AN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE ON THE ACADEMIC EDUCATION OF DEAF CHILDREN IN NEW SOUTH WALES 1860s-1990s

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CERTIFICATE

I hereby certify that the work embodied in this thesis is the result of original research and has not been submitted for a higher degree to any other University or Institution.

(Signed)_____

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AATD	Australian Association of Teachers of Deaf
FJDE	Federation for Junior Deaf Education
ITDs	Itinerant teachers of the deaf
ML	Mitchell Library - New South Wales
NLA	National Library of Australia
NSDCA	North Shore Deaf Children's Association
NSWDOE	New South Wales Department of Education
NSWDSE	New South Wales Department of School Education
NSWTAFE	New South Wales Technical and Further Education
OD	Opportunity Deaf
PPBC	Private Papers Barbara Crickmore
RIDBC	Royal Institute for Deaf and Blind Children
TAFE	Technical and Further Education
TC	Total communication
UON	University of Newcastle

ABSTRACT

This is an historical investigation into the provision of education services for deaf children in the State of New South Wales in Australia since 1860. The main focus is those deaf children without additional disabilities who have been placed in mainstream classes, special classes for the deaf and special schools for the deaf. The study places this group at centre stage in order to better understand their educational situation in the late 1990s.

That situation is seen to have been characterised by three contrasting attitudes of major players in the provision of deaf education. On the one hand are mainly educators, parents of deaf children, and deaf adults who view the educational needs of deaf children as different from those of hearing children. On the other hand is another group of educators who, along with supporters of the technological and medical perspective of deafness, see only a requirement to amplify sound to compensate for hearing loss to render the educational needs of the deaf as no different to those of their hearing peers. In the middle are bureaucrats and politicians who, over the history of deaf education, have often appeared to be more concerned with minimising the cost and administrative problems of education than with the educational needs of the deaf. Given the potential that each of these groups has for impacting on educational services for deaf children, it is vital that the reasons for the situation be reviewed and the main issues clarified.

Investigating the education of deaf children in New South Wales is problematic because it is a poorly documented area. At the same time, it is one which comprises many interlacing themes, an array of players with shifting influence and conflicting ideologies. There is also a strong underlying element of mythology with roots that trace back to ancient times. To date this disparate body of evidence has not been pulled together in an historically informed and systematic way. Moreover there is no study in New South Wales that explores the provision of education for the deaf within the broader context of the provision of education for the hearing.

The thesis has taken a chronological and thematic approach. The chapters are defined by significant events that impacted on the education of the deaf, such as the establishment of special schools in New South Wales, the rise of the oral movement,

and aftermath of the rubella epidemic in Australia during the 1940s. Within each chapter, there is a core of key elements around which the analysis is based. These key elements tend to be based on institutions, players, and specific educational features, such as the mode of instruction or the curriculum.

In the final analysis, the elements coalesce into a conceptual framework of five major themes which aid understanding of the development of deaf education in New South Wales. These are the culture of politics and advocacy of deaf education, the framework within which the instruction of deaf children occurs, the imposition of the norm of the hearing child on the education of the deaf child, the resourcing issue, and the "mesh of meanings" applied to the education of the deaf by the individual players and special interest groups. These meanings derive from traditions, underlying beliefs, attitudes and myths. At the same time, they may be supported by concurrent societal values and in combination penetrate bureaucratic and political involvement and decision-making and impact on the philosophy and pedagogy of deaf education.

The study found general agreement that language acquisition was a fundamental prerequisite to academic achievement. Yet the available evidence suggests that educational programs for most deaf children in New South Wales have seldom focused on ensuring adequate language acquisition in conjunction with the introduction of academic subjects. As a result, language and literacy competencies of deaf students in general have frequently been acknowledged as being below those of their hearing counterparts, to the point of presenting a barrier to successful post-secondary study. It is proposed that the reasons for the academic failings of the deaf are inherent in the five themes listed above.

CHAPTER ONE

THE PARAMETERS OF THE STUDY AND THE ANCIENT ROOTS OF DEAF EDUCATION

Introduction

The focus of this thesis is those deaf children who receive their education in mainstream classes, special classes for the deaf, and in special schools for the deaf. The study is an attempt to place this small group at centre stage in order to better understand their educational situation in the late twentieth century. According to a variety of sources, deaf school leavers are less likely than their hearing counterparts to enrol in tertiary education or gain employment. Given this picture, it is vital that the situation be reviewed and the main issues clarified.

For historians and educators, the education of deaf students is problematic because it is a poorly documented area, yet one which comprises many interlacing themes, an array of players with shifting influence, and conflicting ideologies. There is also a strong underlying element of mythology with its roots in ancient times. In addition, there are confusions about definitions of deafness that make it even more difficult to tease out specific information over time. Hence it is not surprising that there is little in the way of empirical study of the educational provisions for deaf students. It is more surprising that there is no study in Australia that explores the provision of education for the deaf within the broader context of the provision for the hearing, even though mainstream developments in the curriculum for the hearing have played a very important role in the education of the deaf.

There is a substantial research literature that deals with specific aspects of instructing deaf students. Such research is essentially undertaken by the hearing, as is most of the literature on deaf education. What is also particularly striking is that so much of the literature tends to take a specific ideological stance.

There is need for an historically informed, systematic investigation that pulls together and critically evaluates the disparate evidence that exists in relation to the education of deaf children in Australia and even more particularly in the State of New South Wales which, among all States, is distinguished by the longest history of deaf education. That history has been characterised by two main private providers up to the late 1940s when

the State Government became the dominant player. To date, there has been no attempt to provide a fully integrated study of this phenomenon.

New South Wales is the location of the first white settlement in Australia, the first recorded specialist deaf school in the country and has consistently had the largest population of any State in Australia. The State comprises an area of approximately 800,000 square kilometres, much of which is not populated. The greatest concentration of population is along the coast. As a result of this dispersion the provision of educational facilities for the relatively small deaf population has been affected by the factor of distance.

It has already been mentioned that the study of deaf education extends back to ancient times. This chapter will provide a broad outline of the historical literature about deaf education in Australia, outline the parameters for the study and then proceed to sketch the development of the manner and methods of teaching the deaf, attitudes toward the deaf, and beliefs about deafness from the end of the sixteenth century until the late nineteenth century. It was during this earlier period that the foundations for modern day teaching methods were established.

Written histories of deaf education in Australia

Generally speaking, the paucity and poor quality of sources about deaf education in New South Wales is a problem prior to the-mid twentieth century. From 1860 to 1946 there were only two privately-funded providers of specialist deaf education in New South Wales. They were the Royal Institute for Deaf and Blind Children[1] which conducted the Sydney school[2], and the Roman Catholic church that operated schools for the deaf at Newcastle and Castle Hill. For the Sydney school, the main records are in the form of Annual Reports. Early researchers expressed concern about the veracity of these sources because of their intended audience. For example, Lund in his MA thesis noted they were "...reports to the subscribing public, on progress made during each year".[3] Lund who became a psychologist and staff member at the Sydney

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[1] In 1860, the original name was the Deaf and Dumb Institution of New South Wales. After a number of name changes the current name, the Royal Institute for Deaf and Blind Children (RIDBC) has been used since 1997.

[2] See Appendix C for name changes for the Sydney school.

[3] Ernest Lund, The Education of Deaf Children - An Historical Analysis of Thought and Procedure in New South Wales, MA Thesis, Melbourne University, 1939, p. v.

Teachers College was involved with the first Government-sponsored teacher of the deaf training course in New South Wales.[4] Walter, a teacher of the deaf and a former Principal of the Sydney school, wrote a history of the Sydney school mainly using the school's Annual Reports. She noted that in certain accounts "...one can only assume the Board was guilty of gross exaggeration in order to impress the public".[5]

In fact, the Annual Report collection[6] is very extensive and even with its strong public relations focus, it is a valuable source, if used with caution. The Reports include school inspectors' assessments, superintendents' speeches and teacher contributions, amongst other items. However, there is limited detail about teaching techniques.

For the Roman Catholic system, the story is a little different because there is more breadth in the documentation[7] which extends into their religious philosophy and their approaches to educating deaf students. Lund noted that, although the Catholic deaf school authorities had written "quite a considerable amount, they told astoundingly little".[8] Another source of documentation emerged when the New South Wales Education Department became involved in deaf education in 1946. Further sources are parliamentary reports and speeches reproduced in Hansard, ministerial reports, policy statements and reports of special committees and investigations. In addition, there are the records and publications of the associations of parents of deaf children. Hence after 1946, it is easier to cross-validate information and to detect omissions, differences and discrepancies in the various accounts.

Up to 1980, it was possible to have considered material such as Annual Reports and newsletters in the archives of the relatively long-standing Deaf Society of New South Wales, although few studies appear to have done so. Opportunity for access to this early material disappeared in that year, when fire destroyed most of the records.

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[4] Private Papers Barbara Crickmore: Heffernan Essay, A History of the Course for Teachers of the Deaf, 1974, pp. 3-4; Private Papers Barbara Crickmore: Parr Paper, Special Education in Australia - Hearing-Impaired Children, 1980, pp. 9, 13, 15-16.

[5] North Rocks Central School for Deaf Children Library Archives: Jean Walter (Wal 1), The History of the New South Wales Schools for Deaf and for Blind Children 1860-1960, 1961, p. 10.

[6] The Sydney school archival material is located at the Royal Institute for Deaf and Blind Children at North Rocks in the Sydney area.

[7] The Newcastle school archival collection is available at the University of Newcastle Library Archives Section.

[8] Ernest Lund, op. cit., p. vii.

Newspaper reports and letters to the Editor provide information about events specific to education of the deaf and perhaps more importantly, attitudes, feelings and perceptions of participants and public perceptions of these events.[9] Other sources are the various non-government reports, journals, conference papers, research articles, books, theses and essays.

The Australian non-government reports most frequently referred to by other commentators are those of Walter[10] and Wilson.[11] The latter provides a broader perspective than the former. Wilson was a teacher of the deaf and surveyed European, American and Australian history of deaf education from early times to the 1970s.[12] Her account was reproduced over four consecutive issues of the Sydney school's publication Lantern Light.[13] Three non-government publications regarding Catholic education for students were produced. Sister Madeleine Egan, a former

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[9] N.E. Murray, 'Educating Deaf Children', Sydney Morning Herald, Thursday, 9 August, 1945, p. 6.; N.E. Murray, 'Educating Deaf Children - Research in N.S.W.', Sydney Morning Herald, Tuesday, 10 June 1947, p. 2; Sydney Morning Herald, 'Aid for Deaf Children - New Kindergarten', Friday, 27 July, 1945a, p. 7; Sydney Morning Herald, 'German Measles Toll of Deaf Children', Thursday, 1 March, 1945b, p. 3; Sydney Morning Herald, 'Plea for Deaf Children, Thursday, 26 July, 1945c, p. 8; Parent, 'Plea for Deaf Children', Sydney Morning Herald, Monday, 6 August, 1945, p. 5; A.D. Burns, 'Deaf Children', Sydney Morning Herald, Wednesday, 8 August, 1945, p. 3; Neil Hall, 'Self-help for the Deaf', Sydney Morning Herald, Thursday, 27 March, 1947, p. 9; Dorothy Jackson, 'Help for the Deaf', Sydney Morning Herald, Saturday, 8 May, 1948, p. 2; W.E. Johnson, 'Educating the Deaf', Sydney Morning Herald, Friday, 23 May, 1947, p. 2; F. Minnis, 'Educating the Deaf', Sydney Morning Herald, Thursday, 5 June, 1947, p. 2; Staff Correspondent, 'Education for Children of a Silent World', Sydney Morning Herald, Tuesday, 22 July, 1947, p. 2; Roger Booth, 'Educating the Deaf', Sydney Morning Herald, Saturday, 26 July, 1947, p. 2; Staff Correspondent, 'National survey will help deaf in schools and industry'. Sydney Morning Herald, Wednesday, 8 June, 1949, p. 2; Catherine Harper, 'A big day for the deaf', Sydney Morning Herald, Saturday, 6 December, 1975, p. 13; Sigrid Kirk, 'Silent Survival', Sydney Morning Herald, Wednesday, 20 March, 1991, p. 17; Amanda Meade, 'Nicola's job is to bring television to deaf people', Sydney Morning Herald, Saturday, 22 June, 1991, p. 73; Jane Freeman, 'Definitely Deaf', Sydney Morning Herald, 9 March, 1995, pp. 11-12; Joe Lo Bianco, 'Language of the Deaf', Weekend Australian, Saturday, 28-29 April, 1990, p. 18.

[10] North Rocks Central School: Jean Walter (Wal 1), op. cit.

[11] Angela Wilson, 'Deafness Through the Ages - An Historical Survey of Deaf Education', Lantern Light, April, 1975a, pp. 6-10; Angela Wilson, 'Deafness Through the Ages (Part 2) - An Historical Survey of Deaf Education', Lantern Light, August, 1975b, pp. 17-24; Angela Wilson, 'Deafness Through the Ages (Part 3) - An Historical Survey of Deaf Education', Lantern Light, April, 1976a, pp. 22-27; Angela Wilson, 'Deafness Through the Ages (Part 4) - An Historical Survey of Deaf Education', Lantern Light, August, 1976b, pp. 23-31.

[12] Royal New South Wales Institute for Deaf and Blind Children, 'Brilliant Teacher to Research Deaf Education', Lantern Light, December, 1974b, p. 16; Australian Association of Teachers of the Deaf, 'Visuomotor Skills', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 16, July, 1975, p. 56; Royal Institute for Deaf and Blind Children (RIDBC), Annual Reports, 1862-1979, 1973, p. 6.

[13] Angela Wilson, 1975a, op. cit.; Angela Wilson, 1975b, op cit.; Angela Wilson, 1976a, op. cit.; Angela Wilson, 1976b, op. cit.

Principal of the Newcastle school[14], was responsible for two centenary booklets that provided a brief overview of Catholic deaf education in Australia.[15] The third publication was written by Dooley, a teacher of the deaf at the Newcastle school operated by the Roman Catholic church.[16] She compiled a history of the Catholic schools for the deaf located in New South Wales.

