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Cleall, E.R. Jane Groom and the Deaf Colonists: Empire, Emigration and the Agency of Disabled People in the late Nineteenth-Century British Empire. History Workshop Journal, 81 (1). pp. 39-61. ISSN 1477-4569

https://doi.org/10.1093/hwj/dbv037

Jane Groom and the Deaf Colonists: empire, emigration and the agency of disabled people in the late nineteenth-century British Empire[1]

In 1884, an article appeared in the Canadian press reporting with some alarm that '[i]t appears that there is in England somewhere, a Miss Groom who thinks she is doing a good work by purchasing a quarter section of land (640 acres) in the North West and settling a colony of fifty deaf mutes upon it, to begin with'.[2] The colony of 'deaf mutes' to which the newspapers referred was an emigration scheme, devised by Jane Groom, a deaf woman, which envisaged a successful re-location of white working-class deaf people from England to the Ojibwe, Cree, Dene, Sioux, Mandan, and Assiniboine lands of Manitoba: a solution, as she saw it, to impoverished living conditions and discrimination against deaf workers back in Britain.[3] Such a scheme was considered by the newspaper to be ludicrous. The idea of deaf people organising in their own right does not seem to have been considered – it was claimed that they must simply have been 'dumped in the immigration sheds' by a metropolitan Government anxious to get rid of them, or organised by a misguided philanthropist they (mistakenly) assumed was hearing. The arrival of deaf people was at best undesirable and at worst frightening. Canada did not want a colony of the 'deaf and dumb', it was stated. Neither, a different newspaper ironically remarked, did it want a colony of 'one-armed or cross-eyed men'; each would be equally doomed to failure.[4]

If Jane Groom's immigration scheme was shocking in the 1880s, it is still surprising today. Disabled people have long been marginalised from historical research, and we know little of the vibrant deaf culture that motivated Groom or that would have made a self-organised deaf community either appealing or feasible. In the new, and too ghettoised, field of research on 'Disability History', the first wave of work has necessarily focused on the oppression of disabled people, particularly through institutionalisation, not resistance or transatlantic endeavour.[5] Recovering the life of Jane Groom, which is the primary aim of this article, enables us, first, to think about disabled activism and agency in a global arena: her actions were widely discussed both in the British Empire and in the US, and these were actions that she made as a disabled person because, not in spite, of her disability. Jane Groom's life is an example of advocacy and activism in a period when we have few details about disabled figures, female ones still less. It also reveals a thriving deaf community which merits attention as a distinct social group. Secondly, it allows us to think about the way in which disability connected with wider concerns: with, for example, the philanthropic milieu in late Victorian London, nineteenth-century anxieties about the body, and issues of emigration and settlement. Thirdly, it helps us to think about the relationships between different kinds of colonising practice within the British Empire.

Unlike race and gender, which are staples of postcolonial analysis, disability is not generally included in discussions of the British Empire. But disability studies theorists have argued powerfully that disabled people have been oppressed in a manner akin to other forms of colonisation. Harlan Lane, for example, has compared the position occupied by deaf people in western Europe and North America to that of Africans colonised by European powers, arguing that both suffer the 'physical subjugation of a disempowered people, the imposition of alien language and mores, and the regulation of education on behalf of the colonizer's goals'.[6] In a similar vein, Paddy Ladd has discussed four kinds of colonisation to which the deaf have been subjected: economic, welfare, linguistic and cultural.[7] Elsewhere, I too have argued that, although there were many important differences between the colonisation of 'racial others' overseas and of 'disabled others' at home, they were part and parcel of the same ableist process which othered all bodies that differed from the able-bodied, white, young male.[8] Part of the story I wish to tell about deafness here is about the

oppression of disabled people in Britain, which may well be considered colonial. But what is also interesting in the case of Jane Groom is the opportunity to approach these intersections from a different perspective. To think not just about how disabled people were oppressed by colonial endeavour, but also how they participated and benefited from the practice of Empire. Whilst this is an uncomfortable story, it is one that must also be told if the agency of disabled people during a period when Britain was at the heart of a global empire, is to be restored.

[Figure One: Jane Elizabeth Groom]

Jane Elizabeth Groom and the Deaf Community in C19 Britain

Jane Groom was born in 1839 near Loppington, Shropshire, of a middle-class but, in financial terms, relatively humble, family. Her father was a land surveyor and estate agent and her mother descended from a family of some local reputation.[9] Groom was deaf from birth and so were one of her sisters and a cousin.[10] A conscientious follower of the potent debate about first cousin marriage and a reader of late nineteenth-century thinking condemning 'consanguineous' marriage as a cause of impairment, she understood this high family incidence of deafness to be the result of the marriage between her great-grand parents who were first cousins. 'After most careful observation during many years into the causes of blindness and imbecility in some instances, or of deafness and dumbness in others', she wrote in 1884, 'I am of opinion that these marriages of first cousins are the primary causes of the afflictions; even marriages in the second generation are equally to be deprecated, and such marriages are great evils which should be avoided.'[11]

Whilst reading uncomfortably for contemporary Deaf activists, who argue that the difference of deafness is something to be celebrated rather than avoided, it was hardly surprising that Groom saw consanguineous marriages and, by implication, the impairments they were believed to cause, as 'evils' to be prevented. Deafness, in nineteenth-century Britain, had become a highly stigmatised position.[12] Biblical teachings set a precedent for considering disability a deviant if somewhat ambivalent condition. Leviticus linked disability with impurity, whilst the Gospels presented the deaf (like the blind and the leprosy sufferer) as pitiable yet spiritually salvageable if the physical impairment could be removed.[13] Following the Reformation's emphasis on hearing and reading 'the Word', the religious difference posed by the deaf was marked more strongly.[14] The deaf child is 'thrown at once to an almost immeasurable distance from all other men', wrote Charles Orpen, the Secretary to the Deaf and Dumb Institution at Claremont in Dublin, 'inferior immensely to those who should be his equals, dependent entirely upon those about him', 'wholly ignorant of HIM' and living 'without the hopes and prospects and consolation of religion'.[15] During the Enlightenment, the increasing assumption that deafness was a problem that could and should be 'cured' led to its equation with medical and physical otherness.[16] In the nineteenth century, comparisons with the 'others' of Empire underlined the difference of deafness, with deaf people labelled 'heathen' and, in the context of Darwinian debates about evolution, sign language users suggested to form a 'missing link' between humans and animals.[17]

Concerns about the deaf intersected with other issues. Disability has a complicated relationship with gender affecting as it does constructions of beauty, sexuality and reproduction. Deaf, people, like other disabled people were most readily accepted into Victorian discourse as asexual, childlike figures. But this was interwoven with a concern that deaf people were, in fact, sexually active. Deaf women, in particular, were linked with elicit sexuality (explained, in a paternalistic discourse through their apparent incomprehension of Christian teachings) and there were numerous representations of deaf women as the mothers of illegitimate children. Their failure to comply with 'proper' gender roles was extended into a critique of their capacity to mother their children sufficiently and such women were frequently depicted as lacking, maternally.[18] Class, as well as gender effected these constructions. Disabled women such as Harriet Martineau and to some extent less privileged but nonetheless middle-class women such as Jane Groom were able to circumnavigate these constructions through their social status. Disability was overwhelmingly linked with poverty both materially and conceptually. Poor disabled people were of great social concern economically, socially and morally. For example, working-class disabled men were considered unable to provide for their families and were thus deemed 'unmanly'.

