders	Daniel
Gilpin	Albert
Goodfellow	James
Gorman	Archibald
Griffith	Ethel
Haldane	Harold
Hall	M
Hall	Harold

Last name	First name
Harris	Edward
Harvey	John
Harvey	Annie
Henderson	Effie
Hewetson	Adam
Hewetson	Adam
Hopkins	Charles
Hughes	John
Hurdman	Jessie
Illman	Alfred
Irwin	Wilson
Jamieson	Eva
Jones	Daniel P
Jones	Albert
Jones	Nellie E
Judah	Ernest Lionel
Ker	Bella
Kerr	J
Kerr	Mary A
Kimball	Edwin
Kimpton	William R
King	George Frederick
Knott	Adelaide
Laberge	Jean B
Latta	Grace
Lawrence	Alvin C
Laycock	George
Libby (Libbey)	Eugene C
Littlefield	Edith Bell
Lothian	Charles
Lunan	Robert

Last name	First name
Lusk	Owen
M.	C.
MacFarlane	Jessie S
Macnaughton	John
Madore	Ellen M
Maryshall	Lewis
McClelland	James
McDonald	John
McGuirk	Thomas
McInnis	Charles
McLeod	Christina
McMaster	Hugh A
McMillan	John
McPhee	Duncan
Meech	Charles G
Mitchell	J
Moore	John C
Moore	Orva
Moore	Mina
Morrison	Albert
Morrison	Anetta (Nettie)
Muir	Huntley
Munro	Ellen
Munro	Ellen
Nichol	Clarence
Nichol	Annie
Nichols	Anne
Nicholson	Francis Walter
O'Brien	Thomas
Outterson	James
Paterson	William
Paterson	Grantley
Patterson	William
Payne	George
Peardon	William J
Peardon	Beatrice

Last name	First name
Percy	Edith
Pringle	Margaret (Maggie)
Pringle	Margaret
Redmond	Gordon
Reeves	Harriet
Roman	William
Roman	Abraham (Abbie)
Rousseau	Pauline
Scagel	Gertrude
Shepard	Dwight
Shouldice	Thomas
Silverman	Rosie Eve
Skidmore	Francis
Smardon	Clifford
Smith	George
Spence	Agnes
Spiers	William A.
St. Just Taskey ¹⁹⁵	Catherine
Stacey	Laura
Staniforth	Charles
Stanley	Edith
Stewart	Alex B.
Stewart	Albert H
Sutherland	Lizzie
Thomas	William
Thorne	Mona
Tipping	Ruth
Travenor	Jessie
Tucker	Jessie
Upton	Henry
Valles	John B
Van Vliet	Emma R

Last name	First name
Walker	James
Walker	Arthur S
Walker	Annie
Waters	Alice
Watt	George J
Watts	George
Weir	Agnes
Wickens	Charles
Wiggett	Frank
Wiggett	Arthur E
Wiggett	William J.
Wiggett	Henrietta (Etta)
Wilkey	Esther
Williams	Fred L
Wilson	Norman McD
Young	James W
Zerovich	Harry

¹⁹⁵ Charles J. Howe, *The Deaf Mutes of Canada* (Toronto: C.J. Howe, 1888), 70.

APPENDIX 3
Table of Numbers¹⁹⁶

Year	No. of Pupils	Males	Females	Average Age	Free	Paying	Total Fees
1870-71	16	14	2	15	7	9	535.00
1871-72	21	17	4	14	14	8	540.00
1872-73	22	20	2	15	15	6	442.80
1873-74	20	17	3	14	12	8	709.00
1874-75	27	21	6	13	15	10	790.00
1875-76	22	18	4	15	10	12	831.00
1876-77	22	17	5	13	12	10	792.00
1877-78	33	25	9	12	19	14	1,030.50
1878-79	32	23	9	11	15	17	1,250.50
1879-80	34	24	10	10	14	20	1,435.10
1880-81	33	20	13	11	11	22	926.50
1881-82	35	21	14	12	11	24	1,635.00
1882-83	42	26	16	10	15	27	2,235.00

¹⁹⁶ “Thirteenth Annual Report,” 110.

APPENDIX 4

Rules and Regulations¹⁹⁷

I.

The male and female pupils while in the Institution are to be kept separate, and to remain in their respective departments, meeting together only in the school-room for instruction and worship, and in the dining-room for meals, and then they are to be in charge of a teacher, or of such other persons as the Managers may approve

II.

The girls, when out of school hours, to be charge of the Housekeeper or an assistant-teacher, and when out of doors to be in charge of some responsible person appointed by the Superintendent. Non paying pupils to be made useful about the Institution out of school hours.

III.

The boys out of school hours, and in the workshops, to be in chage of a teacher or the supervisor.

IV.

The boys and girls under 12 years of age, to retire at 8 p.m., punctually, and all the rest of the pupils at 9 p.m.

V.

The pupils are not to leave the Institution without the permission of the Superintendent

VI.

None of the pupils are to leave, or be kept from their regular studies, without the permission of their teachers. Hours for study are to be fixed by Managers. The pupils are to be present from 9 to 12 and 1.30 to 3 p.m.