There are pronounced silences in government documents which gives rise to many questions about the government's position on deaf education within the broader scheme of State education. These questions are raised at points throughout this thesis. However, the evidence with which they can be addressed is sparse, which means that it is necessary to draw on the bigger picture to address the gaps. For example, it is necessary to consider the early stage of State involvement in education when the first deaf school was founded in 1860, particularly the incapacity of the new government schools to provide for children with special needs. Related to the level of educational facilities, the level of public funding provided for education also has to be taken into account[17]. In addition, attention has to be given to the aims of State-based education in relation to the New South Wales government's aims for the Colony's society during the last half of the 1800s and the first half of the 1900s, including the issue of Church-controlled education.[18] More specifically, attitudes towards the education of children categorised as infirm [19] in the latter half of the 1800s have to be examined and the implications evaluated. Of particular relevance are matters associated with good health, hygiene, citizenship, normalcy, and educability that were later seen as components of the eugenics philosophy which appeared to have some

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[14] See Appendix C for name changes to the Newcastle school.

[15] Sister Egan, History of Catholic Deaf Education in Australia 1875-1975, Newcastle, Newey & Beath Printers Pty Ltd, 1975a; Sister Egan, Pictorial Centenary Souvenir, Newcastle, Newey & Beath Printers Pty Ltd, 1975b.

[16] St Dominic's Centre for Hearing Impaired Children Archives: Dooley Monograph, To Be Fully Alive - A Monograph on Australian Dominican Education of Hearing-Impaired Children, 1989.

[17] Private Papers Barbara Crickmore: Interview with Mr D.A. Swan by Jan Burnswood and Jim Fletcher, 1985.

[18] Act 11, 1848, National Education Board, Statutes of New South Wales 1824-1957; Don Smart, Federal Aid to Australian Schools, St. Lucia, University of Queensland Press, 1978, p. 33; Alan Barcan, A History of Australian Education, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1980, p. 53; Geoffrey Sherington, Australia's Immigrants 1788-1978, Sydney, George Allen & Unwin, 1982, p. 70; U. Corrigan, Catholic Education in Australia, Sydney, Angus & Robertson Limited, 1930, p. 409.

[19] Act 44, 1880, 20(ii).

influence on the implementation of educational policies in the first half of the 1900s. Questions more closely related to education of the deaf are also raised by the gaps in documentation. Among these is the role played by the teachers of the deaf in maintaining educational services for the deaf that were segregated from both the mainstream classrooms and other special educators.[20] Another question concerns the procedures and standards used in the medical assessments and diagnosis of deafness, particularly until the 1940s, which were used as a basis for identifying the educability of the deaf child.[21]

Other silences also evident in this area, as in other areas of educational history, are the voices of children, adults, and the majority of parents and teachers. These groups are primarily spoken for by officials and advocates. There are few sources that provide insight into the views of children, adults, and the majority of parents and teachers up to the mid-1900s, and opportunities for gathering oral histories of current members of the groups are limited on methodological or ethical grounds.

One of the key methodological and ethical difficulties the author encountered was the amount of information verbally provided via interviews, meetings and during conference break periods, but which was essentially off the record. One such strand of stories was about teachers and others who felt they had to bend the rules to allow children to progress through their education. Another strand was about the controversy between the medical profession, teachers of the deaf and deaf adults concerning the mode of instruction. However, the author discovered during her MA[22] that while there is a general curiosity about the history of the education of the deaf, there was no great

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[20] Bill Rose, 'AASE 21st Birthday Celebration', Australian Association of Special Education Inc., N.S.W. Chapter, Newsletter, no. 2, June, 1995, p. 2; National Library of Australia: New South Wales Minister for Education N371.912/AUS, Minister's Opening Speech at the Fifth Australian Conference of Teachers of the Deaf, Sydney, 1953a, p.7: National Library of Australia: New South Wales Minister for Education N371.912/AUS, President's Address at the Fifth Australian Conference of Teachers of the Deaf, Sydney, 1953b, pp.12-14.

[21] John Bordley and Patrick Brookhouser, 'The History of Otology', in Larry Bradford, and William Hardy (ed.), Hearing and Hearing Impairment, Grune & Stratton, New York, 1979, p. 8; John Lewis, 'So Much Grit in the Hub of the Educational Machine', in Bob Bessant (ed.), Mother State and Her Little Ones, Centre for Youth and Community Services, Melbourne, 1987, pp. 140-166, p. 443.

[22] The author compiled a questionnaire aimed for teachers of deaf students that sought information about actual teaching practices. Copies of the questionnaire were left at a number of conferences and workshops concerning deaf education. However, only three responses were returned.

interest in writing or contributing to such history or responding to questionnaires from experienced teachers of the deaf. Nevertheless, surveys and oral histories from teachers should be pursued. It could be that what is needed are better questions addressing different issues.

This thesis attempts to undertake the documentary groundwork that will allow more theoretically sophisticated historical studies in the future than have previously been undertaken. This is not to say that there have been no historical investigations of deaf education in New South Wales to date, only that the studies tend to be outdated or narrow.

Non-published theses and essays

The majority of histories are in the form of theses and essays. Burns, a hearing individual, provided an overview of the development of general education in Australia and concluded with an overview of the status of education facilities for deaf students at the time of writing in the late 1960s.[23] Much of the history of the Sydney school in this work relies on Walter.[24] Burke completed his MA thesis in 1974. Based on archival material, he surveyed the history of Catholic schooling for deaf children in the Hunter Valley in New South Wales until the early 1970s.[25] In 1974, Heffernan, who was a prominent figure in Catholic schools for the deaf in the 1960s and 1970s, submitted an essay as part of the course requirements at the Sydney Teachers College. The essay provides a non-government view of the history of training for teachers of the deaf provided by the New South Wales Education Department.[26] In 1979, Pettinari's extended essay, written in partial fulfilment for the Degree of Bachelor of Educational Studies, also surveyed Catholic education in Newcastle from 1870 to 1977. Most of the work was devoted to mainstream Catholic education, with only a section of one chapter citing secondary sources relating to the Newcastle school for deaf children.[27]

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[23] Special Education Resource Centre for Hearing Impaired Library Archives: Burns Essay, The History of the Development of the Education of the Deaf in Australia, Annerley, 1969.

[24] North Rocks Central School, Jean Walter (Wal 1), op. cit.

[25] J.A. Burke, History of Catholic Schools for Deaf and Dumb Children in the Hunter Valley, MA Thesis, University of Newcastle, 1974.

[26] PPBC, Heffernan Essay, op. cit.

[27] Elsie May Pettinari, Catholic Education in Newcastle, 1870-1977, Extended Essay in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Bachelor of Educational Studies Thesis, Newcastle, 1979.

Rumsey's PhD thesis examined the communication practices of deaf secondary-aged students in New South Wales, although it made only brief mention of recent historical factors.[28] In 1985, Saxby researched the history of special education services in New South Wales.[29] He discussed the various educational reports that mentioned special educational provisions in general. No mention was made of the different groups of deaf children. Similarly, Whitson's PhD thesis[30] looked at educational provisions between 1860 and 1944 for five groups of children with disabilities, which included the deaf. He provided an in-depth interpretation of Government and non-government special educational provisions, but did not detail deaf education issues. There are reports and theses that examine provisions in other States, eg. Victoria,[31] South Australia,[32] Western Australia,[33] and Queensland,[34] and others took a more general and less detailed view over several States or Australia-wide.[35] Most of these works are referred to in later chapters.

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[28] C. Rumsey, Communication Practices of Mainstreamed Hearing Impaired Secondary Students in New South Wales, PhD Thesis, Pittsburg University, 1984.

[29] Paul Saxby, A History of Special Education Services in New South Wales, Thesis Number 635, Newcastle College of Advanced Education, 1985.

[30] Ian Whitson, Provisions for the Education of Blind, Deaf, Hospitalised, Convalescent and Crippled Children in New South Wales Between 1860 and 1944, PhD Thesis, University of Newcastle, 1991.

[31] J.H. Burchett, Utmost for the Highest, Melbourne, Hall's Book Store Pty Ltd, 1964; J.B. Sheen, A Study of the Victorian Deaf and Dumb Institution and Areas of Education Associated with the Deaf 1860-1913, M.Ed. Thesis, Monash University, 1983.

[32] O.C. Knauerhase, The adequacy of the provisions for deaf, blind and crippled children in South Australia, B.Ed., Thesis, Melbourne University, 1951.

[33] R.L. Weiland, The Development of Special Education in Western Australia 1896-1945, M.Ed. Thesis, Western Australia University, 1961; J.J. McArthur, The History of the Development of Deaf Education in Western Australia, B.Ed. Thesis, Western Australia University, 1962; V Stephens, Deafness the Invisible Handicap: A history of the provisions of education for Hearing-Impaired with special reference to Western Australia, M.Ed Thesis, Murdoch University, 1984.

[34] Special Education Resource Centre for Hearing Impaired Library Archives: Searle Essay, The History of the Education of the Deaf in Queensland, Annerley, 1952.

[35] Ronald Fogarty, Catholic Education in Australia - 1806-1950, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1959; Special Education Resource Centre for Hearing Impaired Library Archives: Walker Essay, The Ascertainment of Deafness and Education of the Preschool Child in the 20th Century, Annerley, 1964; Special Education Resource Centre for Hearing Impaired Library Archives: Hunter Essay, The Historical Development of Oral Education of the Deaf, Annerley, 1968; Leanne Neal, The Integration of Hearing Impaired Children: A Manual for Class Teachers, Grad.Dip.Sp.Ed. Thesis, Newcastle College of Advanced Education, 1986.

The treatment of deaf education in history of education texts

General texts over the past 70 years on the history of Australian education have paid very little attention to deaf education and it is rare that deaf education is referred to explicitly. It must also be noted that apart from Miller[36] and Barcan[37] there has been virtually no updated full State histories. In 1925, Smith's history of education in New South Wales referred to "sub-normal" children and the medical school inspections[38] and Austin briefly mentioned ragged and orphan schools.[39] Thomas included limited information about deaf students and the Sydney school and the Farrar school in a chapter of an edited book about children with disabilities.[40] Barcan made several short references to deaf students, the Sydney school and provided information about the establishment of special classes for partially deaf children.[41]

A similar situation prevails in educational histories of other States. Rankin's history of education in Western Australia mentioned some industrial schools[42] and a history of education in Queensland written by Wyeth noted a need for a school for the deaf and blind was being considered by Government officials.[43] If attention turns to Victoria, the most extensive history of education in that State is by Blake.[44] Blake provided some details of the establishment of deaf schools and some reference to the involvement of parent and voluntary groups in deaf education, staff employed at the schools for the deaf, special teacher training and attendance policies for deaf students. However, he did not include information about teaching strategies, such as the mode of instruction

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36 Pavla Miller, Long Division - State Schooling in South Australia Society, Netley, Wakefield Press, 1986.

37 Alan Barcan, Two Centuries of Education in New South Wales, Kensington, New South Wales University Press, 1988.

38 S.H. Smith and G.T. Spaull, History of Education in New South Wales 1788-1925, Sydney, George B Philip & Son, 1925.

39 A.G. Austin, Australian Education 1788-1900 - Church, State and Public Education in Colonial Australia, Carlton, Pitman Publishing Pty Ltd, 1977.

40 M Thomas, 'Handicapped Children', in F.W. Cheshire (ed.) Each to his full stature, Hawthorn Press, Melbourne, 1965, pp. 122-132.

41 Alan Barcan, Two Centuries..., op. cit.

42 Donald Rankin, The History of Development of Education in Western Australia, Perth, Carrolls Ltd, 1926.

43 E. Wyeth, Education in Queensland - A History of Education in Queensland and in the Moreton Bay District of New South Wales (Research Series No 67), Melbourne, Australian Council for Educational Research, 1955.

44 L.J. Blake, Vision and Realisation - A Centenary History of State Education in Victoria - Volume One, Melbourne, Government Printer, 1973.

or curriculum used with deaf students.[45]

Some historians refer to students with special needs, such as "feeble-minded"[46] and Aboriginal children[47], but they do not mention deaf education. In recent years, history of education generally has been characterised by revisionist and feminist histories[48] but most of these histories are not concerned with special education.

Finally, it needs to be noted that the key Australian journal of educational history, the History of Education Review, while it contains a broad sweep of educational history, has not, in over twenty-five years of existence, included an article about deaf education. Clearly there is much pioneering work yet to be done to integrate the history of special and mainstream education.

The state of the history of education for the deaf, and the researcher's position

Historians commentating on the history of education have made the point that the characteristics or features of education that have claimed the most attention are bureaucracy, great names, policy, legislation, structures, philosophies and "big picture" elements. Their point is that the voices of children, teachers and parents have been subsumed in this history of "so-called" progress and have asked the question, progress for which group?

In recent years, many historians have responded by shifting the focus and placing class, gender, ethnicity and the individual more securely in the frame, but this new focus has tended to exclude special education. Yet as mentioned previously, while special education for deaf students and mainstream education for hearing students are closely linked, they are not studied to the same degree.

The author has aligned herself to an approach that considers the analysis of decision-making and the nature of educational change. This approach challenges "received traditions about education" in New South Wales. This revisionist approach is almost

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45 ibid., pp. 153, 219, 950, 1007, 1009, 1011, 1370.

46 Pavla Miller, op. cit.; Donald Rankin, op. cit.

47 Pavla Miller, op. cit.; Marjorie Theobald, Knowing Women - Origins of women's education in nineteenth-century Australia, Melbourne, Cambridge University Press, 1996.

48 ibid.

commonplace in mainstream educational history but is not evident in the history of deaf education in Australia. There is a need to cover some of the same ground taken by mainstream historians within what Connell refers to as a politicising approach, in order to open up the area of deaf education.[49] For example, there is a need to scrutinise the role of the State and the agendas of influential groups driving the direction of deaf education.