One of the consequences of these attitudes was that deaf people were increasingly subject to charitable concern.[19] Following the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act, deaf people increasingly became categorised as members of the 'deserving poor', expected to live as dependents rather than be self-supporting.[20] Pedagogically, the fear that deaf people could not know the 'truths of religion' had motivated the Abbé l'Epée in the late eighteenth century to develop in France what is widely considered the foundations of deaf education in Western Europe.[21] This led to an explosion of deaf education across Western Europe, using both the signed techniques of l'Epée, and oralist techniques where deaf children were encouraged, sometimes forced, to speak the vernacular. By the second half of the nineteenth century, such measures had been seized upon by philanthropists and missionaries, who argued that the deaf were literally prevented from hearing the Word of God, and identified the 'Deaf, Who on That Account do not Attend Church' as a problematic social group, setting up deaf churches, missions and prayer groups to 'save' them.[22]

Jane Groom's life was entangled in these developments. From about the age of twelve, she studied at the Deaf and Dumb School at Old Trafford. The school had been founded in 1823 to teach deaf children from the age of eight to sixteen.[23] Deaf children often found meeting other deaf children at school a formative experience, and it is likely that her time at the Deaf and Dumb School at would have increased Groom's affiliation with the deaf community. Groom was a successful pupil and in due course was appointed an assistant teacher and nurse.[24]

In 1870, Groom moved to London where she was appointed as an assistant teacher at the British Asylum for Deaf and Dumb Females in Hackney. Gender and disability informed the hierarchies of the institution. The Ladies Committee, who appointed female assistants, had not initially supported her application. 'The Ladies do not consider that J. E. Groom, the candidate that has applied for the situation as assistant teacher, would be at all desirable', it was recorded; 'her being so nearly deaf and dumb herself would be a great disadvantage'.[25] This opinion did not prevail, however, probably because there was a staffing problem resulting from the challenging and violent situations faced by staff in relation to the deaf (and sometimes deaf blind) women. But, despite her appointment, her presumed inadequacy was marked as, throughout her (almost) four years at the Asylum, she was always paid less than the other teachers.

Groom might be identified with what Ladd discusses as a deaf 'compatrador': one of a 'small group of Deaf people, mostly of middle-class parentage' who allowed benevolently-minded yet essentially disempowering hearing philanthropists to access the deaf, in order to engage with a form of 'missionary colonialism'.[26] Such an argument has echoes in the fact that some institutions for the deaf, the intellectually impaired and those considered 'insane' were actually called 'colonies'. The construct of the deaf compatrador is perhaps oversimplistic, not least because of the complex relationship between missionaries and colonialism, but the argument that deaf middle-class people were complicit in empowering hearing philanthropists access to the deaf is a powerful one, and one supported by this example. Groom certainly became tightly networked with a small group of hearing philanthropists and teachers concerned with deaf education. One such person was William Stainer, whom Groom would first have met in Manchester. Since then, he had been appointed assistant chaplain to the Reverend Samuel Smith at the Association to Aid the Deaf and Dumb (AADD). Smith was himself a notable figure, and he and Stainer were both involved in fundraising for the first Church for the deaf which opened as St Saviour's, on Oxford Street, in 1874. Both men also attended the Annual General Meeting of the British Asylum for Deaf and Dumb Females at Hackney in 1870, and it is likely that Stainer notified Jane Groom of the vacancy at the Hackney Asylum and supported her application. Following the Elementary Education Act of 1870 and the building of new schools, the chair of the London School Board, appointed Stainer 'Superintendent of Deaf Mute

Instruction'. In 1874, Jane Groom left her job at the London Asylum for Deaf and Dumb Females to become a 'teacher of deaf and dumb children' under the London School Board at the school in Wilmot Street.[27]

The Wilmot Street School was a large school which taught about 1,500 children. Jane Groom's role was that of a 'female assistant'. Deaf education, like primary education that was developing more generally in the period, was heavily reliant on female assistants to support the male leadership. The school was regarded highly. In 1877, Princess Louise, the Viceregal Consort of Canada, John Bright MP and Lord Laurence, formerly Viceroy of India, all visited the Wilmot Street School and commented favourably on the provision: 'Her Royal Highness was particularly pleased with the arrangements for teaching deaf and dumb children', and the children's drill 'excited marked commendation'.[28]

Groom was also involved in supporting the deaf in other ways. Despite her bad experience with the Ladies Committee in Hackney, Groom advocated for more Ladies Committees to be established more generally in the East End, as she worried about the vulnerability of deaf young women. Drawing on the view prevalent at the time that deaf women were more prone to illicit sexuality than hearing women,[29] she argued that a Ladies Committee was 'much needed for deaf and dumb working women and young girls' as it 'might be the means of saving them from the very great temptations and evils which their unfortunate afflictions render them powerless to fight against.'[30] Groom also proposed the establishment of a branch of the Royal Association in aid of the Deaf and Dumb, situated around St Saviour's Church, in the East End. She became one of the corresponding secretaries for William Stainer's Christian Homes for Deaf and Dumb Children, boarding houses built so that children could attend specialised deaf schools even if their parents lived at some distance from them. She also took up a job teaching Bible Classes to the Deaf at St Matthew's Church in Bethnal Green. Her classes were well attended. On Sundays she delivered classes twice a day to a full room with 'as many as 100 or more being oftentimes assembled at one time'.[31] She used sign language to communicate to this mass of people.

As well as being sites of collaboration and colonisation, these schools and missions were forums around which deaf identities emerged and deaf people could organise collectively. In the mid nineteenth century, London was an area of burgeoning deaf culture.[32] Within the newly founded schools, churches, and institutions, deaf people, able to come together within organised structures, developed distinctive social identities themselves. The use of manual sign languages spread rapidly. Strong bonds of connection were forged by their common experience of deafness. Sign language was a cornerstone of deaf identity and spread rapidly in deaf institutions and missions, as children from deaf families shared their languages with those from hearing families, and improvised their own.

One way of understanding the missions and schools as centres for deaf cultures in this period is through the concept of deaf space, formulated by the geographer of deafness Mike Gulliver, to refer to areas demarcated from the hearing world and filled with visual voices.[33] The idea of deaf space speaks both to the ideas about deaf community and to the distinctiveness of deaf culture. Gulliver's concept was formulated through his work on early French deaf institutions, but deaf churches in Britain can be seen as another site of deaf space. As Neil Pemberton has argued, 'The role of missions is grossly overlooked in the literature... Those who do mention missions tend to dismiss them as a means by which the deaf were further oppressed by the hearing.' But deaf missions also provided a huge network of deaf people, a social space and a space of deaf resistance. Pemberton argues that, within the missions, 'deaf people remade religious discourses to empower deaf people and create independent constructions of deafness'. For example, the deaf argued that they had a

special relationship with God because, unlike speech, sign language was a 'natural language' through which they could avoid the 'sins' of speech.[34]