VII.

No person, not connected with the Institution, is allowed to stay or take any meal, or sleep in it without the special permission of the Superintendent. Parents of pupils cannot be accommodated with a night's lodging.

VIII.

Sunday school to be held in the morning, and service in the afternoon at 3 p.m., at which deaf-mutes from the city may attend, but the non-pupils are not to be allowed to go through the building without the permission of the Superintendent.

IX.

The Caretaker is to see that the lights are extinguished at 10 p.m., and the premises properly secured. He is also forbidden to keep more than 20 (twenty) gallons of coal oil in the building, and he must use the greatest care with the lamps. He is also to take entire charge of the furnaces and to see that water tanks are kept well filled. The lighting of the range, removal of ashes, and the cleaning of the water closets, are to be the

¹⁹⁷ "Fifteenth Annual Report," 255–56.

Caretaker's duties. To see that two pails of water are kept standing in each bathroom for use in case of fire, and perform all other duties assigned him by the Superintendent.

X.

The pupils are not to have access to their bed-rooms from the morning until the time for retiring, unless with permission.

XI.

The children are to proceed to and from their meals in line

XII.

At the end of each table, nominated by the Superintendent, some one should be placed to superintend the pupils at their meals.

XIII.

The bed rooms of the girls are to be visited by the Superintendent, and those of the boys by the supervisor before 10 o'clock every night, to see that the lights are extinguished, and all things in order

XIV.

It is imperative for each pupil of suitable age to devote the allotted time to whichever of the three trades, taught in the Institution, he exhibits the most talent for.

XV.

Each parent or guardian should deposit with the Superintendent a sum of not less than five dollars, to defray incidental expenses, repairs of boots, etc., any part of which remaining unexpended at the close of the session will be returned.

APPENDIX 5

Institutions in Canada.

Tabular Statement of the Institutions of the World—Continued.
CANADA.—1881.

Name.	Location.	Date of opening.	Chief Executive Officer.	NO. OF PUPILS.				NO. OF INSTRUCTORS.†				Semi-mute.*	
				During the year.	Male.	Female.	Semi-mute.*	Present Dec. 31, 1881.	Whole No.	Male.	Female.		Deaf-mute.†
1 Catholic Inst'n (Male).....	Montreal, Can.	1848	Rev. Alf. Belanger, Pt. S. V., Director.....	150	150	None.	4	12	27	27	None.	4	None.
2 Catholic Inst'n (Female).....	Montreal, Can.	1851	Sister Philippe, Superior.....	215	None.	215	25	215	32	None.	32	4	None.
3 Halifax Institution.....	Halifax, N. S.	1857	J. Scott Hutton, M. A., Principal.....	81	44	37	3	50	4	3	1	1	None.
4 Ontario.....do.....	Belleville, Onta.	1870	R. Mathison, Superintendent.....	303	165	138	14	255	16	8	8	3	1
5 Mackay Institution.....	Montreal, Can.	1870	Thos. Widd, Principal.....	36	22	14	9	36	3	2	1	2	None.
6 New Brunswick Inst'n.....	Portland, N. B.	1873	A. H. Abell, Principal.....	18	16	2	1	18	2	1	1	None.	None.
7 Fredericton Inst'n.....	Fredericton, N. B.	1882	Albert F. Woodbridge, Principal.....	803	397	406	56	703	84	41	43	14	1
7 Institutions in Canada.....													

Name.	Method of instruction.	School hours.	Trades.‡	How supported.	Value of build'gs and grounds.	Expend'tre last fiscal year.		For build'gs and grounds.	No. volumes in library.	Total No. pupils have rec'd instr'n.
						For support.	For build'gs.			
1 Montreal Cath. Inst. (Male).....	Oral.....	8 to 11 and 1½ to 4.....	Bo. Cab., El., Pr., Sh. Ta., Wl.	Province, labor, and vol. contrib'ns....	50,000	32,143	12,000	600	442	
2 Montreal Cath. Inst. (Fem.).....	Combined.....	8½ to 12 and 1 to 3¼.....	Dr., Sc.	Maritime provinces and vol. contrib'ns	175,000	6,039	181	400	500	
3 Halifax Institution.....	do.....	9 to 12½ and 2 to 4.....	Car., Ga., Pr., Sh.	Province.....	20,000	39,928	3,500	1410	266	
4 Ontario.....do.....	do.....	9 to 12 and 1½ to 3.....	Car., Pr.	Province, pay pupils, and vol. contrib'ns	152,491	6,000	1,200	200	85	
5 Mackay.....do.....	do.....	9 to 3.....	None.....	None.....	50,000	1,800			18	
6 New Brunswick Institution.....	Manual.....	9 to 12 and 2 to 4.....	None.....	None.....	3,000				18	
7 Fredericton Institution.....	Combined.....	9 to 12 and 2 to 4.....	None.....	None.....					1099	

* † † See foot-notes on page 57. ‡ See foot-notes on page 59.—El. = Electrotyping.

198 Fay, "Tabular Statement of the Institutions of the World - Canada."

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