Citing the work of the German philosopher, Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900), Marc Depaepe, writing in the History of Education Review, pointed out that:

> ...our perception of things - and thus also of the past - has always been colored by our perspective. Because we are biologically situated in a specific spatial (social and cultural) and temporal (historical) context, we can do nothing other than look from a specific standpoint...at what lies behind us.[50]

Every researcher comes to their research with "baggage" that needs to be acknowledged and the following provides the author's personal "load". The author is a hearing person with indirect experience of deaf family members (by marriage). She has been an active member in her local association for parents of deaf children and teachers of the deaf associations, and was a committee member of the Australian Deafness Council (now known as the Deafness Forum). The author has also written a book and presented papers at a number of national and international conferences and

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[49] William Connell, 'Research and writing in the history of education', in John Keeves (ed.), Australian Education - Review of Recent Research, Allen & Unwin Australia Pty Ltd, North Sydney, 1987, pp. 30-39.

[50] Marc Depaepe, 'Educationalisation: A key concept in understanding the basic processes in the history of Western education', History of Education Review, vol. 27, no. 2, 1998, pp. 16-28, p. 16.

workshops on various aspects of deaf education.[51]

She has more than twenty years experience of the practical aspects of working with the deaf, in a variety of environments, under different forms of bureaucratic direction. This includes working for the New South Wales Education Department as a classroom teacher of the deaf and as an itinerant teacher of the deaf, from preschool to secondary level; as an Acting Consultant for the Deaf and a teacher of Signed English for the New South Wales Department of Technical and Further Education. In addition, the author has been employed as a Signed English interpreter, translator and tutor for deaf adults in the workplace. She has had most experience using the manual mode of signed English than with the purely oral mode with deaf students.

The author ceased employment in deaf education nine years ago and has not been actively involved in any parent or teacher associations since commencing this study. Therefore, at every step of the analysis, the author has explored her interpretations for bias, which proved vital given the paucity of documentary evidence, and has sought

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[51] B.L. Crickmore, Children with a Hearing Loss, paper presented at the Kintaiba Conference, Maitland, NSW, 1987; B.L. Crickmore, 'Note-taking - a support service for hearing-impaired pupils', paper presented at the 9th National Workshop on Communication for Hearing-Impaired Pupils, Geelong, Victoria, 1988; Barbara-Lee Crickmore, 'Education integration of students with hearing impairment - preschool to tertiary levels', paper presented at Special National Conference on Integration - May 1988, University of Queensland, 1988; B.L. Crickmore, 'Development of Australasian Signs Phrase Books for Use by Non-Signing Para-Professional and Ancillary Staff Working with Hearing Impaired Multi-Handicapped School-Aged Students', paper presented at the Australian & New Zealand Conference for Educators of the Deaf, Christchurch New Zealand, 13-20 January, 1988; Barbara Lee Crickmore, 'Education integration of students with hearing impairment - preschool to tertiary levels', in A.F. Ashman (ed.) Integration 25 years on, (The Exceptional Child Monograph No. 1), St Lucia, Fred and Eleanor Schonell Special Education Research Centre, 1988, pp. 109-116; B.L. Crickmore, 'Working with Families of Hearing Impaired - as a cultural sub-group, paper presented at the Australian Early Childhood Association', 18th National Conference, Canberra, ACT, 1988; B.L. Crickmore, 'Coping with a Sub-Culture - Children with Disabilities' paper presented at the Australian Early Childhood Association State Conference, Milperra, NSW, 1990; B.L. Crickmore, 'Pro-note - a Professional Course in Notetaking', a one-day workshop presented at the Garfield Barwick School, Parramatta, NSW, 1990; B.L. Crickmore, 'How to take better notes at lectures, seminars and conferences', workshop presentation at the Australia Early Childhood Association State Conference, Milperra, NSW, 1990; Barbara Crickmore, 'A History of Education for Deaf and Hearing Impaired Students in Australia', paper presented at the Australian and New Zealand Conference for Educators of the Deaf, 13-20 January 1991, Surfers Paradise, Queensland, 1991; B.L. Crickmore, 'Integration of Hearing Impaired Children in Australia', paper presented at Lady Irwin College, Sikandra Road, New Delhi, India, 1991; B.L. Crickmore, 'Individuals with Hearing Disabilities in the Workforce', Workshop for Employees at Austudy, Newcastle, October 1992. Barbara Lee Crickmore, Education of the Deaf and Hearing Impaired: A Brief History, 2nd edn, Mayfield, Education Management Systems Pty Ltd, 1995; Barbara-Lee Crickmore, 'The Influence of the Brereton Study on the Education of Deaf Students in New South Wales - Australia', paper presented at Old Boundaries and New Frontiers in Histories of Education - 7-10 December 1997, University of Newcastle, 1997.

intensive peer review from her supervisors and others.

Approach

An approach utilising sequential analysis of related events has been adopted to explore the extent to which current events and activities in deaf education, including attitudes and politics, are rooted in the past. Consequently, an historical approach has been selected to illustrate the source of specific attitudes and events leading to the provision of educational services for deaf children that exist in the late twentieth century in New South Wales. Specific elements that are addressed include legislation and regulation, modes of communication and teaching techniques, philosophies of education, attitudes towards the deaf and funding matters. These elements are interdependent. The degree of interdependence and the relative importance of the different elements has varied over different periods and in different situations, as did the outcomes of the interaction. Making matters more complex are related beliefs within the teaching profession and the wider community. These matters include perceptions about the nature of deafness, matters of religion, faith in medical interventions and tolerance for cultural differences.

In order to capture the complexities involved, the chapters have been organised to reflect specific clusters of relevant events, rather than taking the style of a faithful narration of all that occurred during a particular period. The thesis is directed at maintaining focus on the possible causes of educational outcomes for the deaf that are below those of their hearing counterparts. It is not intended as descriptive history, nor as a running comparison with mainstream education.

The thesis has eleven chapters, the remainder of Chapter One provides a background to the early developments of deaf education in some overseas countries. The second chapter covers the establishment of the first schools for the deaf in New South Wales in the 1860s, based on some of those overseas practices, and follows their development until the early 1900s. The period from Federation to the end of World War One (1901-1918) covered in Chapter Three relates the events impacting on the schools for deaf such as medical inspections and new curriculums. Chapter Four covers the period between the two World Wars, the establishment of the second Catholic school for the deaf, the foundations of the medical model and the rise in popularity of the oral mode of communication. Chapter Five encompasses the initial involvement of the New South Wales State Government in the direct provision of

special education services for deaf children. Chapter Six revolves around the 1950s when the oral mode of instruction reached a peak of popularity which resulted in the manual mode being withdrawn from use with deaf students in New South Wales schools. Chapter Seven focuses on the increasing recognition of the complexities of teaching deaf children during the late 1950s and early 1960s. Chapters Eight and Nine examine the period from the mid-1960s to the early 1970s in which the normalisation movement and Commonwealth funding infiltrated into educational provisions for deaf students. Chapter Ten covers the period from the mid-1970s to the 1990s which saw integration adopted as a major policy. The conclusion and discussion comprise Chapter Eleven.

Background to the establishment of schools for the deaf in New South Wales

The development of educational services for the deaf in Australia can be seen to have been strongly influenced by attitudes and strategies emanating from the United States of America, the United Kingdom, and a number of European countries, especially Spain, France and Germany. These in turn, may have been influenced by beliefs and actions recorded in ancient Egyptian, Greek and Roman writings.[52] Consequently, a brief survey of salient features of this earlier period is provided as a background to the appearance and continuation of issues related to the provision of educational services for the deaf in New South Wales. Of particular importance is the identification of the deaf as a distinct and often inferior group within society.

For example, from antiquity whenever the deaf are mentioned, the available evidence suggests that they have been excluded from participating as equal members in their societies.[53] At least until the middle of this century, negative beliefs about the intellectual capacity of deaf people and poor expectations for their cognitive development, have persisted and have been used as the reason for a denial of equal

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[52] Donald Moores, Educating the Deaf - Psychology, Principles, and Practices, 2nd edn, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1982, p. 31; David Wright, Deafness - a personal account, London, Allen Lane The Penguin Press, 1969, p. 134; Richard Flint, 'History of Education for the Hearing Impaired', in Larry Bradford, and William Hardy (ed.), Hearing and Hearing Impairment, Grune & Stratton, New York, 1979, pp. 26-29; Angela Wilson, Deafness Through...(Part 2)..., op. cit., pp. 17, 22-23.

[53] Richard Flint, op. cit., pp. 20, 23; Limbless Soldier's Association of New South Wales, 'Deafness Through the Ages', Association News, July-August, 1978, pp. 7-17, p. 7; Angela Wilson, Deafness Through...Deaf Education, op. cit., p. 6; David Wright, op. cit., p. 140; S Leff, The School Health Service, London, H.K. Lewis & Co Ltd, 1959, p. 20.

rights in many communities,[54] including that of New South Wales.

This negative attitude towards the deaf is not only in contrast to hearing people, but also to those with other forms of disabilities. For example, Wright noted that "Antiquity tells of blind poets, blind prophets and seers, of lame gods and kings and saints, but of no deaf mutes...".[55] Similarly, Moores recorded that the priests of Karnak, in Ancient Egypt, instructed their blind citizens in music, arts, and massage, allowing them to participate as poets and musicians during religious ceremonies.[56]

Negative beliefs about the deaf appear to have developed in response to the inability of some deaf persons to speak, rather than their inability to hear what was going on at any particular time. This led to the different treatment of non-oral deaf, compared to that of oral deaf. The reason for this difference was, as Moores points out, based on the belief that speech was necessary for thought, and without thought there could be no reason. This view has continued to be advocated by supporters of the oral mode ever since.[57]

Consequently, in the eyes of many people, lacking reason rendered the deaf person unteachable and therefore liable to be treated as either an infant or insane.[58] This view impacted on the deaf in two ways from very early times. First, a deaf person's inability

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[54] Wilma Vialle and John Paterson, 'A Sign of the Future: Recognising the Intellectual Strengths of the Deaf', Australian Journal of Education of the Deaf, vol. 2, no. 2, 1996, pp. 31-36, pp. 31-32; Angela Wilson, Deafness Through...Deaf Education, op. cit., p. 6; Harry Best, The Deaf - Their Position in Society and the Provision for their Education in the United States, New York, Thomas Y Crowell Company, 1914, p. 119.

[55] David Wright, op. cit., p. 136.

[56] Donald Moores, op. cit., p. 30.

[57] ibid., pp. 30-31; N Nieder-Heitmann, 'A Survey of the Modern History of Deaf Education', paper presented at 20th Biennial Conference of South African National Council for the Deaf, London, 1970, p. 3; Angela Wilson, Deafness Through...Deaf Education, op. cit., pp. 7-8; Fred DeLand, The Story of Lipreading - Its Genesis and Development, Washington, DC, Volta Bureau, 1968, p. 3; Harvey Peet, 'Memoir on the Origin and Early History of the Art of Instructing the Deaf and Dumb', American Annals of the Deaf and Dumb, vol. 3, no. 3, April, 1851, p. 129-161, pp. 129, 133.

[58] David Wright, op. cit., p. 135; Angela Wilson, Deafness Through...Deaf Education, op. cit., pp. 6, 9; Harry Best, op. cit., pp. 63-64, 119; University of Newcastle Library Archives: Rosary Convent for Deaf Girls A5698, Annual Reports, 1876-1977, 1914, p. 11.

to speak was used in legislation to curtail individual rights.[59] For example, ancient Jewish law stipulated that deaf individuals who could not speak had the status of a child and could not own property. On the other hand, those deaf who could speak were given certain rights.[60] Similarly, sixth century Roman law was discriminatory in recognising five specific conditions of deafness based on speech. Under the Justinian Code, each condition was related to a degree of legal rights, with pre-lingually deaf individuals (ie. those who were born deaf or were deafened before learning the hearing language) having no legal rights and not being permitted to marry.[61] European countries which based their laws on the Roman model, such as Spain, continued this suppression of the deaf throughout the sixteenth century and beyond.[62]

The suppression incorporated the view that the deaf had to be controlled or restricted rather than helped or educated. This may have been supported throughout the middle ages, in part at least, by popular European thought that saw all creation as being controlled by a divine force. Consequently, deafness and a subsequent inability to speak was regarded as part of an individual's fate and as such, there was no obligation to help them.[63]

There are a few recorded examples of exceptions to this view. However, these appear mainly to be the result of initiatives by parents of the deaf. For example, seventh century BC Greek and later Ancient Roman texts mention two instances of deaf

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[59] David Wright, op. cit., p. 135; Harlan Lane, When the Mind Hears, New York, Random House, 1984, p. 93; Angela Wilson, Deafness Through...Deaf Education, op. cit., pp. 6, 8; K.W. Hodgson, The Deaf and Their Problems - A Study in Special Education, London, Watts and Co, 1953, p. 65; Harry Best, op. cit., p. 64.

[60] Angela Wilson, Deafness Through...Deaf Education, op. cit., p. 6; K.W. Hodgson, op. cit., p. 70.

[61] Limbless Soldier's Association of New South Wales, op. cit., p. 13; A. Farrar, Arnold on the Education of the Deaf: A Manual for Teachers, Second edn, Derby, Francis Carter, 1923, pp. 2-3; K.W. Hodgson, op. cit., pp. 71-72; Fred DeLand, op. cit., pp. 4-5; Harvey Peet, op. cit., p. 136.

[62] Special Education Resource Centre, Hunter Essay, op. cit. p. 2; Special Education Resource Centre for Hearing Impaired Library Archives: Minchin, Queensland Oral Deaf School Appeal Souvenir - The History of Deaf Education, Annerley, Special Education Resource Centre for Hearing Impaired, 1956, pp. 55-59, p. 55; Donald Moores, op. cit., p. 37 Angela Wilson, Deafness Through...(Part 2)..., op. cit., p. 17; North Rocks Central School, Jean Walter (Wal 1), op. cit., pp. 2-4; Richard Flint, op. cit., p. 23; David Wright, op. cit., p. 136; K.W. Hodgson, op. cit., pp. 76-77.