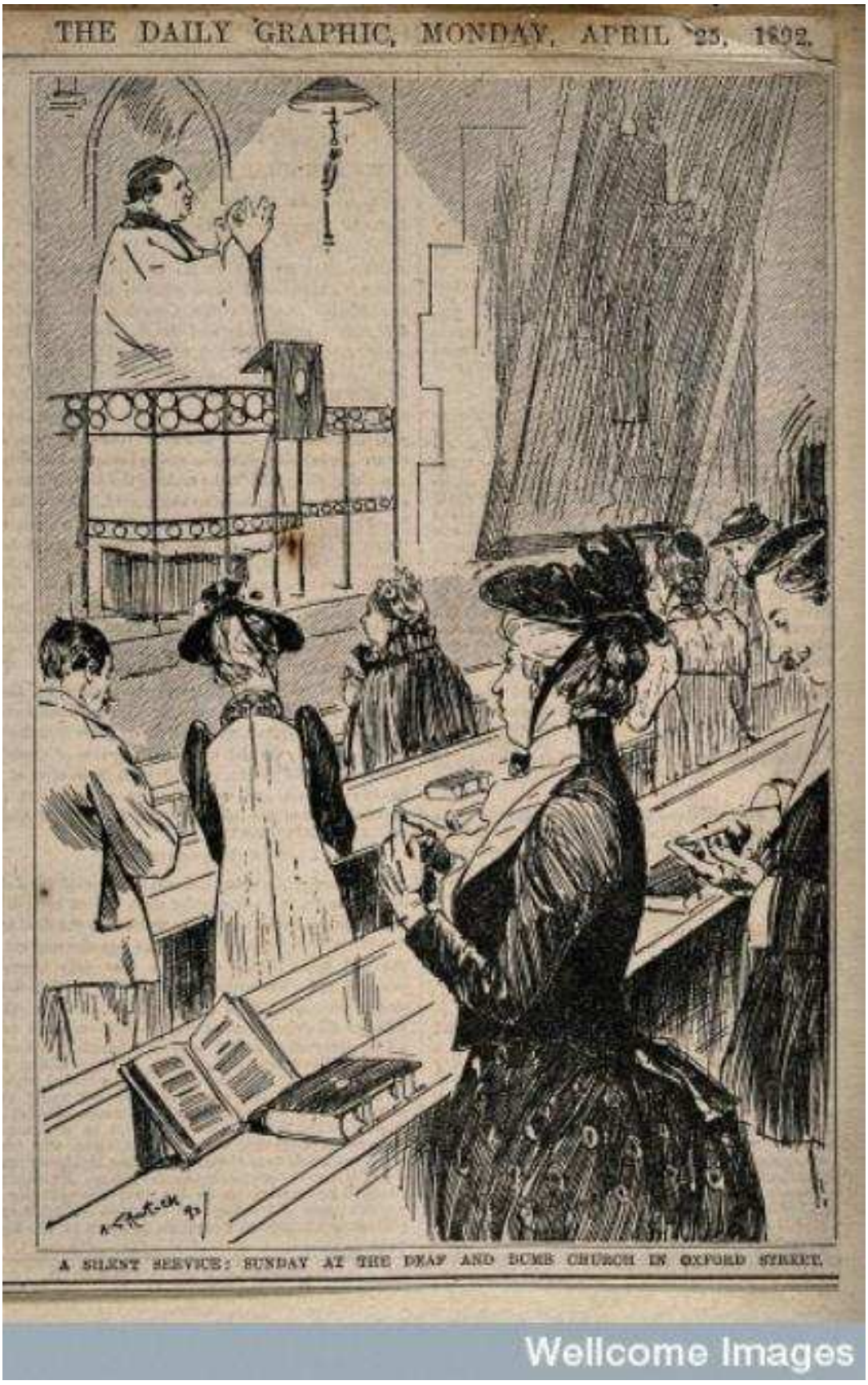

Figure Two: Reverend William Stainer preaching at St Saviour's deaf church

Groom actively participated in these developments and contributed to the emergent deaf community. She was also well-integrated into philanthropic movements to 'help' deaf people, conversing with, among others, Henry Fawcett, the MP and radical, who was himself disabled (he was blind).[35] Many of these philanthropists were of a considerably more privileged background than Groom herself and she was able to use their privilege to her benefit.

1880 marked a major change for deaf education. From the late eighteenth century, deaf educationalists had varied markedly in the form of instruction they thought best suited to educating the deaf. Those advocating 'manualism' (sign language) were dominant in France and the US, whilst 'oralists' (who focused on articulation and speech-reading in the vernacular) were dominant in Germany and Italy.[36] In Britain, different schools used different methods, whilst some used the 'combined method' in which both systems were deployed. By the mid-nineteenth century, however, it was felt that these methods could no longer coexist, and internal factions and arguments developed between schools, within countries and internationally about which system was superior. In an imperial context, at a time when the English language was preferred as a means of assimilating indigenous Australians, and Gaelic was being suppressed within the British Isles, the tide started to turn against manualism. Two international conventions were convened, in 1878 and 1880, to establish once and for all which system was to be considered preferable. The second of these, the Congress of Milan, is the most infamous event in deaf history, associated with the deliberate suppression of sign language.[37] The conference was biased from the outset. There were almost no deaf people present. Out of the twelve speakers, nine spoke in favour of oralism and just three in favour of manualism. The conference was chaired by the Italian Abbé Guilio Tarra who was a strong advocate of oralism. UK delegates included William Stainer, who, despite having previously been a manualist, was a recent convert to oralism.[38] Again and again it was argued that only oralism would properly equip deaf people for participation in hearing society. For Jane Groom, a sign language user, the effects of the conference were immediate. Unable to teach using the oral method herself, she was deemed unfit to be employed as a teacher of the deaf, despite having more than 30 years' experience, and lost her job.[39]

A Future for the Deaf and Dumb in the Canadian North West

In 1881, Jane Groom travelled to Canada, arriving in Quebec in August and then travelling west to the prairies.[40] In Manitoba, she met two men whom she had 'sent' to Canada from the workhouse eighteen months previously. Both men appeared to be doing 'exceedingly well'.[41] They both had deaf connections; one, a builder, was married to a deaf dressmaker, whilst the other, who was working on a farm, asked Groom to bring out his brother who was also 'deaf and dumb', and to whom he was 'much attached'.[42] The cases of the two men struck her as remarkably different from the poverty she had witnessed amongst deaf people in 1870s London, where unemployment was high and poverty rife. 'I have noticed so much distress among the deaf and dumb', she wrote, 'that I feel perfectly sad at witnessing it, and I am sure that nothing can be done for them here [in London] to establish them satisfactorily. My opinion on this subject is that the only scheme to accomplish their ultimate well-being is to carry out my scheme of emigration to Canada.'[43] What had started as the ad-hoc relocation of a couple of deaf men and their families, thus became something larger: as Groom herself put it, 'An Emigration Scheme for the Deaf and Dumb'. She founded a Deaf and Dumb Emigration Society, asking for contributions to be passed onto Richenda Fry, a granddaughter of the Quaker philanthropist Elizabeth Fry and herself a deaf woman.

This was a moment when there was a huge drive for migrants to Canada. Propaganda suggested that Canada had an abundance of resources and space, systematically ignoring the indigenous people who owned and lived on the land. Competition with the US over the land led to the 1872 Dominion Lands Act or 'Home Steaders Act', which stipulated that individual settlers might be given 164 hectares of indigenous land in what became Manitoba and the North-West Territories. Under the terms of the Act, Jane Groom proposed that 'each deaf and dumb person with family shall receive from fifty to one hundred and sixty acres for cultivation and, if deserving, one hundred and sixty more, as provided in the offer to immigrants by the Canadian Government.'[44]

From a metropolitan perspective, emigration also provided a potential outlet for getting rid of those deemed socially undesirable (namely, the poor, the disabled and political radicals); the claim that Britain was using immigration to 'shovel out paupers' recurred throughout the century. There is some evidence to support this. As Angela McCarthy has recently shown, in the case of 'insane' persons immigrating to New Zealand, family members, asylums, poor law institutions and the police colluded in concealing evidence of insanity which may have prevented an immigrant being accepted.[45] The period also saw the rise of schemes assisting the migration of 'pauper children' (with whom disabled people were often classed) as forms of philanthropy.[46] This was certainly one of the contexts in which the deaf colonisation scheme was perceived from the Canadian perspective (as I shall explore below). It was also how the scheme was advertised to potential supporters: with the deaf community in London presented as wholly dependent on hearing benefactors, it was said that the scheme would 'greatly tend to lessen the burdens at present pressing so heavily upon the ratepayers of the parishes of London'.[47] But what was happening in the case of Jane Groom's emigration scheme was far less passive than any of these images suggests; the deaf settlers were not simply shovelled out, but carefully organised within the deaf community.

Whilst the kinds of settlers that Canada wanted were essentially those who were white, able-bodied and British, various groups were able to use the Homesteaders legislation to their own ends, and this period saw the settlement of Mennonite and Jewish communities in Manitoba, as well as schemes for utopias such as that envisaged by the Church Colonisation Society, which had been a direct influence on Groom. Sir Charles Tupper (who would later become Canada's shortest serving Prime Minister) was High Commissioner of Canada in London in this period, where he concentrated on encouraging emigration to Canada and wading through the many emigration proposals.[48] Amongst other things, he engaged in considerable correspondence with various immigration officials about Jane Groom forwarding a copy of a pamphlet about the scheme, *A Future for the Deaf and Dumb in the Canadian North West,* to the Department of Agriculture in Canada.[49]

The author of the pamphlet written on Groom's behalf was identified only by the initials 'H.H.' but was, I suspect, the Reverend Septimus Cox *H*olmes *H*ansard, a Christian Socialist and Rector of St Mathew's Church, where Groom was holding her Bible classes at the time.[50] The pamphlet put forward the argument that, as many deaf people in East London 'are now and have been for a long time out of work', the only hope for them was to emigrate. It was stated that that 'These men and women *are* willing to work, given that they are not molested' and that 'the competition which weighs so heavily upon them while they are at home' would be 'relaxed' under the 'more comfortable conditions of life in the colonies'. Comparisons were made with able bodied people, and readers were assured that 'these men and women will become as good at stock-raising, grain culture… as the best of the speaking and hearing producers… [and] the women will make just as good assistants at all dairy, laundry, and domestic work.'[51]

After her experimental test cases, Groom's first attempt to settle deaf people in Canada took place in the early 1880s, when she took ten deaf men from the East End and two deaf boys from the

Jewish School for the Deaf and Dumb up to Liverpool to start their journey. In Liverpool they were met by Mr Moreton, principal of the Leeds Deaf and Dumb School, who brought with him another deaf youth to join the group. The party sailed on the S.S. Sardinian, where Groom received kind treatment and the officers and crew 'took a lively interest in our silent communications.'[52] Sign language clearly provided something of a spectacle.

The group acquired land and settled at Wolseley, about 300 miles from Winnipeg. On arrival, Groom seems to have benefited from connections in Canada, including Hon. J. McTavish, Land Commissioner to the Canadian Pacific Railway, who promised to help her and to 'look after the new deaf and dumb settlers.'[53] He also promised to write to Groom while she was in London giving reports on the individual progress of the settlers. Groom placed five of her party with Major Robert Bell who operated a huge farm of about 50,000 acres near Indian Head in Manitoba.[54] She situated another man, a deaf shoemaker, with a Mr Parker who was also deaf. Other members of the party were settled nearby on existing farms until they were able to save enough money to start their own businesses.

The first few deaf settlers seemed to do very well. Mr. Francis G. Jefferson wrote to the *Manchester Courier* describing the success of some of the migrants in having 'found good places and done well'.[55] When Jane Groom visited the settlers in 1892, she was able to report that the deaf settlers in the North West were doing a range of work including 'tailoring, wood-engraving, wood-turning, saddling and harness-making, shoemaking, carpentry, laundry work, also as farm labourers', and that some of them had taken homesteads where they were 'doing well and [able] to make <u>good money</u> and that I believe they are <u>happy and contented</u>, being <u>better off</u> than living in England'.[56] (emphasis original).Raising money for the scheme was a constant challenge. One of the ways in which Groom did so, was through performances which were able to mobilise the popular interest in deaf people as objects of curiosity. There was 'A Performance by Deaf Mutes' at Jane Groom's Hackney Mission in 1884 which was probably for this purpose.[57] She also encouraged people to invest in the project. The Reverend F.W.G. Gilby, another hearing philanthropist much concerned with deaf education, later claimed that many lost their loaned money through what he dismissively called her 'mad schemes'.[58] Again we can see how well networked Groom was with hearing middle-class philanthropists and politicians from the considerable support she was able to garner. She received one hundred pounds towards the scheme from W. E. Gladstone out of the Royal Bounty Fund.[59] One supporter, W. J. Cronshey, who heard her lecture on the subject at Morley Hall in Hackney, described the 'good cause' proposed by 'Miss Groom' stating he would 'confidently recommend' the scheme to 'several friends'. 'I am truly amazed at her,' he wrote, 'seeing she is the only lady doing good among the deaf and dumb in London'.[60]

Unwelcome colonisers and the 'right class' of emigrations: responses to the scheme and debates about the relative worth of deaf settlers

Although this period saw considerable efforts actively to recruit emigrants to meet labour shortages and to shore-up the white presence in territories where indigenous peoples were being displaced, this did not mean that all migrants were welcome in these 'new' territories.[61] Even whilst emigration was being actively promoted, a strong counter-discourse identified those regarded as 'unfit' to migrate, including the 'foreign' (often Jewish), disabled, elderly, criminal, feckless, idle and those unaccustomed to 'hard work'.[62]

Incentives to attract migrants, such as assisted passages, were offered only to those who were of desirable age, gender, ability, fitness and occupation. In the mass of guides and handbooks produced for prospective emigrants, the need for a strong, able body was repeated time and time again. In his *Emigrant's Pocket Companion* of 1832, Robert Mudie emphasised that '[t]he proper emigrants are those able-bodied and steady persons who cannot find work at home'. 'No man is fit for being an independent immigrant, *or even existing at all in a new country*, who is not both able and willing to work', he wrote; 'He must have health, he must have strength, he must have perseverance' (my italics). Driving the point home still further, he emphasised that '[t]he maimed, mutilated or silly ought not go there' as, without the charity upon which he assumed they were reliant, their 'only fate would be starvation'.[63] It was the body of the working labouring man that was repeatedly put forward by government agencies, shipping companies and systematic colonisation advocates as valuable.[64] There was no need for clerks and other white collar workers. Male labourers were particularly desired, but strong women were also wanted as domestic servants and as the potential mothers who would help populate and 'civilise' these new territories.[65]

As migration increased during the nineteenth century, involving growing numbers of migrants from beyond the British Isles, so too did this differential valuation of migrants' bodies. With the continued desire in much of the New World for immigrants of the 'right sort', the regulation of emigration was about keeping certain kinds of people out rather than limiting overall numbers. In the last ten years, scholars of disability have explored the way in which immigration legislation excluded people with disabilities. Roy Hanes has argued that the Canadian authorities took an approach towards disabled immigrants defined by the idea that 'none is still too many'.[66] Ena Chadha has argued that 'mental defectives' were particularly unwelcome in post-Confederation Canada, whilst Barbara Roberts and Robert Menzies explored psychiatric deportations from Canada in the early twentieth century.[67] Douglas Baynton has explored similar patterns in the US, particularly exploring the exclusion of 'deaf mutes' by US immigration officials on Ellis Island.[68] In this context, it is unsurprising that the arrival of Jane Groom and her associates precipitated a debate about the relative worth of deaf settlers in Manitoba in several different social and political spheres.

There was a good deal of negative publicity around Jane Groom's deaf settlers. In the local press, deaf people were depicted as utterly undesirable and as passive beings without agency. Some publications carried the accusation that 'Her Majesty's government had sent the deaf and dumb out to Manitoba to be a burden to the community there.'[69] The *Quebec Chronicle*, drawing on the *Winnipeg Free Press*, for example, reported that

> 'a consignment of deaf mutes has been brought to that city [Winnipeg] from England, and dumped into the Immigrant Sheds. Our correspondent says further that more of the same sort are to follow... Canada wants all the able-bodied settlers she can get, men and women willing to work and help to make the country of their adoption prosperous and strong, but she does not want paupers and mutes.' [70]

Class and disability clearly came together here. Deaf people were seen as undesirable, as incapable of migration under their own steam, and as the antithesis to 'able-bodied settlers'.

In order to combat fears of deaf settlers as useless and undesirable people, Groom made an argument in her pamphlet for a particular representation of deafness. Unsurprisingly, given her background of school teaching and missionary work, Groom presented education as key to the redemption of the deaf. H.H. claimed that '[t]he deaf mute, thanks to the progress of the science of teaching him to overcome the defects of nature, which has been marvellously successful – is as

capable in his way as any other man, to enter into the business of life and to strive, and to work for himself and his family'.[71] H.H. also used the image of the 'educated deaf mute' as a model of good masculine citizenship, able to work hard to support both himself and his family. The scheme would allow this ideal to flourish and for the deaf person to be given 'the means of holding up his head as a worker on equal terms with the rest of humanity.'[72] The kind of deaf settler Groom described was thus the 'right kind' of settler, hard-working, honest and as capable as his hearing peers of work and settlement.