[63] Limbless Soldier's Association of New South Wales, op. cit., p. 15; Angela Wilson, Deafness Through...Deaf Education, op. cit., p. 9; Richard Flint, op. cit., p. 21; Fred DeLand, op. cit., p. 7.

members of noble families receiving instruction in art.[64] The degree of deafness of these individuals is not known, nor are details of how they were taught.

Where other stories of anyone teaching deaf people to communicate do appear in early history, it is usually to prove a point about some other issue, such as the ongoing power of the Divine Force. For example, the Gospel of St Mark VII relates the story of Jesus "healing" a man who was deaf and dumb,[65] by putting:

> ...his fingers into his ears, and spitting, he touched his tongue; And looking up to heaven, he groaned, and said to him: Ephpheta, which is, Be thou opened. And immediately his ears were opened, and the string of his tongue was loosed, and he spoke right.[66]

The story was subsequently used by the Catholic schools for the deaf in 1910, to implement the Ephpheta collection, as a means of fundraising for schools for the deaf.

On the other hand, a story could emphasise a human individual's authority to intercede with the Divine Force,[67] as the Venerable Bede recorded about the year of 691AD.[68] In this case, a youth who was known to the Bishop of Hagulstad, had never been able to speak.[69] The Bishop:

> ordered him to put his tongue out of his mouth and show it to him; then laying hold of his chin, he made the sign of the Cross on his tongue, directing him to speak. 'Pronounce some word' said he. 'Say yea'. The youth's tongue was immediately loosed, and he said what he was ordered.[70]

The significance of this story, is that the Bishop of Hagulstad, later known as St John of Beverley, was said to have continued to instruct his student to speak by repeating

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[64] David Wright, op. cit., p. 137; T Arnold, Education of Deaf Mutes: A Manual for Teachers, London, Wertheimer, Lea and Co, 1888, p. 5; Richard Flint, op. cit., p. 21; Harry Best, op. cit., pp. 119-120; K.W. Hodgson, op. cit., pp. 72-73; Fred DeLand, op. cit., p. 16; Harvey Peet, op. cit., pp. 132-133.

[65] K.W. Hodgson, op. cit., pp. 66-67; Fred DeLand, op. cit., p. 8.

[66] St Mark, (ed.), Holy Bible, Chapter 7 Verse 33, London, 1984.

[67] Fred DeLand, op. cit., p. 13.

[68] Harry Best, op. cit., p. 121; R Stevenson and D Guthrie, A History of Otolaryngology, Edinburgh, E & S Livingstone, Ltd, 1949, p. 73; K.W. Hodgson, op. cit., p. 66; Fred DeLand, op. cit., pp. 9-10.

[69] Harlan Lane, op. cit. p. 68.

[70] J.A. Giles, (ed.), The Venerable Bede's - Ecclesiastical History of England also the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, London, George Bell and Sons, 1894, p. 238.

letters, syllables, words and finally sentences.[71] Although nothing more is known about his teaching method, St John was made the patron saint of teachers of the deaf for his success in teaching speech to this deaf youth.[72]

Whatever else this tale and the passage from St Mark convey, they show that not all deaf people were dismissed as ineducable, and demonstrate a belief that an inability to speak could be overcome with some deaf people, even if some miraculous powers were involved. Despite this, the different treatment of the deaf does not appear to have changed for the better.

By the renaissance period, there must have been a greater recognition of deaf people's ability to communicate. For example, Leonardo Da Vinci refers to lipreading in the passage "Of The Parts of the Face" contained in his "Precepts of the Painter".[73] Although, it is not clear whether this reference was related to a teaching strategy, or simply an observation about the communication methods used by some deaf, it does indicate an awareness of deaf people communicating with the hearing. That some deaf had developed communication methods or strategies for communicating amongst themselves was already known. For example, comments on sign language are found in Plato's Cratylus, set in fifth century BC. In conversation with Hermogenes, Socrates refers to deaf individuals who made "...signs with the hands and head and the rest of the body".[74]

Apart from these brief references, however, the deaf appear to rate little attention until the advent of the printing press brought increased literacy in many European societies. At this point, more detailed records of teaching the deaf and indications of teaching methods begin to appear. Whether this increase was due to better communication of existing practices, or whether the advent of better communications increased demand for deaf education is not clear. Certainly, those who worked with the deaf in this period

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[71] Harvey Peet, op. cit., p. 137.

[72] David Wright, op. cit., p. 138; John Bordley and Patrick Brookhouser, 'The History of Otology', in Larry Bradford, and William Hardy (ed.), Hearing and Hearing Impairment, Grune & Stratton, New York, 1979, p. 10; K.W. Hodgson, op. cit., p. 68.

[73] Leondardo da Vinci, 'Precepts of the Painter - Of the Parts of the Face', in Edward MacCurdy (ed.), Leonardo da Vinci - The Notebook of Leonardo da Vinci - Rendered in English, Jonathon Cape, London, 1977, p. 257; Special Education Resource Centre, Hunter Essay, op. cit. p. 3; Angela Wilson, Deafness Through...Deaf Education, op. cit., p. 10.

[74] R Levinson, A Plato Reader, Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1967, p. 359.

appear to have been employed by individual families to tutor their deaf child in literacy and speech.

In sixteenth century Spain, for example, a Benedictine monk by the name of Pedro Ponce de León began teaching Gaspard Burgos, a deaf man who wanted to enter monastic life but was prevented by his inability to make spoken confession. Ponce de León reportedly taught speech to Burgos by a process of synthesising sounds into words and associating the muscular memory of sound-production with the known written symbols. Ponce de León converted initial concepts either in writing or by a manual mode, being a one-handed fingerspelt alphabet, that he had created.[75] Other tutors of the deaf developed their own teaching methods.

Up to this point, these tutors of the deaf usually worked in geographically small areas, quite distant from each other. This made it almost impossible to compare philosophical approaches and share the results of their teaching techniques with other tutors of the deaf. As communication systems improved and travel between population centres become less arduous, it became easier to share ideas and access events in other areas and countries.

It also appears that, from the sixteenth century, the factionalism began to develop amongst educators of the deaf between the use of sign language (manual mode) and articulation (oral mode), which polarised in the 1950s with such profound results on education for the deaf in New South Wales. It further appears that much of this foundation was laid by people who, in many cases, had little experience of working with the deaf. Hence, many of these early ideas can be seen as coming from a philosophical rather than a pedagogical basis.

Despite this, the ideas provided the groundwork for a variety of approaches in educating the deaf. For example, the sixteenth century Italian, Girolamo Cardano, who advocated for the manual mode, believed that many abstract ideas could be conveyed by signs and written words. Cardano was a physician, mathematician, astronomer and

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[75] Special Education Resource Centre, Hunter Essay, op. cit. p. 3; Limbless Soldier's Association of New South Wales, op. cit., p. 17; Special Education Resource Centre, Minchin, op. cit., p. 55; Donald Moores, op. cit., pp. 38-39; David Wright, op. cit., pp. 140-141; Harry Best, op. cit., p. 122; T Arnold, op. cit., p. 22-23; Fred DeLand, op. cit., p. 1; Harvey Peet, op. cit., pp. 147-148; UON, Rosary Convent for Deaf Girls A5698, Annual Report 1900, p. 7.

astrologer.[76]

William Holder, a seventeenth century Anglican cleric, is known to have taught his only deaf student to speak and write by re-arranging the alphabet into a phonetic order, in which the consonants that were easy to pronounce were taught first. In his method, Holder also emphasised the importance of lipreading, but recognised that only nine of the nineteen consonants of the alphabet were visible during communication. He believed, however, that a deaf individual could learn to discern other lip movements during conversation by using their knowledge of the mechanism of articulation and the context of the dialogue.[77] The doubts about the efficacy of lipreading which he raised are shared by many to the present day.

Also in the seventeenth century, George Dalgarno from Scotland recommended that deaf children should be instructed in the two-handed fingerspelt alphabet and writing. Although a teacher of hearing students, Dalgarno had never taught the deaf.[78] Nevertheless, he told parents to commence fingerspelling to their young deaf infant, instead of using oral forms of communication because he believed it was possible to teach young deaf infants visually.[79] Early intervention and the use of visual language both remained points of contention in New South Wales education of the deaf into the 1970s.

Other prominent contributors to the literature on education of the deaf in this period

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[76] David Wright, op. cit., pp. 138-140; Donald Moores, op. cit., p. 37; Richard Flint, op. cit., p. 22; Limbless Soldier's Association of New South Wales, op. cit., pp. 15-16; Angela Wilson, Deafness Through...Deaf Education, op. cit., pp. 9-10; Harry Best, op. cit., p. 121; K.W. Hodgson, op. cit., pp. 78-79; UON, Rosary Convent for Deaf Girls A5698, Annual Report 1900, p. 6.

[77] Christopher Hoolihan, 'Too Little Too Soon: The Literature of Deaf Education in 17th Century Britain (Part II)', Volta Review, vol. 87, no. 1, January, 1985, p. 28-44, pp. 32-34; Donald Moores, op. cit., p. 43; David Wright, op. cit., pp. 148-149; Richard Flint, op. cit., p. 25; Angela Wilson, Deafness Through...Deaf Education, op. cit., p. 19; K.W. Hodgson, op. cit., pp. 101-102; Fred DeLand, op. cit., pp. 52-53.

[78] David Wright, op. cit., p. 149; Angela Wilson, Deafness Through...(Part 2)..., op. cit., pp. 18-19; Richard Flint, op. cit., p. 24.

[79] Christopher Hoolihan, op. cit., pp. 36-39; Donald Moores, op. cit., pp. 43-44; Richard Flint, op. cit., p. 24; Angela Wilson, Deafness Through...(Part 2)..., op. cit., pp. 18-19.

included John Wallis, who was Professor of Geometry at Oxford University,[80] and Juan Bonet, a Spanish soldier of fortune turned tutor of the deaf. Bonet wrote what is regarded as the first book on teaching deaf students a combined mode of communication.[81]

In addition, two English philosophers entered the debate about the mode of communication to be used with the deaf, with opposing views. John Bulwer, who was also a physician and linguist, published a book advocating the benefits of a manual mode.[82] In contrast, John Locke argued for an oral mode, and revived the ancient view that speech was necessary for thought.[83]

In the early eighteenth century, Johann Amman of Switzerland advocated that non-oral deaf students could be taught to speak by instructing them in making sounds which were refined into vowels, semi-vowels and consonants. The written forms of the words were also taught at the same time, usually nouns first.[84] Amman was a medical doctor by profession.[85]

As knowledge of the possibility of educating the deaf spread, more parents of deaf children sought the services of such tutors. In order to meet the growing demand, a number of schools became established in the eighteenth century in various countries.

In Germany, for example, Heinicke, who had been a tutor of the deaf, became principal

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[80] Donald Moores, op. cit., p. 43; Angela Wilson, Deafness Through...(Part 2)..., op. cit., p. 19; David Wright, op. cit., pp. 147-148; Richard Flint, op. cit., pp. 24-25; Christopher Hoolihan, op. cit., pp. 28-32; Harry Best, op. cit., p. 123; K.W. Hodgson, op. cit., pp. 97-100; Fred DeLand, op. cit., p. 54.

[81] Donald Moores, op. cit., pp. 39-41; K.W. Hodgson, op. cit., p. 22, 94-95, 103-104; Harlan Lane, op. cit., pp. 86, 93; David Wright, op. cit., p. 142; Harry Best, op. cit., p. 122; Fred DeLand, op. cit., pp. 28, 30; Harvey Peet, op. cit., pp. 146, 150-151.

[82] Donald Moores, op. cit., p. 42; Angela Wilson, Deafness Through...(Part 2)..., op. cit., p. 18; Richard Flint, op. cit., p. 24; K.W. Hodgson, op. cit., pp. 95-96; Harry Best, op. cit., pp. 122-123; Fred DeLand, op. cit., pp. 41, 44; Harvey Peet, op. cit., p. 158.

[83] N Nieder-Heitmann, op. cit., p. 3; K.W. Hodgson, op. cit., pp. 89-91.

[84] David Wright, op. cit., pp. 153-154; Donald Moores, op. cit., pp. 50-51; Richard Flint, op. cit., p. 25; Angela Wilson, Deafness Through...Deaf Education, op. cit., p. 19; Christopher Hoolihan, op. cit., pp. 40-42; K.W. Hodgson, op. cit., pp. 104-105; Harry Best, op. cit., p. 124; Fred DeLand, op. cit., pp. 62-66; Harvey Peet, op. cit., pp. 158-159.

[85] Harry Best, op. cit., p. 124; K.W. Hodgson, op. cit., p. 104; Fred DeLand, op. cit., p. 62.

of a school in Leipzig in 1778.[86] He agreed with Locke about the need for speech before thought and maintained that the manual mode resulted in deaf children remaining "...in a pre-mental, animal-like existence...".[87] To combat this state, he developed a method of teaching speech that did not use sign language or fingerspelling.[88] Because of his beliefs and practices, Heinicke is credited as founding the German system of "pure oralism".[89]

Meanwhile, Heinicke's contemporary, the Jansenist Abbé Charles de l'Epée had commenced teaching deaf students in Paris, France.[90] He used the manual method dominantly, but provided speech lessons to students who could benefit from them. de l'Epée believed that the natural language for deaf individuals was the language of signs and that this provided a language that enabled them to think. He advocated that before learning could occur, students needed to be able to think and if a student was deaf, thoughts and language could only be developed manually, by the use of signs.[91] de l'Epée used the one-handed fingerspelt alphabet and a sign language that was built from the syntax and morphology of the French oral language, which became known as the French method.[92]

In addition to Heinicke's school at Leipzig and de l'Epée's school at Paris, Henry Baker, an English naturalist, established a school at Hackney in London.[93] Thomas

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[86] David Wright, op. cit., p. 158; Angela Wilson, Deafness Through...(Part 2)..., op. cit., p. 22; Donald Moores, op. cit., p. 48; Richard Flint, op. cit., p. 28; Harry Best, op. cit., p. 125; K.W. Hodgson, op. cit., pp. 135-138; Fred DeLand, op. cit., p. 84.