Perhaps surprisingly, this representation of deafness also found some sympathy in the press. The *Winnipeg Free Press*, for example, defended the settlers arguing that, although deaf, these people still had 'mental facilities' and 'physical powers'.[73] As a deaf woman, Miss Groom herself could be used as an embodiment of either the rights or the wrongs of the scheme. *The Winnipeg Free Press* described Groom as 'a woman of such evident Christian Benevolence', and pointed out that it should be 'remembered that Miss Groom herself is one of the afflicted, but she has managed so far to overcome the loss of speech and hearing that she has been enabled to give the writer of these pages who does not understand the sign language, all the information necessary for his purpose.'[74] The paper undertook interviews with some of the successful settlers, and concluded that they were in with a fair chance of succeeding in the rapidly growing colony. In contrast, the *Winnipeg Daily Times* discredited the idea, suggesting in rival papers that Manitoba was being turned into a 'dumping ground for the helpless and imbecile of the old country'. Rather tongue in cheek, the *Winnipeg Daily Times* continued, 'Colonies of deaf mutes are, perhaps, not more desirable than colonies of one-armed or cross-eyed men, or a colony of newspaper editors… there is nothing however in a deaf mute, as such, which will prevent him from becoming a useful and prosperous citizen'... 'Many who saw Miss Broom's [sic] friends during their short stay in Winnipeg were struck with their intelligence and splendid physique. There is no reason why they should not succeed in the North West.'[75] The deaf press in both the US and the UK also commented on the negative press coverage. The deaf press in this period was a rapidly burgeoning series of small-issue papers many of which were read transnationally particularly between Britain and America. In them issues of conern to the deaf, including immigration policy, were rigorously debated. To some extent they can be seen to have created a virtual deaf space through which the deaf community consolidated.[76] The most prominent of these papers, *The American Annals of the Deaf and Dumb* commented on the accusation that the deaf 'had been sent from England by the Government to be a burden on the colony rather than to the parent country', and countered these claims with reports on the success of some of the settlers instead.[77]

The Canadian government maintained an ambivalent position in relation to the settlers. Groom had been very keen for the government to support her scheme, not least for financial reasons, but her requests for help were repeatedly declined.[78] This was unsurprising, given the widespread exclusion of disabled people from the settler colonies on the grounds that they would become a 'public charge' on 'new populations' unable to support them. With the naturalisation of the understanding that disabled people could be positioned only as dependents, disabled migrants were situated alongside orphans and single women in representing both an economic liability and a threat to social order. As aforementioned, the anxiety that Britain was 'dumping' its unwanted population on the colonies was a recurrent concern in Canada and Australia as well as an issue to debate back in Britain.[79] But, whilst financial assistance was refused, Groom was also told that no objections would be made 'to the admission of such persons into the country if they were protected by her'.[80] Further to allowing these particular migrants to circumnavigate Canadian immigration restrictions, some government officials actually wrote positively about the settlers. For example, John Smith, an immigration agent, wrote in defence of the scheme. He had given the issue of the 'deaf mute'

settlers 'considerable attention' when he had visited Manitoba, he wrote, and concluded that that this was a 'class' of 'unfortunate yet industrious and intelligent people' of which there were 'no more honest, safer, hard working immigrants come out to this country'.[81]

Yet the Canadian government was also wary of getting tarnished by the negative publicity that surrounded the settlers. In considering a request by Jane Groom for government support, the Department of Agriculture acknowledged the 'successful exertions made by the deaf and dumb persons brought out by her to earn their own living in this country', but felt the government could not support the scheme due to 'a public prejudice against the immigration of persons of this class, and this would become especially strong against the systematized immigration of such persons in large numbers'. The official thus concluded that 'while he will not interpose any objection to the immigration of persons of the class referred to, if properly protected when they are brought into the country, yet, he cannot authorize in any manner the affording of Government Assistance to promote such immigration.'[82]

A deaf colony? Deaf space on an imperial scale

One of the arguments that kept recurring in the discussions of Jane Groom's scheme was whether it would result in a 'deaf colony', or whether the deaf settlers would be integrated with hearing ones. A 'deaf colony' might mean several things in this context from a self-sustaining settlement of deaf people, to an agricultural colony along the lines that social reformers back in Europe were proposing for the intellectually disabled, paupers, juvenile delinquents and other groups deemed in need of social reform. Jane Groom envisaged it as an emigration scheme where new deaf arrivals would be placed under the supervision of more established settlers, and in fact she denied that she wanted to create 'a deaf colony' at all. Yet, despite her protests the idea of a self-sustaining 'deaf colony' captured the public imagination and became the focus of much of the discussion about her plans. Using Mike Gulliver's idea about deaf space, we might think about a deaf colony as a deaf space created through the practices and imaginary of empire. The strength of the reaction to that spectre tells us how subversive the notion of a deaf space was, and allows us to think about other cries for deaf spaces during the nineteenth century.

This was not the first time that a deaf colony had been conceived. Ideas about a community of deaf people living together in the west were developed by American deaf people from early in the nineteenth century, and there were also deaf separatist movements in Britain and in France.[83] The most famous of these schemes was put forward in the 1850s by John Jacobus Flournoy, the deaf son of a wealthy Georgian slave-owner. Flournoy, outraged at the discrimination that he faced as a deaf man, and particularly incensed by a law passed in Georgia reducing the status of deaf people to that of those with intellectual disabilities, wanted 'to secure the government and offices of a small territory or State, to the mute community'.[84] The scheme attracted much attention in the deaf community and was extensively debated in the deaf press for the rest of the century. Some deaf people wrote in support and others in criticism of the deaf state, which some suggested might be called Deaf-Mutia or Gesturia.[85] Whilst organised around disability rather than religion or ethnicity these schemes can be conceptualised alongside the plans of the Amish or the Mormons, for example, to use the opportunities of colonial expansion to construct a separate society for themselves.

One of the reasons that Flournoy's scheme failed is that the issue of the hearing children of deaf parents became a major sticking point in the debate. Many argued that the state would be unable to

maintain itself as a deaf space, given that the vast majority of deaf people have hearing children. Flournoy's stance, that hearing children should simply be expelled from the state, was felt by many to be cold-hearted and unsatisfactory. Children also constituted a major discussion point in debating the potential of Jane Groom's scheme. The argument that the deaf settlement would not become a 'deaf colony' because so many of the deaf adults would have hearing children was met with much relief. John Smith (the Canadian immigration agent) reassured his counterpart in England that 'there can be no colony of deaf mutes as their children in Manitoba are endowed with the power of speech and hearing and the child of the family at present staying here can hear quite well'.[86] The Canadian emigration agents also reported that 'Mr Edison, the inventor of electricity', who had written to the Department of Agriculture some years previously 'in favour of such colonisation and to obtain particulars of it', had stated (from his experience as a hearing man married to a deaf mute woman) that 'it might be counted the children of such parents would not be afflicted with the heredity of deafness and dumbness. They are useful in many productive avocations and get their own living.'[87]

These assertions of the capability, intelligence and utility of the children of deaf adults (if, that is, they were hearing), were countered by the visions of eugenicist critics such as Alexander Graham Bell, who wrote to the *American Annals of the Deaf and Dumb* in some alarm about the purchase of land in Manitoba 'for the purpose of colonising it with deaf-mutes'.[88] Bell feared what he called the 'creation of a deaf variety of the human race' produced through deaf communities and deaf inter-marriage.[89] Bell advocated that deaf people marry only hearing people in order to breed-out deafness and eradicate a 'variety' of humanity that he saw as defective.[90]

Not only eugenicists but many others were frightened by the prospect of an autonomous deaf space where deaf people were able to operate independently from hearing people. Advocates of the scheme worked hard to mitigate this fear. Jane Groom sought to reassure critics that her vision was one where deaf people would continue to occupy the position of dependents. 'People having the sense of hearing shall live near them', she wrote of the deaf settlers, 'to afford protection and employment'.[91] A careful balancing act had to be performed between dependence and independence: disabled people were not to become a 'burden' on the state, yet they were not to be altogether independent from the able-bodied.

Legacies: other deaf settlers

Jane Groom developed many other schemes both in Canada and in the UK. In 1882, after returning from her first trip to Canada, she set up the Hackney Mission for the Deaf and Dumb, running Sunday Schools from Morley Hall, Hackney, and became a 'correspondence secretary' for the Stainer Christian Homes for Deaf and Dumb Children. In order to enhance the agricultural skills of the deaf community, particularly those in the East End of London, Jane Groom proposed the establishment of what she provisionally named, 'The United Kingdom Agricultural and Technical College for the Deaf and Dumb'.[92] She also started thinking of setting up a 'House Farm' in British Columbia where deaf settlers could learn fruit growing and agriculture.[93] Whilst there is no surviving material in which she elaborated on what she meant by either a 'House Farm' or an 'Agricultural and Technical College', it is possible she was thinking along the lines of creating another kind of 'colony' here. This period saw the rise of the idea of agricultural 'colonies' in Europe where paupers, juvenile delinquents and the intellectually impaired would be 'reformed' under close supervision.[94] Many such schemes drew on the French colony at Mettray.[95] Certainly it seems another attempt to wield together regimen, labour and the community.

It is unclear how many settlers in total Jane Groom took to Canada; reports vary from twenty-four individuals to more than fifty whole families. She visited Canada several times in the 1880s and last went to check up on their progress in 1891-2. On this trip, she utilised good connections with deaf communities in Canada, staying in the Manitoba Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, which had been opened in Winnipeg two years previously, the Mackay Institution for Protestant Deaf-Mutes in Montréal, and the Institution for the Deaf and Dumb in Halifax, Nova Scotia.[96] She offered to stay with the settlers for two years and petitioned the Manitoba Ministry of Agriculture to ask the British government to help out struggling deaf settlers near Winnipeg by purchasing a 'home farm'. Her petition for funding was turned down by the Provincial Privy Council which felt 'that if deaf settlers were in need of "special arrangements for the reception and protection of these unfortunate people" then perhaps they should not be encouraged to emigrate at all'.[97] She had difficulties raising the fare to get back, and wrote repeatedly to the Canadian Government asking that they pay her fare in return for all the time and money she had invested in the scheme.[98] After what appears to have been a difficult experience, it seems that she did not travel to Canada again, and it is unclear to what extent she remained involved with the deaf settlers.

But this was not the end of deaf settlement in the Canadian prairies. In the summer of 1903, a small group of deaf people from Boissevain, Manitoba, started to settle in the Qu'Appelle Valley. Several of these were former students of the Ontario Institution, a centre for deaf culture closely linked with the Ontario Deaf Mute Association, which was founded in 1886. The group also included recent deaf emigrants to Canada such as the English immigrant John Edward Brady Chapman of Rapid City and Irish immigrant Samuel Hawkins, who was educated at the Claremont Institution of the Deaf and Dumb in Dublin and had emigrated to Winnipeg (not implausibly with Jane Groom) in the 1880s. The deaf homesteaders settled on farms around the towns of Lipton, Cupar and Dysart in the Qu'Appelle Valley, which was a Cree area on the Canadian Prairies, about 70 kilometres northwest of Regina.[99]

This was again a self-organised deaf endeavour. The group were led by John Alexander Braithwaite, a deaf man thoroughly integrated into the North American deaf community. Not only was he a graduate of the Ontario Institution, but he had later studied for five years at Gallaudet College in the US, the only University for the deaf both at that time and still today. He also had personal connections within the deaf community and was married to Marion Campbell, also a graduate of the Ontario Institution.[100] These kinds of connections, which are common to those which structured the deaf community in Britain, suggest a similarity between the deaf communities in Britain and Canada.

Like Groom and her settlers, this group would no doubt have been considered frightening to Bell and other critics of deaf communities, not least in the context of the growing interest in eugenics at the beginning of the twentieth century. Couples such as Samuel and Anna Mary Hawkins, who were both deaf themselves and went on to have seven deaf children, would have been seen as justifying some of the fears about deaf inter-marriage.[101] Although not explicitly established as a 'deaf colony', through links with the Ontario Institution the homesteaders were able to maintain connections with a wider deaf community. Each autumn, about 50 deaf harvesters arrived by train from Toronto to help with the wheat harvest. Clifton Carbin notes that there were so many deaf people, proportionately, that 'the merchants, lawyers, doctors, farmers and even the "red-coated" policemen in the area learned to converse with these labourers by using the manual alphabet and some signs'.[102] This demonstrates that the deaf people were able to exercise some degree of cultural power, dictating the terms of communication, as well as indicating that they had considerable critical mass. This was not, however, a community inclusive of all. Race continued to be a marker of difference. All of the deaf harvesters were white and First Nations deaf children did not enter Canadian deaf institutions until well into the twentieth century.[103]

Jane Groom, too, seems to have ended her life living as part of a deaf community. The 1901 Census shows her living 'on her own means' in Northamptonshire.[104] There were nine deaf people living within three adjacent agricultural workers cottages, suggesting that Groom continued to participate in and construct deaf communities.

Conclusion

Whilst disability history continues to be ghettoised, tracing the life and work of Jane Groom takes us through many 'mainstream' issues including education, working-class politics, religion, emigration and colonial projects. Groom's life is a difficult one from a disability politics perspective; though in many ways an inspiring figure, she endorsed rather than challenged many of the negative images of disability, seeing deafness as an 'evil' to be avoided and deaf people as properly dependent on hearing benefactors. Her life also jars with the images of disabled victimhood that have dominated early disability history, disrupting the image of colonialism that has been used to discuss ableist oppression. Besides being oppressed in the metropole, disabled people could, of course, be colonisers in their own right. Groom's scheme relied on taking land from indigenous people,, itself an act of colonisation that was increasingly taking place at this moment in Canadian history. The 1867-1896 period was one of the 'consolidation' of white rule and a series of land policies from which Groom and her settlers benefited, led to the displacement and dispossession of a host of indigenous and Métis groups.[105] This kind of intersection between disability and colonialism is a past which is yet to be addressed. And yet, those more straightforward stories of oppression, which are also essential to understanding Groom's life, still need telling, as they remain unfamiliar to the majority of historians who have not unpacked what disability means historically. Jane Groom and the deaf settlers were ambivalent colonisers involved in equivocal colonial encounters, where they occupied positions of both oppressed and oppressor, colonised and coloniser. Taking the agency of deaf and disabled people seriously means engaging with uncomfortable and complicated pasts. Exploring the messy realities of everyday practice can help us increasingly to 'mainstream' disability history and get away from a position where we find the mobilisation of deaf people, in an imperial context, a surprise.[106]

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[1] This research has been completed thanks to a BA/Leverhulme Small Research Grant for my research on "Deaf Connections: A transatlantic study of disability and race, c. 1800-1914", Reference: SG132127. Thanks also to David Cleall for his invaluable research assistance, to Fae Dussart, Daniel Grey, Catherine Hall and Emily Manktelow for their comments on an earlier draft and to Dom Styles for his help in the Action for Hearing Loss Library.

[2] *Toronto World* article reproduced in the *Manitoba Free Press*, 16 July 1884.

[3] In the deaf community today a capitalised 'Deaf' is used to refer to an identity and a lower case 'deaf' used as an adjective to describe a hearing impairment. Applying this distinction retrospectively is very difficult, thus I have not capitalised 'deaf' in this piece except in relation to contemporary Deaf scholars and activists.

[4] 'Those Deaf Mutes', *Winnipeg Daily Times*, 16 July 1884.

[5] For recent work in the field of Disability History see Henri-Jacques Striker, *A History of Disability*, (trans.) William Sayers, Michigan, 1999; Iain Hutchison, *A History of Disability in Nineteenth Century Scotland,* Lampeter, 2007; Branson and Miller, *Damned for their Difference: The Cultural Construction of Deaf People as Disabled,* Washington, 2002.

[6] Harlan Lane, *The Mask of Benevolence: Disabling the Deaf Community,* New York, 1992.