[87] N Nieder-Heitmann, op. cit., p. 3.

[88] ibid. Harlan Lane, op. cit., pp. 209, 423; K.W. Hodgson, op. cit., pp. 89-91, 135-138; Fred DeLand, op. cit., pp. 85-86.

[89] David Wright, op. cit., p. 158; Richard Flint, op. cit., p. 27; Donald Moores, op. cit., p. 50; Angela Wilson, Deafness Through...Deaf Education, op. cit., p. 22; K.W. Hodgson, op. cit., p. 138.

[90] David Wright, op. cit., p. 159; Angela Wilson, Deafness Through...(Part 2)..., op. cit., p. 20; Harry Best, op. cit., p. 126; K.W. Hodgson, op. cit., p. 124; Fred DeLand, op. cit., pp. 75-76.

[91] Donald Moores, op. cit., pp. 47-48; Angela Wilson, Deafness Through...(Part 2)..., op. cit., pp. 20, 22; Richard Flint, op. cit., pp. 26-27; David Wright, op. cit., pp. 157-159; N Nieder-Heitmann, op. cit., p. 2; K.W. Hodgson, op. cit., p. 126; Fred DeLand, op. cit., p. 78; UON, Rosary Convent for Deaf Girls A5698, Annual Report 1900, p. 7.

[92] Donald Moores, op. cit., p. 50; Angela Wilson, Deafness Through...Deaf Education, op. cit., p. 20; St Dominic's Centre, Dooley Monograph, op. cit., p. 8; J.A. Burke, op. cit., pp. 41-42; Richard Flint, op. cit., p. 26.

[93] David Wright, op. cit., p. 151; Richard Flint, op. cit., p. 25; K.W. Hodgson, op. cit., p. 148; Fred DeLand, op. cit., p. 88; UON, Rosary Convent for Deaf Girls A5698, Annual Report 1900, p. 7.

Braidwood, a Scottish mathematics teacher, established a school at Edinburgh, in Scotland, followed by two in London, with one at Hackney and another at Bermondsey.[94] Later, in 1809, the Bermondsey school moved to the Old Kent Road, still in the London area.[95]. According to Nieder-Heitmann, schools for the deaf had also commenced in Holland, Portugal and Italy in the eighteenth century.[96]

Initially, many of these schools for the deaf were operated as commercial enterprises, often competing with each other for students, status and profit. As a consequence, many teachers of the deaf ceased sharing their knowledge in order to protect their incomes.[97] For example, in a letter to de l'Epée, Heinicke wrote:

> The method which I now pursue in the tuition of the Deaf and Dumb was never known to anyone besides myself and son. The invention and arrangement of it cost me incredible labour and pains: and I am not inclined to let others have the benefit of it for nothing.[98]

Similarly, Thomas Braidwood who established a school at Edinburgh in 1767, kept his teaching methods a secret. They proved a commercial success which allowed him to expand his enterprise through the two additional schools in London.[99]

While this secretive approach may have temporarily impeded the spread of some successful teaching programs,[100] not everyone shared Heinicke's or Braidwood's commercial perspective of education for the deaf. A change in social attitude occurred around this time (in the eighteenth century) and some visionary individuals, for humanitarian or purely social reasons, began to see a value to society in providing

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[94] Donald Moores, op. cit., p. 44; Special Education Resource Centre for Hearing Impaired Library Archives: Queensland Blind Deaf and Dumb Institution, The Story of the Queensland Blind, Deaf and Dumb Institution for 30 Years ending 30th June, 1913 - 1883-1913, Annerley, Special Education Resource Centre for Hearing Impaired, 1913 p. 16; David Wright, op. cit., pp. 152-153, 161-162; Richard Flint, op. cit., p. 29; Angela Wilson, Deafness Through...(Part 2)..., op. cit., pp. 22-23; Harry Best, op. cit., p. 127; K.W. Hodgson, op. cit., pp. 148-149; Fred DeLand, op. cit., p. 88.

[95] David Wright, op. cit., p. 2.

[96] N Nieder-Heitmann, op. cit., p. 2.

[97] Donald Moores, op. cit., p. 44, 46-7, 52; David Wright, op. cit., p. 141-2; Richard Flint, op. cit., pp. 28-29; Special Education Resource Centre, Minchin, op. cit., p. 57; K.W. Hodgson, op. cit., p. 123.

[98] C Garnett, The Exchange of Letters between Samuel Heinicke and Abbe Charles Michel de l'Epée, New York, Vantage, 1968, pp. 43-44.

[99] Richard Flint, op. cit., p. 29.

[100] K.W. Hodgson, op. cit., p. 199.

education for the deaf.[101] These individuals included politicians and philanthropists who helped a number of the schools for the deaf to become public institutions.[102]

At the same time, it proved impossible to stop others from disclosing secrets. For example, Braidwood's teaching method was eventually revealed in a small book written by the father of one of the students at the Edinburgh school.[103] In 1809, three years after Braidwood's death, his nephew Joseph Watson, openly publicised the school's teaching methods in his own book,[104] which would have been a means of promoting the school. Amongst other strategies, the school used the two-handed fingerspelt alphabet, which was discussed in Dalgarno's publication in 1680.[105] This became known as the British manual method, in contrast to the manual method that used the one-handed fingerspelt alphabet at the de l'Epée school in France.

The differences between these two manual modes and their origins would play a significant role in the types of services provided to deaf children in New South Wales and the lives of many deaf students after they left school.

Meanwhile, other tutors and schools for the deaf had continued to make their teaching methods known and shared ideas with other deaf educators. Amongst these was the de l'Epée's school for the deaf in France. Here, de l'Epée's successor, the Abbé Roche Sicard,[106] added support for the manual mode by strengthening the function of sign language and developing an analytical method of teaching grammar. Sicard believed that deaf students should construct their own sentences by means of a

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[101] Sampson Low Jun, The Charities of London, Ludgate Hill, Sampson Low, Son, and Marston, 1867, pp. 198, 204; Richard Flint, op. cit., p. 26; Angela Wilson, Deafness Through...(Part 2)..., op. cit., pp. 17, 22; David Wright, op. cit., p. 135, 146, 150-151.

[102] Donald Moores, op. cit., pp. 48, 57; David Wright, op. cit., p. 159.

[103] Donald Moores, op. cit., p. 44; David Wright, op. cit., p. 165; K.W. Hodgson, op. cit., p. 147; Fred DeLand, op. cit., p. 90.

[104] Donald Moores, op. cit., p. 44; Special Education Resource Centre, Minchin, op. cit., p. 57; David Wright, op. cit., p. 162; Fred DeLand, op. cit., p. 92.

[105] Donald Moores, op. cit., pp. 43-44; K.W. Hodgson, op. cit., p. 91; Fred DeLand, op. cit., pp. 56-57.

[106] Richard Flint, op. cit., p. 28; David Wright, op. cit., p. 159; Donald Moores, op. cit., p. 48; K.W. Hodgson, op. cit., pp. 132-133; Fred DeLand, op. cit., p. 82; UON, Rosary Convent for Deaf Girls A5698, Annual Report 1900, p. 9.

grammatical system.[107] In order to develop correct word order, he divided the sentence into five basic parts, being nominative case, verb, objective case, preposition and object of prepositions.[108] Sicard was also willing to share his ideas, which led to adaptations and further developments of teaching strategies for deaf students.[109] For example, some considered Sicard's analytical method to be too complex for their deaf students. In 1836, for instance, Frederick Barnard, an American teacher of the deaf, developed his own comprehensive system of symbols representing substantive, attributive, assertion, influence, connective and time grammar.[110] This was followed in 1844, when an alternative analytical method for primary-aged deaf students was developed by another American, Harvey Peet. Peet believed that ideas should precede words and any difficulties experienced by the deaf student should be handled one at a time. Lessons were provided in a series of progressions of grammatical principles.[111]

During the nineteenth century other schools for the deaf began to be established. For example, at Caen, in France, the Abbé Pierre Jamet founded the Institution of Le Bon Sauveur, and used de l'Epée's manual mode approach.[112] The first private school in the United States was commenced at New York in 1810.[113] Later in 1817, the American Asylum for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb opened at Hartford, Connecticut, and used a combined mode, which was heavily influenced by the Paris school.[114] In the United Kingdom, by 1829 public institutions for deaf students had been established in Aberdeen, Dublin, Glasgow, Liverpool and Manchester.[115]

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[107] L Clerc, 'Some Hints to the Teachers of the Deaf and Dumb', paper presented at Proceedings of the Second Convention of American Instructors of the Deaf and Dumb, 1851, pp. 66-67; G Wing, 'The Theory and Practice of Grammatical Methods', American Annals of the Deaf, vol. 32, no. 2, 1887, pp. 84-89, pp. 85-86; Angela Wilson, Deafness Through...(Part 2)..., op. cit., p. 20; K.W. Hodgson, op. cit., p. 174.

[108] Donald Moores, op. cit., p. 256.

[109] K.W. Hodgson, op. cit., p. 174.

[110] Frederick Barnard, Analytical Grammar; with Symbolic Illustration, New York, E French, 1836, p. iii.

[111] H Peet, 'Dr Peet's Paper on Language Lessons - The Order of the First Lessons in Language for a Class of Deaf Mutes', paper presented at Sixth Convention of American Instructors of the Deaf, Washington, DC, 1868, pp. 19-26.

[112] J.A. Burke, op. cit., pp. 374-375.

[113] Harry Best, op. cit., pp. 131-132; K.W. Hodgson, op. cit., p. 181; Fred DeLand, op. cit., p. 98.

[114] Richard Flint, op. cit., p. 30; Harry Best, op. cit., p. 134; K.W. Hodgson, op. cit., p. 183; Fred DeLand, op. cit., pp. 99, 103.

[115] David Wright, op. cit., p. 172; Angela Wilson, Deafness Through...(Part 2)..., op. cit., p. 23.

In 1846, a Roman Catholic educational institution for the deaf was established at Cabra in the city of Dublin, Ireland. The Irish approach was modelled on Abbé Jamet's Institution, at Caen and used the French one-handed fingerspelt alphabet. A few years later, Dominican Sisters from the Cabra institution founded the first Catholic school for the deaf in New South Wales.[116]

In the United States, the Kendall School opened in 1857.[117] In 1864, the Columbia Institution for the Deaf and Dumb in Washington, DC, which was later re-named Gallaudet College, opened.[118] Gallaudet College became very influential within deaf communities because it provided tertiary study facilities for deaf students.

Perhaps following Heinicke's claim, that "deaf-mutes" could be educated in a similar manner to educating hearing students,[119] at least two different approaches to deaf education took place in Europe. First, in 1817, Denmark made education of the deaf compulsory.[120] The move was significant, because it put responsibility for the provision of services onto the Government and represented a legislative effort to ensure the deaf had access to education similar to their hearing peers. Compulsory education has never been legislated specifically for deaf students in New South Wales.

Second, in the German town of Bayreuth, an experiment with integration occurred in 1821, with the placement of a class of deaf children within a mainstream State school.[121] At the same time, Victor Jager and Friedrich Hill advocated for early intervention and integration of deaf children into normal teaching environments.[122] Although results of this experiment and advocacy are not available, the effort to provide equality of access, at least, was not followed by the New South Wales Government for

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[116] Elsie May Pettinari, op. cit., p. 12; Sister Egan, History of..., op. cit., pp. 7-8; UON, Rosary Convent for Deaf Girls A5698, Annual Report 1914, p. 4; UON, Rosary Convent for Deaf Girls A5698, Annual Report 1900, p. 10.

[117] Harry Best, op. cit., p. 206; K.W. Hodgson, op. cit., p. 220.

[118] Donald Moores, op. cit., pp. 60-61, 68; Harry Best, op. cit., p. 207.

[119] David Wright, op. cit., p. 169; T Arnold, op. cit., pp. 90-91.

[120] David Wright, op. cit., p. 168; Angela Wilson, Deafness Through...(Part 2)..., op. cit., p. 23; K.W. Hodgson, op. cit., p. 176.

[121] David Wright, op. cit., p. 169; K.W. Hodgson, op. cit., p. 177.

[122] David Wright, op. cit., pp. 169-170; K.W. Hodgson, op. cit., p. 215.

more than 125 years.

Medical cures for deafness

While the opposing camps representing oral or manual modes of communication were being fortified and the issue of special provisions for the deaf were established, the medical model of deafness was updated by a French physician, Dr Jean-Marc Itard. In the late eighteenth century, Itard became the physician at the Paris school where de l'Epée had been the Principal.[123] He believed, like many to follow him, that deafness was a medical condition that could be cured. In pursuit of this goal, Itard performed a number of "surgical" experiments on deaf students.[124]

Historically, investigations that had been made were often related to obvious physical problems of the ear, including infections and discharges.[125] For example, Hippocrates of Cos investigated infections of the middle ear in the fourth century BC.[126] In first century AD Rome, Celsus investigated the ringing and buzzing sounds that sufferers of middle ear infections often experienced. He linked the noises to insects in the ear and recommended the pouring of vinegar into the ear to kill them.[127] In the third century BC, a Greek named Erasistratus investigated differences between motor and sensory nerves.[128] Later, in the second century AD, Galen of Pergamum, who had been influenced by the work of Hippocrates, recommended that in cases of acute ear infections, the mastoid should be drained.[129]

Apart from these early attempts at trying to establish physical or neurological connections to hearing ability, little more is evident until Itard began publishing the

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[123] David Wright, op. cit., p. 159; Harlan Lane, op. cit. p. 132; Donald Moores, op. cit., p. 46.

[124] K.W. Hodgson, op. cit., p. 117.

[125] John Bordley and Patrick Brookhouser, op. cit., pp. 3-4; Limbless Soldier's Association of New South Wales, op. cit., p. 9; Angela Wilson, Deafness Through...Deaf Education, op. cit., p. 6; T Arnold, op. cit., pp. 4-5.

[126] Francis Lederer, 'The Development of Otorhinolaryngology and Bronchoesophagology', Journal of International College of Surgeons, vol. 33, no. 1, 1960, pp. 83-97, p. 85; R Stevenson and D Guthrie, op. cit., p. 11; K.W. Hodgson, op. cit., p. 63.

[127] John Bordley and Patrick Brookhouser, op. cit., p. 4; Limbless Soldier's Association of New South Wales, op. cit., p. 11; R Stevenson and D Guthrie, op. cit., p. 17; K.W. Hodgson, op. cit., p. 64.

[128] R Stevenson and D Guthrie, op. cit., p. 15.

[129] John Bordley and Patrick Brookhouser, op. cit., p. 4; R Stevenson and D Guthrie, op. cit., pp. 17-18.

results of his work. He appeared to believe that blood-letting or puncturing would stimulate a recovery from deafness. For example, leeches were applied to the deaf students' necks, eardrums were pierced,[130] probes were inserted into the eustachian tube and in some cases the deaf student's skull was fractured behind the ear.[131]

During the same period in France, another form of cure was developed by Merle, a self-styled naturalist doctor. He created a concoction consisting of eight grams of ground wild ginger, one pinch of rose of Provence, four grams of wild horseradish, and one pinch of glasswort. The mixture was boiled in white wine until it had been reduced to half the original volume, then strained before adding eight grams of sea salt and pouring a few drops into the deaf student's ear.[132] The details are known because the recipe was purchased by Itard from Merle's widow and tried on the students at the Paris Institute for deaf students.[133] Although Itard does not record any successful cures to deafness, his attempts formed the basis for the medical model of deafness which has continued the advocacy for surgical procedures and the application of hearing technology.

Summary

In little more than three hundred years education for the deaf as a concept had developed from almost non-existence to a level where the merits of teaching methods and different modes were worthy of debate. Some of these issues were based on ancient beliefs that speech preceded thought, and continued to be used to support instruction in pure oralism. Others took on a nationalistic form, with distinctive German, French, English and Irish traditions being imposed on the method of teaching and communicating with deaf students.

The period also saw education of the deaf develop into a profession in its own right, with the establishment of schools for the deaf. However, in the main, these took the form of independent special schools and were not included within the Government-funded school system which provided education for hearing children. Instead, schools for the deaf were more often commercial enterprises or charitable institutions with

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130 Harlan Lane, op. cit., pp. 132-133.

131 ibid., pp. 133-135.

132 ibid., p. 133.

133 ibid.

church affiliations and specific denominational functions. As such, they were not the same as schools for the hearing in terms of the funding and resources at their disposal. This model was highly influential on the establishment and evolution of specialised deaf education in New South Wales.

It was also a period that witnessed the emergence of medical intervention and a focus on treatment rather than education. Although this did not appear to have an initial impact on the education of the deaf in New South Wales, it certainly played a major role from the 1930s.

Taken together, societal beliefs about the intelligence of deaf people, the impositions of varying modes of instruction on the deaf and changes to those modes by hearing educators, the creation of schools for the deaf as commercial enterprises, charitable institutions, or extensions to religious organisations, rather than as a part of a Government education system, provided the basis for the establishment of schools for the deaf in New South Wales.

CHAPTER TWO

ESTABLISHING THE FIRST SCHOOLS FOR THE DEAF

Introduction

Unlike the process that led to the establishment of deaf schools in Europe, there is no evidence to indicate that tutors of the deaf students had been in widespread demand in Australia prior to the opening of schools for the deaf. Rather, the opening of private schools for the deaf in New South Wales and Victoria came about because the newly created government-funded school system made no special provision for the teaching of deaf students.

Similar to the situation in Britain, the first schools for the deaf in Australia were opened as commercial enterprises. These schools later converted to charitable institutions under the control of voluntary associations.[1] The second school for the deaf in New South Wales was established by the Roman Catholic church and had a specific denominational function. In both cases, their organisational structure reflected European traditions, as did their modes of communication and teaching strategies.

The operation of both schools, however, was more closely aligned to State educational issues, which began to dominate both curriculum content and the desired public image of the schools. Before the end of the nineteenth century, this had begun to create a conflict between the needs of the deaf students and their educational achievements in relation to hearing students.

In addition, the continued failure of the New South Wales Government to make schooling of the deaf compulsory, effectively denied education to many deaf children. In this context deaf children were not provided with the same educational opportunities as their hearing counterparts during the late nineteenth century in New South Wales.

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[1] R.J. Andrews, J Elkins, P.B. Berry, and J.A. Burge, A Survey of Special Education in Australia – provisions, needs and priorities in the education of children with handicaps and learning difficulties, Schonell Educational Research Centre, University of Queensland, 1979, p. 14.

The introduction of State-based schools in New South Wales

In 1848, Governor Fitzroy appointed the Board of National Education in New South Wales that aspired to provide non-denominational schooling for the Colony's children.[2] The primary aim of the Board was to wrestle control of education from the churches, and the first State-based schools were established in areas where the churches had no schools. Later, government schools were established in close proximity to the existing church schools to provide alternative non-denominational education.

The initial Colonial government approach to organising schooling reflected the continued influence exerted by the British education bureaucracy, which at the time left education of the deaf to non-government schools.[3] It is likely that the colonists chose to try and reproduce the familiar educational system of their mother country[4] as they were accountable to London for their efforts.[5] However, conditions in Australia were quite different to those in Britain. The New South Wales Colonial government's fledgling education bureaucracy struggled to establish a State education system across a very large area that had a relatively sparse population. An Act to establish Municipalities was not proclaimed until 1858[6] so that, unlike Britain, the New South Wales Colonial government could not involve local governments in the organisation of education at the early stage.[7] The Board of Education therefore adopted a centralised model of administration that implemented a standardised form of school design, classroom layout, and curriculum.[8] A supporting scheme of school and teacher

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[2] J. Burns-Wood and J Fletcher, Interim Report of the Working Party for the Establishment of an Education Commission, New South Wales Department of Education – Division of Planning, 1979, p. 1; S.H. Smith and G.T. Spaull, History of Education in New South Wales 1788-1925, Sydney, George B Philip & Son, 1925, 1925, pp. 83, 86-89.

[3] K.S. Cunningham and J.J. Pratt, Review of Education – 1939, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1940, pp. 67-68, 109; G.W. Bassett, 'The Australian College of Education', in D.A. Jecks (ed.) Influences in Australian Education, Perth, Carrolls Pty. Ltd., 1974, pp. 218-244, pp. 218-219; Alan Barcan, A History of Australian Education, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1980, p. 234; Eric Bowker, 'The Commonwealth and Education 1901-69', in J Cleverley and J Lawry (ed.) Australian Education in the Twentieth Century, Longman Australia Pty Limited, Camberwell, Victoria, 1972, pp. 147-148.

[4] R.J. Andrews, J Elkins, P.B. Berry, and J.A. Burge, op. cit., p. 14.

[5] K.S. Cunningham and J.J. Pratt, op. cit., pp. 67-68, 109; G.W. Bassett, op. cit., pp. 218-244, pp. 218-219; Alan Barcan, op. cit., p. 234; Eric Bowker, op. cit., pp. 147-148.

[6] Act 13, 1858, An Act for establishing Municipal Institutions, Statutes of New South Wales 1852-1862.

[7] R. Freeman Butts, Assumptions Underlying Australian Education, Melbourne, Australian Council for Education Research, 1955, pp. 13-14.

[8] ibid., pp. 12-13.

inspections, which effectively ensured that teachers did not stray from rigid guidelines for attaining specific outcomes, established a uniformity of programs.[9] It is unlikely that this uniformity allowed teachers many options for providing specific tuition to individual children with special needs.

Between 1848 and 1880, the government's efforts to establish a State school system were overshadowed by continuing conflict with the existing denominational schools over a range of issues centered on curriculum, teaching aims, and desired outcomes.[10] The intensity of the debates, as well as the time and energy they must have demanded of the participants is attested to by the variety of related government Bills enacted during the period.[11] Under the circumstances, it is likely that all of the available Colonial government's resources were directed at implementing basic educational services to the maximum number of children. In the mid-1800s the State education system did not appear physically or pedagogically capable of providing for individual children with special needs.

Opening of the first school for the deaf in New South Wales

Parents of deaf children in Colonial Australia during the 1850s had only three options for the education of their children. First, if the family had sufficient money, they could send their deaf child to a school for the deaf in another country, such as England.[12] Second, they could keep their child at home and face the prospect of supporting him or her for the rest of their lives. Third, if the child was uncontrollable and unable to learn social skills within the home environment, the parents could attempt to place him in an

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[9] ibid., p. 15

[10] Act 11, 1848, National Education Board, Statutes of New South Wales 1824-1957; Act 43, op. cit., pp. 14-19; J. Burns-Wood and J Fletcher, op. cit., p. 2; S.H. Smith and G.T. Spaull, History of Education in New South Wales 1788-1925, Sydney, George B Philip & Son, 1925, 1925, pp. 101, 183-184.

[11] Dean Ashenden, State aid and the division of schooling in Australia, Geelong, Deakin University Press, 1989, pp. 3-4; Act 11, 1848, National Education Board, Statutes of New South Wales 1824-1957; New South Wales Department of Public Instruction, Public School Act, 1866, Sydney, William Applegate Gullick, 1898, p. 1; Act 43, 1880, Public Instruction, Statutes of New South Wales 1879-1885, pp. 14-19.

[12] A Widow, 'The Deaf and Dumb', Melbourne Argus, Wednesday, 16 February, 1859, 5; F.J. Rose, 'The Deaf and Dumb', Melbourne Argus, Thursday, 24 February, 1859, p. 1; RIDBC Annual Report 1863, p. 8.

"institution", such as an asylum for destitute children.[13]

However, in the late 1850s a fourth option arose: the establishment of special schools for the deaf in Australia. The first indication of parental demand for the education of deaf children appeared in the Colony of Victoria rather than New South Wales. The Melbourne Argus of the 14 February 1859 contained a letter to the Editor signed by "G".[14]

Writing on behalf of the parent of a deaf child, "G" directed "...public attention to the condition of the deaf and dumb in the colony, who are growing up in a most deplorable state of ignorance."[15]

This was supported two days later with the printing of another letter to the Editor written by the mother of an eight year old girl. Signing herself "A Widow", she wrote that her daughter was "...deaf and dumb from colonial fever...", and lamented that for deaf children "...there is neither books nor instruction for them".[16]

Frederick Rose, an Englishman who had been deaf since he was four years of age, read the letters and also wrote to the Editor of the Argus saying, amongst other things

> I should feel most happy to further the views of your correspondents in establishing an asylum for the instruction of those who may be unfortunately deaf and dumb; or if one were established, I should have no objection to render any assistance in my power in the way of instruction for a fair remuneration.[17]

Despite the letters there is no evidence from either newspaper or government sources at the time to suggest that the Victorian Government considered establishing such a school. Similar to the situation in New South Wales, the Victorians were only just establishing a government education system and, according to the letter from "G", made no provision for deaf children. As a result, in November 1860, Rose took the

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[13] RIDBC Annual Report 1863, p. 9; New South Wales Department of Child Welfare and Social Welfare, Child Welfare in New South Wales, 1972, p. 13; Norma Parker, 'Differential Policies in Child Care', Australian Journal of Social Issues, vol. 1, no. 1, Spring, 1961, pp. 49-64, p. 52; Alan Barcan, op. cit., p. 86.

[14] G, 'The Deaf and Dumb', Melbourne Argus, Monday, 14 February, 1859, p. 5.

[15] G, 'op. cit., p. 5.

[16] A Widow, op. cit., p. 5.

[17] F.J. Rose, op. cit., p. 1.

initiative and opened the Victorian Deaf and Dumb Institution with four residential students, accommodated in a small house in Peel Street, Windsor.

Whether people in Sydney had seen the letters in the Melbourne Argus is not clear. However, before Rose opened his school, an announcement appeared in the classified column of the Sydney Morning Herald on the 15 October, 1860, announcing:

> Deaf and Dumb Institution, 152, Liverpool Street, near South Head Road. - This Institution is to be conducted by Mr THOMAS PATTISON, late secretary and treasurer of the Edinburgh Deaf and Dumb Benevolent Society.
> The School will open on MONDAY, the 22nd October.
> The Religious Meeting of the Mute Adults commences on SUNDAY, the 28th instant. The worship at 2 p.m. and 6 p.m.[18]

Thus, by opening three weeks ahead of the Victorian Institution, New South Wales became the site for the first school for the deaf in Australia.

The Sydney school

The building used for the Sydney school was established within the requirements of the National Education Act of 1848 which, under certain circumstances, allowed a school to be established in a private house.[19] According to the 1863 Annual Report, the Sydney school commenced in 1860 under the management of Pattison who was superintended by three hearing men.[20] Two of these men appear to have been George Lentz and the Reverend George King.[21] According to Walter, George Lentz was the father of three deaf daughters and uncle to Anne Lentz, who was one of the first students at the Sydney school.[22] The Reverend George King[23] may also have been instrumental in the religious meetings for the "mute" adults, announced in the same notice as the school's opening. As the need to seek fee-paying students, as well as additional funds through donations, were both extremely important to the survival of the

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[18] Sydney Morning Herald, 'Deaf and Dumb Institution, Monday, 15 October, 1860, p. 1.

[19] ibid., North Rocks Central School for Deaf Children Library Archives: Jean Walter (Wal 1), The History of the New South Wales Schools for Deaf and for Blind Children 1860-1960, 1961, pp. 8-9; Angela Wilson, 'Deafness Through the Ages (Part 4) - An Historical Survey of Deaf Education', Lantern Light, August, 1976b, pp. 23-31, p. 23; A.G. Austin, Australian Education 1788-1900 - Church, State and Public Education in Colonial Australia, Carlton, Pitman Publishing Pty Ltd, 1977, pp. 58-59.

[20] RIDBC Annual Report 1863, p. 4.