[7] Paddy Ladd, 'Colonialism and Resistance: A Brief History of Deafhood', in *Open Your Eyes: Deaf Studies Talking*, ed. H-Dirksen L. Bauman, Minneapolis, 2008.

[8] Esme Cleall, 'Orientalising Deafness: race and disability in imperial Britain', *Social Identities* 21:1*,* January 2015, pp. 22-36.

[9] H.H., *An Evangelist Among the Deaf and Dumb,* London, 1884, p. 2.

[10] 'Jane Groom' (1851) Census Return for Claypit, Wem, Sub-district, Shropshire [online]. Public Record Office: 1995, folio 458, p. 29 Ancestry (2013). Available from: http://www.ancestry.co.uk [Accessed 06 February 2013].
[11] Jane Groom quoted in H.H., *An Evangelist*, p. 2.
[12] Striker, *A History of Disability.*
[13] Candida R. Moss and Jeremy Schipper (eds), *Disability Studies and Biblical Literature,* New York, 2011; Marilyn Bishop (ed.), *Religion and Disability: Essays in Scripture, Theology and Ethics*, Kansas City, 1995.
[14] Emily Cockayne, 'Experiences of the Deaf in Early Modern England', *The Historical Journal*, 46:3, 2003, p. 496. It should, however, be noted that in a recent study Matthew Milner argues the extent of this transition has been over emphasised. Matthew Milner, *The Senses and the English Reformation*, Ashgate, 2011.
[15] Charles Herbert Orpen, *The contrast between Atheism, Paganism and Christianity illustrated, or the uneducated deaf and dumb as heathens compared with those who have been instructed in language and revelation and taught by the Holy Spirit as Christians*, Dublin, 1828.
[16] Mary Wilson Carpenter, *Health, Medicine and Society in Victorian England*, California, 2009, p. 115.
[17] Jonathan Rée, *I See A Voice: Language, Deafness & the Senses--A Philosophical History,* London, 1999; Douglas Baynton, *Forbidden Signs: American Culture and the Campaign Against Sign Language,* Chicago, 1996.
[18] Esme Cleall, 'Deaf to the Word': Gender, Deafness and Protestantism in Nineteenth-Century Britain and Ireland, *Gender and History* 25:3, November 2013, pp. 590-603.
[19] *Ibid.*
[20] Martin Atherton, 'Deserving of Charity or Deserving of Better? The Continuing Legacy of the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act for Britain's Deaf Population,' *Review of Disability Studies: An International Journal*, 7:3 2011, pp. 18-25.
[21] Rée, *I Hear a Voice*, p. 151.
[22] Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SPCK), *To the Deaf Who on that Account do not Attend Church,* 1864.
[23]'Manchester School for the Deaf and Dumb including the Deaf and Dumb Asylum' *The Manchester Medical Collection: Sections 3-16* Ref: GB 133 MMC/9/38
[24] 'Jane Groom' (1861) Census Return for Barton Upon Irwell, Sub-district, Stretford[online]. Public Record Office: 2865, folio 101, p.3. Ancestry (2013) Available from: http://www.ancestry.co.uk [Accessed 6 February 2013]. Census 1861 confirms Jane Groom in employment and residence at Chester Road School for Deaf and Dumb Infants: 'Jane E Groom, age 21, Teacher and Nurse'.
[25] 'Minutes of the Ladies Committee of British Asylum for Deaf and Dumb Females', 4 January 1870 *Hackney Council Archives* Ref: D/S/14.
[26] Ladd, *Understanding Deafness*, pp. 46-7.
[27] 'Jane Groom' (1881) Census Return for St. John Hackney, Sub-district, West Hackney [online]. Public Record Office: 296 folio 32 p.26 Ancestry (2013). Available from: http://www.ancestry.co.uk [Accessed 06 February 2013].
[28] 'Royal Visit to Board Schools', *The Times,* 22 June 1877, p. 11.
[29] Cleall, 'Deaf to the Word'.
[30] H.H., *An Evangelist*, p. 5.
[31] H.H., *An Evangelist*, p. 8.
[32] Neil Pemberton, 'Deafness and Holiness Home Missions, Deaf Congregations, and Natural Language 1860-1890', *Victorian Review* 35:2, 2009, p. 67.
[33] Mike Gulliver, 'Places of Silence', in Frank Vanclay, Matthew Higgins and Adam Brackshaw (eds), *Making Sense of Place: exploring the concepts and expressions of place through different senses and lenses*, Canberra: 2008, pp. 87-95.
[34]Neil Pemberton, *Holiness, Civilisation and the Victorian Deaf: A Social History of Signing and Speech in Late Victorian England, 1865-95*, PhD, University of Manchester, 2004.
[35] H.H., *A Future for the Deaf and Dumb in the Canadian North-West: Being an account of a first attempt at colonisation in the Canadian North-West, London, 1884*.
[36] For more on the debate between manualism and oralism see Baynton, *Forbidden Signs*.
[37] For info on the Conference of Milan, see for example, Branson and Miller, *Damned for their Difference*, pp. 168-173.
[38] Edward Allen Fay (ed.), 'The Methods of the British Schools', *American Annals of the Deaf and Dumb* 26:3, July 1881, p. 191.

[39] H.H., 'An Evangelist', p. 3.
[40] 'Canadian Passenger Lists 1865-1935' available at Ancestry.co.uk [accessed 13 May 2015]. C.E. Groom (female) is listed as travelling on the S.S. Sardinian, Allan Line from Liverpool on 28th July arriving at Quebec 5th August 1881. I have assumed a clerical error in the capture of the initial letter of this passenger's given name i.e. C.E.Groom is actually J.E.Groom. Jane Groom would use this crossing and this steamship on subsequent journeys to Canada.
[41] H.H., *A Future for the Deaf*, p. 13.
[42] *Ibid.*, p.13. but though economically prosperous the two had been unhappy there and were soon to return to Britain where they were again unable to find work of reasonable pay.
[43] H.H., *An Evangelist*, p. 6.
[44] *Ibid.*, p. 6.
[45] Angela McCarthy, 'Exporting and Repatriating the Colonial Insane: New Zealand before the First World War', in Will Jackson and Emily Manktelow (eds), *Subverting Empire: Deviance and Disorder in the British Colonial World*, Basingstoke, 2015, pp.145-167.
[46] Moira Martin,'A future not of riches but of comfort': The emigration of pauper children from Bristol to Canada, 1870–1915, *Immigrants & Minorities: Historical Studies in Ethnicity, Migration and Diaspora* 19:1, 2000, pp. 25-52. Gillian Wagner, *Children of the Empire*, London, 1992.
[47] H.H., *A Future for the Deaf*, p.12.
[48] Phillip Buckner, 'Tupper, Sir Charles' in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 14, Toronto, 2003, available at http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/tupper_charles_14E.html [Accessed 11 May 2015].
[49] Sir Charles Tupper, London England, 1884/12/24, File FG17 427 *Library and Archives Canada (LAC),* Ottawa.
[50] T.F.T. Baker (ed.), 'Bethnal Green: The Parish Church' in *A History of the County of Middlesex: Volume 11: Stepney, Bethnal Green*, 1998, pp. 212-217, available at http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=22761 [Accessed: 16 October 2014].
[51] H.H., *A Future for the Deaf*, pp. 21-22.
[52] *Ibid*., p. 14.
[53] *Ibid*., p. 25.
[54] W.A. Waiser, 'Bell, William Roberts' in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 14, Toronto, 1998, available at http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/people/bell_wr.shtml [Accessed 11 May 2015].
[55]Edward Fay, 'The Manitoba Colonists' in *American Annals of the Deaf and Dumb*, 31:3. July 1886, p. 228.
[56] G17 box/vol. 710, letter from Jane Elizabeth Groom to Minister of Agriculture, from Ottawa, 26 Dec. 1891, *Library and Archives Canada (LAC),* Ottawa.
[57] 'A Performance by Deaf Mutes', *The Era*, London, 8 March 1884.
[58] Rev. F.W.G. Gilby, *Seventy Two Years Among the Deaf and Dumb – An Olla Podrida of Experiences Among the Deaf and Dumb*, c.1937, TS, London, RNID Library.
[59] H. H., *An Evangelist,* p. 7.
[60] *Ibid.*, p. 7.
[61] See for example, Alexander Murdoch, *British Emigration, 1603–1914***,** Basingstoke, 2004.
[62] On this discourse see Robert D. Grant, *Representations of British Emigration, Colonisation and Settlement - Imagining Empire, 1800-1860,* Basingstoke, 2005, pp. 124-139.
[63] Robert Mudie, *The Emigrant's Pocket Companion: Containing, What Emigration Is, Who Should be Emigrants, Where Emigrants Should Go: A Description of British North America, Especially the Canadas: and Full Instructions to Intending Emigrants,* London, 1832, pp. 40-41.
[64] Extract from a speech delivered by the Earl of Dufferin, Governor-General of Canada, reproduced in the shipping line booklet, *Allan Line - Information & Advice for Emigrants*, Liverpool, 1883 available at http://www.norwayheritage.com/articles/templates/voyages.asp?articleid=157&zoneid=6 [Accessed 12 May 2015]
[65] Grant, *Representations*, pp. 139-159.
[66] Roy Hanes, 'None is Still Too Many: An Historical Exploration of Canadian Immigration Legislation As It Pertains to People with Disabilities', *Developmental Disabilities Bulletin* 37:1&2, 2009, pp. 91-126.
[67] Ena Chadha, " 'Mentally Defectives' Not Welcome: Mental Disability in Canadian Immigration Law, 1859-1927'", *Disability Studies Quarterly* 28:1*,* Winter 2008; Barbara Roberts, 'Doctors and the Deports: The Role of the Medical Profession in Canadian Deportation, 1900-20', *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 18:3, 1986, pp. 17-36; Robert Menzies, 'Governing Mentalities: The deportation of "insane" and "feebleminded" immigrants out of