[21] RIDBC Annual Report 1862, pp. 4, 6.

[22] ibid., p. 8; RIDBC Annual Report 1869, p. 8.

[23] RIDBC Annual Report 1864, p. 8.

school, the need to employ a "Collector" was warranted.[24]

Thomas Pattison

Pattison, a deaf man, was born in Great Britain in 1806. Reportedly, he had received five years of special schooling in Scotland at the Edinburgh Institution for the Education of Deaf and Dumb Children, was a monitor and spent many more years there as a teacher, leaving with the rank of Assistant Master.[25] A notice in the Sydney Morning Herald in 1861 gives him the title of "Professor".[26] However, Walter claims there was conflicting evidence disputing his teaching credentials.[27]

Whether or not Pattison was a qualified teacher is of little consequence to the central argument of this thesis and the matter is not pursued further. However, the Sydney school's Annual Report claim is relevant to the creation of an image, by the Sydney school, of an educational establishment for the deaf which was no different in professional stature to State schools. The perception of educational parity is an issue which appears to have played an important part in the operation of the school and the services it provided over the following 50 years.

Enrolment policy and demand for places

On its inception, enrolment at the Sydney school was open to any deaf student, including those with additional disabilities.[28] This was an important decision because it gave all the deaf an equal opportunity of gaining admission to the school, on the basis of their deafness. There were other limitations, such as the school fees, the physical capacity of the school and boarding facilities for those children residing outside Sydney. Whenever possible, however, the school tried to overcome the limitations.

According to the Annual Report of 1863, the Sydney school commenced as a private experiment with seven students. During the first year, eleven children were entered in

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[24] RIDBC Annual Report 1866, pp. 7, 10; RIDBE Annual Report 1881, p. 20; Angela Wilson, Deafness Through...(Part 4)...op.cit., p. 23.

[25] RIDBC Annual Report 1862, pp. 4, 8; RIDBC Annual Report 1863, p. 4; Ernest Lund, op. cit., p. 51.

[26] Sydney Morning Herald, 'Notice', 10 October, 1861, p. 1.

[27] North Rocks Central School, Jean Walter (Wal 1), op. cit., pp. 9-10.

[28] Ernest Lund, op. cit., p. 87

the school's register.[29] Twelve months after the first enrolment, the Sydney school moved to larger premises at 368 Castlereagh Street, Sydney. This was to accommodate not only classrooms but also residential and boarding facilities for students.[30] However, many deaf students were said to have sought enrolment at the Sydney school, but due to a lack of space and funds had to be refused admission.[31] Although day students had been accepted initially, irregular attendance patterns caused problems with the teaching program. As a result, day students' enrolments ceased, and by 1866 all students were boarders.[32]

Boarding facilities

The provision of boarding facilities can be seen as significant in relation to the development of the deaf students as an identifiable group in Australian society. First, it created a segregated environment for 24 hours per day, which provided opportunities for the deaf to develop intra-group communication skills, interests and relationships. Second, it provided an opportunity for the school to teach language skills in a variety of classroom and domestic situations which further consolidated the deaf at the Sydney school as a distinct group, compared to other students.

The impact of the residential component can be assessed from the Sydney school's 1860s routine, which required the residential students to rise at 6am to wash and get ready for the 7am breakfast. At 8.15am the Matron checked that the students were prepared for the school day that commenced at 9am, except for some female students who assisted the Matron with housework until 10.30am. Recess was at 10.45am. Lunch recess was from 12.15pm to 1.45pm. The Matron would check the students again to prepare them for the 2pm afternoon classes, which consisted of sewing for the females and classes with the Master for the males. At 4pm the students went walking, but were back for the evening meal at 5.15pm. Bedtime ranged from 7pm to 9pm, depending on the age of the students.[33]

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[29] RIDBC Annual Report 1862, p. 4; RIDBC Annual Report 1863, p. 4.

[30] RIDBC Annual Report 1862, p. 4; RIDBC Annual Report 1863, p. 4; RIDBC Annual Report 1956, p. 1.

[31] RIDBE Annual Report 1863, pp. 5,9.

[32] RIDBC Annual Report 1865, p. 5; RIDBE Annual Report bye laws 1867, pp. 23-24.

[33] RIDBC Annual Report 1865, p. 5; RIDBC Annual Report bye laws 1867, pp. 23-24.

One of the apparent consequences of the deaf students learning and living together at their special school was that many of them maintained contact with each other after leaving the school. Eventually these contacts became more formalised as scheduled meetings and became the foundations for several deaf associations.[34] Some of these became influential in the creation of a deaf culture and impacted on educational services for the deaf in the late twentieth century in New South Wales.

The status of a public institution

At the same time as moving to the larger premises, the Sydney school applied for and was granted, the status of a Public Institution,[35] necessitating the transfer of its financial management to a Board of Directors. The Reverend George King became President and held the position for twenty years.[36] The Sydney school also acquired a member of the medical profession who would medically inspect prospective new students to ensure they had no diseases and be responsible for the general health of the enrolled students. One of the more prominent members of the Board (rising to be the President) was the parliamentarian and philanthropist, Sir Arthur Renwick, who was also the Sydney school's honorary medical surgeon for many years.[37]

The Collector's role became all the more important after 1861 because the change in the school's legal status made it eligible to receive a Government grant.[38] Unlike State schools for the hearing, however, this grant, along with school fees, was not sufficient to meet all the operational costs of the school. Therefore, soliciting donations from members of the public and general fundraising events continued to be necessary.

At this point, all schools in New South Wales charged fees, under the directive of the

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[34] University of Newcastle Library Archives: Rosary Convent for Deaf Girls A5701i, First Reports of the Research Committee for the Deaf and Blind, 1934, pp. 3, 10; J.L. Ferris, A Brief History of the Society Celebrating 75 Years - "From Patronage to Partnership", Deaf Society of New South Wales, Annual Report, 1988, p. 8.

[35] RIDBC Annual Report 1862; North Rocks Central School, Jean Walter (Wal 1), op. cit., pp. 10-11.

[36] Sydney Morning Herald, 'Obituary Notice', Tuesday, 21 March, 1899, p. 1.

[37] RIDBC Annual Report 1869, p. 5; RIDBC Annual Report 1870, p. 5; RIDBC Annual Report 1869, p. 5; RIDBC Annual Report 1895, p. 24; Act 21, 1903, Deaf, Dumb, and Blind Institution Vesting, Statutes of New South Wales 1903-1905, p. 79.

[38] RIDBC Annual Report 1862, p. 4; New South Wales Department of School Education Library, op. cit., p. 233; Alan Barcan, A History..., op. cit., p. 112.

Board of National Education, which recommended minimum levels for State schools.[39] In this respect, charging tuition fees at the schools for the deaf was not out of the ordinary and did not put the Sydney school or the families of deaf students at a disadvantage compared to hearing students in State or Denominational schools, at this time.

As a result both of the move to larger premises and access to greater funding, the school's capacity was enlarged and enrolments increased to 18 students in 1862. The school expanded again in December 1862 when it moved to 462 Pitt Street, Sydney.[40] In the following year, enrolments were recorded as 22.[41]

Educational "policemen"

While increased enrolments and classification as a charity were both financially beneficial to the school, the receipt of Government grants made the Sydney school subject to inspection by the New South Wales Board of National Education's "educational policemen".[42] These school inspectors were concerned with ensuring that teaching efficiency and educational outcomes were at the standards designed for hearing children in Government schools and met the academic aims of the New South Wales Education Department.

The meeting of these aims posed something of a philosophical problem, as well as a practical one for the Sydney school. Initially, the focus of deaf education was on student welfare, including survival skills and vocational training, rather than on the development of academic skills.[43] This is supported by a statement in the First Annual Report of the Sydney school, declaring a need to help "...the afflicted beings" and not

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[39] New South Wales Department of School Education Library, op. cit., p. 231.

[40] RIDBC Annual Report 1863, pp. 4, 6; RIDBC Annual Report 1956, p. 1; Angela Wilson, Deafness Through...(Part 4)..., op. cit., p. 23.

[41] RIDBC Annual Report 1863, p. 4.

[42] J Burns-Wood and J Fletcher, op. cit., p. 2; S.H. Smith and G.T. Spaull, op.cit., pp. 101, 183-184.

[43] Special Education Resource Centre for Hearing Impaired Library Archives: Burns Essay, The History of the Development of the Education of the Deaf in Australia, Annerley, 1969, pp. 1-2; RIDBC Annual Report 1960, p. 1; RIDBC Annual Report 1864, p. 8; RIDBC Annual Report 1896, pp. 16-17; RIDBC Annual Report 1898, p 19; RIDBC Annual Report 1979, pp. 17-18; M Thomas, 'Handicapped Children', in F.W. Cheshire (ed.) Each to his full stature, Hawthorn Press, Melbourne, 1965, pp. 122-132, p. 122; K.W. Hodgson, The Deaf and Their Problems - A Study in Special Education, London, Watts and Co, 1953, p. 159.

leave them in the helpless condition they were born in, without the capacities to earn their own living".[44]

A view of the deaf as being in a helpless condition appears to have reflected prevailing community attitudes of the time and exemplifies the "mesh of meanings" about the deaf and deaf education inherent in Australian society. For example, Sheen contends that in the 1860s, at least, many members of the Australian community believed that "deaf mutes" had "blank minds" apart from knowledge gained from their sense of sight.[45] This attitude was illustrated in the Sydney school's Annual Report, when it was recorded that deaf students, on entering the Sydney school had "darkened mind[s]" that could be changed when "...the intellect expands and new ideas break in" by the education they received at the special school.[46]

This approach also appeared to meet the needs of the deaf child's parents who were said to be "grateful" for their deaf child just to be given some survival and social skills.[47] The academic achievements of their deaf child also appeared to be a secondary goal for most of the parents. The low expectations of some parents was exemplified by one mother of a deaf student at the school for the deaf in Victoria, who was overjoyed at the success of the teacher who had taught her child to know not only her first name, but her full name.[48]

Duration of schooling

In contrast to some parents, the Sydney school's benefactors and inspectors of the New South Wales Education Department wanted to see that donations and Government grants were instrumental in successfully educating deaf students in subject matter designed for hearing students in mainstream schools.[49] The task presented difficulties for teachers from the start, because they recognised that the task of preparing the "blank" or "darkened" minds of deaf students for academic instruction

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[44] RIDBC Annual Report 1862, p. 6; RIDBC Annual Report 1864, p. 8; RIDBC Annual Report 1866, 7.

[45] J.B. Sheen, A Study of the Victorian Deaf and Dumb Institution and Areas of Education Associated with the Deaf 1860-1913, M.Ed. Thesis, Monash University, 1983, pp. 126, 131, 135.

[46] RIDBC Annual Report 1863, p. 5; RIDBC Annual Report 1864, p. 8.

[47] ibid., pp. 4-5; RIDBC Annual Report 1866, pp. 4-5.

[48] J.B. Sheen, op. cit., p. 1.

[49] RIDBC Annual Report 1911, p. 32.

in the 1860s usually required up to two years of discipline and training.[50] The length of time was needed first to teach communication skills to the deaf student, then to instruct them in basic language and literacy skills, before instruction in subject matter could begin. As the curriculum for hearing students was broadened over time, to include a greater amount of information and numbers of abstract concepts, so the time needed for deaf students to learn the greater amount of language required to understand the concepts increased.

The duration of schooling for deaf students remains an issue today, although the problems were recognised in the nineteenth century. For example, the 1877 Annual Report of the Sydney school stated that education was a slow process due to the student's physical disability. It claimed that students may need to be at the school until 18 years of age, although most left when 15-16 years old.[51] However, the 1877 Annual Report stated that children should be enrolled earlier to prevent them "...lapsing into a state of half Idiocy from the want of the discipline and educational advantages".[52]

A few years later, in 1880, the second International Congress of Deaf Educators, held in Milan, passed a resolution that deaf students should be enrolled at an educational institution between the ages of eight and ten years, and that the ideal duration of schooling should be seven or eight years.[53] The 1887 Annual Report of the Sydney school supported the 1880 resolution and claimed that deaf students required between six to eight years of schooling.[54]

In New South Wales, the Public Instruction Act of 1880, amongst other things, introduced a form of compulsory education for children in State schools. It made parents responsible for enrolling their children at a school. It set the school starting age at six years and the leaving age at fourteen years.[55] This effectively set the minimum duration for school attendance for hearing children at eight years. However,

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[50] RIDBC Annual Report 1867, pp. 4-5.

[51] RIDBC Annual Report 1880, p. 12.

[52] RIDBC Annual Report 1877, p. 8.

[53] R.G. Brill, International Congresses on Education of the Deaf - An Analytical History 1878-1980, Washington, D.C., Gallaudet College, 1984. p. 413; K.W. Hodgson, op. cit., p. 243.

[54] RIDBC Annual Report 1881, p. 12; RIDBC Annual Report 1887, p. 62.

[55] Alan Barcan, A History..., op. cit., p. 143; J Burns-Wood and J Fletcher, op. cit., p. 2; New South Wales Department of School Education Library, op. cit., p. 231.

like the 1848 Act, the provisions did not apply to students in the deaf schools.

The reluctance of legislators to specifically include deaf students in requirements for compulsory education effectively denied many deaf children educational opportunities comparable to those of hearing children. By not exerting authority in demanding that deaf children attend school, the State Government did not have to take responsibility for the cost or administration of the special educational services required for this group of students. While legislation did not deny deaf children the opportunity of attending mainstream schools, the lack of special provisions for communication would have prevented most of them from coping with the curriculum.

Mode and materials

To communicate with his students, Thomas Pattison at the Sydney school used the British two-handed fingerspelling alphabet, following the mode which he would have been taught at the Braidwood's Edinburgh school.[56] This mode may not have been an innovation for the colony as Anne Lentz, one of the first students, was reported in the Sydney school's Second Annual Report as being "...conversant with the manual alphabet and the usual routine of Deaf and Dumb from her infancy".[57] Its use at the school did, however, install it as a standard form of communication in New South Wales at that time.