British Columbia from Confederation to World War II' *Canadian Journal of Law and Society* 13:2, Fall 1998, pp. 135-173.

[68] Douglas Baynton, '"The Undesirability of Admitting Deaf Mutes": US Immigration Policy and Deaf Immigrants, 1882-1924', *Sign Language Studies* 6:4, Summer 2006, pp. 391-393.

[69] H.H., *A Future for the Deaf*, p. 17.

[70] *Quebec Chronicle* quoted in H.H., *A Future for the Deaf*, p. 18.

[71] *Ibid*., p. 11.

[72] Ibid., p. 11.

[73] *The Winnipeg Free Press*, 26 July 1884 quoted in H.H., *A Future for the Deaf*, p. 19.

[74] 'Those Deaf Mutes', *Winnipeg Daily Times,* 16 July 1884.

[75] 'Those deaf mutes'.

[76] R.A.R. Edwards, *Words Made Flesh: nineteenth-century deaf education and the growth of deaf culture*, New York, 2012, pp.109-113.

[77]Edward Allen Fay (ed.), 'Notices of Publications', *American Annals of the Deaf and Dumb* 31:1, January 1886, pp. 63-64.

[78] Memo to the Hon. John Carling, Minister of Agriculture, Jan 5th 1891, *Library and Archives Canada (LAC),* Ottawa.

[79] For discussion of the 'shovelling out paupers' debate including the extent of emigrant's agency see for example: Gary Howells, 'For I Was Tired of England Sir': English pauper emigrant strategies, 1834-60, *Social History* 23:2, 1998, pp.181-194; Gary Howells, 'On Account of their Disreputable Characters': Parish-Assisted Emigration from Rural England, 1834–1860', *History* 88:292, October 2003, pp.587–605; Hugh Johnston, *British emigration policy 1815-1830: 'shovelling out paupers'*, 1972.

[80] Memo to the Hon. John Carling, Minister of Agriculture, Jan 5th 1891, *Library and Archives Canada (LAC),* Ottawa.

[81] RG17, vol. 536, letter from Mr. John Smith [immigration agent] of Hamilton, Ontario, 21 May 1887 addressed to Mr Lowe, *Library and Archives Canada (LAC),* Ottawa.

[82] External Affairs, London High Commissioner's Office, series 1, Department of Agriculture, June – Dec. 1885, RG25 A VOL 12, *Library and Archives Canada (LAC),* Ottawa.

[83] Christopher Krentz (ed.)*, A Mighty Change - An Anthology of Deaf American Writing, 1816-1884*, Washington, 2002, p. 161.

[84] Flournoy in *Ibid*., p. 165.

[85] A selection of writings both for and against the deaf state is published in Krentz, *Ibid*., pp. 161-211.

[86] RG17, vol 536, letter from Mr. John Smith [immigration agent] of Hamilton, Ontario, 21 May 1887 addressed to Mr Lowe, *Library and Archives Canada (LAC),* Ottawa.

[87] Memo to the Hon. John Carling, Minister of Agriculture, Jan 5th 1891, *Library and Archives Canada (LAC),* Ottawa.

[88] Fay, Edward Allen (ed.), 'Miscellaneous', *American Annals of the Deaf and Dumb* 24:4, October 1884, p. 345

[89] Fay, Edward Allen (ed.) 'The American Association for the Advancement of Science', *American Annals of the Deaf and Dumb,* 24:4, October 1884, p. 302.

[90]Alexander Graham Bell, *Memoir upon the Formation of a Deaf Variety of the Human Race, Presented to the National Academy of Sciences at New Haven, November 13, 1883,* Washington, 1884.

[91] H.H., *An Evangelist*, p. 6.

[92]'The United Kingdom Agricultural and Technical College for the Deaf and Dumb', *Aberdeen Weekly Journal*, 15 September 1888.

[93] 23rd November, "The Brunswick" Ottawa, 23rd November 1891, to the Hon. E. Dewbuey, MP, *Library and Archives Canada (LAC),* Ottawa.

[94] See for example, Chris Philo, '"Looking into the countryside from where he had come", placing "the idiot" and the "idiot school" and different models of educating the uneducable', *Cultural Geographies*, June 2015, pp.1-19.

[95] Felix Driver, 'Discipline without frontiers? Representations of the Mettray Reformatory Colony in Britain 1840-1880', *Journal of Historical Sociology*, 3, 1990, pp.272-293.

[96] Clifton F. Carbin, edited by Dorothy L. Smith, *Deaf Heritage in Canada: A Distinctive, Diverse, and Enduring Culture*, Toronto, 1996, p. 237.

[97] *Ibid*, p. 237.

[98] G17 box/vol. 710, letter from Jane Groom, to Hon J. Carling MP, Minister of Agriculture and Immigration, Ottawa, Jan 5th 1892; G17 box/vol. 710, letter from Jane Elizabeth Groom to J. Carling, MP. Minister of Agriculture 26 Dec. 1891, *Library and Archives Canada (LAC),* Ottawa.
[99] Carbin, *Deaf Heritage*, pp. 237-243.
[100] *Ibid.,*p.238.
[101] Samuel Hawkins (1868-1934) file, Box H: 'Deaf Settlers in Western Canada, 1856-1995' in *Deaf Heritage in Canada Collection*, Canadian Cultural Society of the Deaf Archives, Toronto, Ontario.
[102]Carbin, *Deaf Heritage*, p. 238.
[103] See for example, the Saskatchewan School which received its first native deaf student in 1942. See Carbin, *Deaf Heritage*, p. 165.
[104] 'Jane Groom' (1901) Census Return for nos.32,33 & 34 East Side, Yarwell, Northamptonshire, Sub-district, Oundle [online], Public Record Office: 34/1456, folio 33, p.5, Ancestry (2013), available from: http://www.ancestry.co.uk [Accessed 06 February 2013].
[105] Ninette Kelley and Michael Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic, A History of Canadian Immigration Policy,* Toronto, 2010, ppp.62-113.
[106] In discussing 'mainstreaming' disability history, I draw to some extent on: Julia Miele Rodas, 'Mainstreaming Disability Studies?', *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 34:1, March 2006, pp. 371-384.