There is no evidence to suggest that anyone challenged the use of this two-handed fingerspelling alphabet in the 1860s, although Wilson reports that it was during this period that some students were instructed to speak.[58] At this point, the deaf community of students was divided by the mode used to instruct them, those who could speak and those who could not. This effectively created two sub-cultures which, over time, developed into groups with distinctly different wants and needs. By the 1930s, this division also led to a considerably unequal distribution of resources.

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[56] RIDBC Annual Report 1863, pp. 4-5, 8; Leanne Neal, The Integration of Hearing Impaired Children: A Manual for Class Teachers, Grad.Dip.Sp.Ed. Thesis, Newcastle College of Advanced Education, 1986, p. 3; Angela Wilson, Deafness Through...(Part 4)..., p. 23; North Rocks Central School, Jean Walter (Wal 1), op. cit., p. 20.

[57] RIDBC Annual Report 1863, p. 5; Jean Walter, 'History of the New South Wales School for Deaf Children', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 2, no. 1, November, 1960, pp. 7-14, pp. 8-9.

[58] Angela Wilson, Deafness Through...(Part 4)..., p. 23.

Just as Pattison brought overseas training and expertise in the manual mode of communication to the Sydney school, he did the same with curriculum texts and materials. One of the Sydney school's first purchases included "a series of the best pictorial illustrations" used at schools for the deaf in England.[59] This acquisition reveals that he must have had knowledge about educators of the deaf in London, and represents an initial reliance on overseas ideas and practices. Although an Australian edition of lesson books was used at the Sydney school from 1877,[60] American and European influences dominated education of the deaf in Australia well into the second half of the twentieth century.

Public image of deaf education

In the meantime, to promote the image of educational success of the Sydney school and attract more funding, the school's committee conducted public demonstrations of some of their students' academic abilities. During these functions, some deaf students would display academic and manual skills that they had acquired at the Sydney school.[61] This included demonstrations of how language was taught and examples of successful outcomes. For instance, some students in their first year at the Sydney school would write nouns on the blackboard after being shown an object, such as a hat. Second year students demonstrated their knowledge of adjectives, while the more advanced groups wrote masculine and feminine pronouns, verbs and mood.[62]

Students also gave written answers to questions written on a blackboard, questions such as, "Who makes bread?" and "What destroys vegetables?". They would also be asked to write the objects in the vegetable and mineral worlds on the blackboard and write names of the counties of England on a blank map.[63] The 1863 reports describes how:

> One little girl who had now left the school shewed a large amount of intelligence, and, like many more of the children, wrote a beautiful hand. She knew English history well, was a good arithmetician, and had a competent knowledge of the Scriptures.[64]

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[59] RIDBC Annual Report 1862, p. 5; RIDBC Annual Report 1863, p. 5;

[60] RIDBC Annual Report 1862, p. 5; Jean Walter, op. cit., p. 8.

[61] RIDBC Annual Report 1864, p. 10; North Rocks Central School, Jean Walter (Wal 1), op. cit., pp. 18-19.

[62] RIDBC Annual Report 1866, pp. 9-10.

[63] ibid., RIDBC Annual Report 1867, pp. 12-13.

[64] RIDBC Annual Report 1863, p. 10.

The report makes no reference to this child's level of deafness or her ability to receive instruction orally. Once again, the emphasis was on creating the image that the Sydney school was successful at educating some deaf students to a standard comparable to schools for the hearing.

S A Gilder

According to Walter, after a number of disputes with the school's Board of Directors, Pattison was dismissed from his position in 1866, and Mr S.A. Gilder was appointed as the new "Master". Gilder was a hearing man who had worked as a teacher in an educational institution for deaf students in England for six years.[65] Like Pattison, Gilder used the manual alphabet at the Sydney school and he used name signs (ie. simple gestures) for the students, eg. "Redhair" and "Widemouth".[66]

Public examinations

In 1867, examinations were established in New South Wales Government mainstream schools, prepared and marked by the University of Sydney.[67] While the Sydney school was attempting to teach the same subjects taught to hearing students in mainstream schools, the approach needed to be modified for the deaf student's literacy level. It is probable that in marking deaf students' papers, hearing examiners who were experienced only in reading the written language skills of hearing students, would not have appreciated the language usage difficulties of deaf students. These difficulties could easily have created the impression that the deaf students lacked basic academic skills, as it did nearly a hundred years later, when deaf students from the Farrar school attempted secondary studies by correspondence courses marked by teachers with no experience of deaf students.[68]

Whether as a consequence of this experience, or for other unmentioned reasons, the Sydney school's Annual Report of 1868 recorded that the school had introduced its own form of examination for its deaf students. The students were required to give

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[65] Jean Walter, op. cit., pp. 9-10; RIDBC Annual Report 1866, p. 2; RIDBC Annual Report 1870, pp. 5, 10.

[66] RIDBC Annual Report 1866, p. 9

[67] New South Wales Department of School Education Library, op. cit., p. 235; Christabel Wescombe and Geoffrey Sherington, Education in New South Wales - A Guide to State and Commonwealth Sources 1788-1992, Sydney, Hale & Iremonger Pty Ltd, 1993, p. 105.

[68] Farrar Public School Archives: Unbound Documents, Farrar School File, n.d., p. 5.

written answers in English Grammar, Geography, History, Arithmetic and the Old and the New Testament. Some of the religious questions required the students to write a response to the nature of the soul of man, the introduction of sin into the world and its consequences and the character of Divine revelation and its grand object with reference to man.[69]

Enrolment of blind students

By 1868 the Sydney school was in need of more space and moved to Ormond House in Paddington, which had been used as the original Asylum for Destitute Children.[70]

In 1869, following the model of British schools for the deaf, the Sydney school began enrolling blind students and changed its name to the New South Wales Institution for the Deaf and Dumb and the Blind.[71] While this may have reflected a broadening of the humanitarian base of the Sydney school, it may also have reflected an attempt to increase the school's financial viability through additional fee-paying enrolments.[72] At the same time, students arrived at the Sydney school from other States and countries, including one from Tasmania, five from Queensland and two from New Zealand.[73]

Samuel Watson

In 1869, Gilder was dismissed by the Board who then appointed Samuel Watson as the third Principal. Watson, also a hearing man, had been a teacher at the Belfast Institution for the Deaf, Dumb and Blind and also at the Derry and Raphoe Deaf and Dumb Institution.[74] He had very specific ideas about language teaching. For example, he believed that in the first year deaf students should be taught approximately a thousand nouns and would "... be required to write and spell every new word either orally or manually".[75] Once the student knew some nouns, he was given "very easy

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69 RIDBC Annual Report 1867, p. 13; RIDBC Annual Report 1869, pp. 5, 8-9; Angela Wilson, Deafness Through...(Part 4)..., p. 23.

70 RIDBC Annual Report 1956, p. 1; John Ramsland, Children of the Back Lanes - Destitute and Neglected Children in Colonial New South Wales, Sydney, New South Wales University Press, 1986, p. 73.

71 RIDBC Annual Report 1869, p. 4.

72 Ernest Lund, op. cit., pp. 78-79.

73 RIDBC Annual Report 1973, pp. 70-73.

74 RIDBC Annual Report 1911, p. 30; Jean Walter, op. cit., pp. 11-12; Leanne Neal, op. cit., p. 4; Angela Wilson, Deafness Through...(Part 4)..., pp. 23-24.

75 RIDBC Annual Report 1889, p. 16.

sentences" eg. that is a cat. The next stage was the learning of adjectives, eg. a brown dog, and cardinal numbers, eg. I have one nose.[76] Watson provided lists with similar detail for what students should be learning in their 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 5th years at the Sydney school.[77]

Apart from academic instruction, a range of other subjects was offered, although the availability of these subjects depended on whether teachers, at the time, had the necessary skills to teach them. Those offered included needlework, sewing, cooking, and laundry for female students. The additional subjects available to male students included carpentry and gardening.[78]

In comparison to State education, both the Sydney school's program and outcomes appeared to have been judged favourably. According to the 1896 Annual Report, the Education Department's Inspectors said that results of deaf students "...compare well with the results obtained in the ordinary public school".[79] An insight into how Watson felt about his charges was given in the 1895 Annual Report, when he was reported as stating "...children whose young minds are busy and under judicious guidance are, as a rule, contented".[80]

Student intolerance of other students

In 1872, one of the deaf students attending the Sydney school was withdrawn. The Catholic parents claimed that their 13 year old daughter, Catherine Sullivan, had been subjected to ridicule because of her faith during her enrolment at the Sydney school.[81] This incident was to make a significant contribution to the establishment of a Roman Catholic school for the deaf in New South Wales, as will be discussed later. However, at the time, this example of religious intolerance did not appear to impact on the growth

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[76] ibid., RIDBC Annual Report 1893.

[77] RIDBC Annual Report 1889, pp. 16-17.

[78] RIDBC Annual Report 1891, pp. 13-14, 26; RIDBC Annual Report 1897, pp. 18, 21; RIDBC Annual Report 1898, p. 75; RIDBC Annual Report 1902, pp. 18, 80; RIDBC Annual Report 1908, pp. 19, 79.

[79] RIDBC Annual Report 1896, p. 21.

[80] RIDBC Annual Report 1895, p. 15.

[81] J.A. Burke, History of Catholic Schools for Deaf and Dumb Children in the Hunter Valley, MA Thesis, University of Newcastle, 1974, p. 7; Sister Egan, History of Catholic Deaf Education in Australia 1875-1975, Newcastle, Newey & Beath Printers Pty Ltd, 1975a, p. 3; RIDBC Annual Report 1880, p. 56.

of the Sydney school. In 1872, it moved to a new building in Darlington, specifically constructed as a school for the deaf. Enrolments continued to rise and by 1872, there were 42 deaf students and 10 blind students.[82]

Lipreading

Watson had trialled "lip-talking", (lipreading) for those he described as the "fittest" of the deaf students. However, because a great deal of effort was required to teach deaf students to lipread Watson initially doubted if the effort was worthwhile.[83] However, interest in the oral mode continued and according to the school's 1879 Annual Report, Miss Kernohan, an English woman, was the first trained teacher of articulation at the Sydney school.[84] She had received her training at the newly-opened Ealing College in England, which provided training in the oral mode.[85]

The following year, in 1880, Watson visited Europe and America to observe what changes were occurring in deaf education. It is also possible that he attended the 1880 International Congress of Deaf Educators in Milan, which had focused on the benefits of the oral mode for deaf students.[86] One of the concerns raised at this Congress was that the combined mode "...has the disadvantage of injuring speech and lipreading and precision of ideas...".[87] This appears to have been one of the most significant public comments, presenting a view that the manual mode was dangerous, since Heinicke's statement a century earlier. Whether Watson subscribed to this idea is not mentioned, but he appeared to have rid himself of doubts about the worth of oral training. From 1880, the oral mode was introduced at the Sydney school especially for oral-deaf students,[88] although the combined method was also continued until the new Principal commenced in 1911.[89]

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82 RIDBC Annual Report 1872, pp. 56-59; RIDBC Annual Report 1956, p. 1.

83 RIDBC Annual Report 1881, p. 9; RIDBC Annual Report 1897, p. 1617; North Rocks Central School, Jean Walter (Wal 1), op. cit., p. 31.

84 Ernest Lund, op. cit., p. 80.

85 Jean Walter, op. cit., p. 11; Angela Wilson, Deafness Through...(Part 4)..., p. 24; RIDBC Annual Report 1880, pp. 4, 9; RIDBC Annual Report 1886, p. 13; Special Education Resource Centre, Burns Essay, op. cit., p. 4.

86 R.G. Brill, op. cit., p. 395.

87 ibid.

88 RIDBC Annual Report 1886, p. 13; RIDBC Annual Report 1897, pp. 16-17; Jean Walter, op. cit., p. 11; Angela Wilson, Deafness Through...(Part 4)..., p. 24.

89 RIDBC Annual Report 1885, p. 16; Ernest Lund, op. cit., p. 117.

Vocational training

At the Third International Congress of Deaf Educators, which was held in Brussels during 1883, major debate took place concerning when vocational training should be introduced to deaf students. Some schools for deaf students, for example, the American Asylum in Connecticut, had taught trades to their students since 1822. It was reported that many of these students were able to earn their own living after leaving the Asylum.[90]

At the Sydney school, however, Watson opposed the school's Board who wanted the school to become more of a trade training institution. He took great care to distinguish between craft, or handwork and trade training, which he is said to have deplored as a "bread and butter" view of education.[91] He believed that male students, who wanted a trade, should be encouraged to leave the school when they were sixteen years of age and enrol at technical colleges to further their skills in their chosen vocational trade.[92]

At the same time, he provided instruction in carpentry, metal work, gardening and other practical subjects, as being useful to the boys. Similarly, he provided practical subjects for the girls but, at best, these could be considered only as a prelude to undertaking a trade. Almost as if supporting Watson's views, the 1893 International Congress was more concerned that education in literacy was becoming secondary to vocational training.[93]

Economic depression

The trade training debate coincided with the effects of the depression, which were being felt by the schools for the deaf since the late 1880s.[94] Apart from a decline in amounts of money donated to the special schools by benefactors, income from fees

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[90] R.G. Brill, op. cit., p. 419.

[91] North Rocks Central School, Jean Walter (Wal 1), op. cit., p. 35.

[92] RIDBC Annual Report 1880, p. 12; North Rocks Central School, Jean Walter (Wal 1), op. cit., p. 35; Alan Barcan, A History..., op. cit., pp. 190-191.

[93] R.G. Brill, op. cit., p. 420.

[94] RIDBC Annual Report 1894, p. 15; Elsie May Pettinari, Catholic Education in Newcastle, 1870-1977, Extended Essay in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Bachelor of Educational Studies Thesis, Newcastle, 1979, p. 43; Special Education Resource Centre for Hearing Impaired Library Archives: Queensland Blind Deaf and Dumb Institution, The Story of the Queensland Blind, Deaf and Dumb Institution for 30 Years ending 30th June, 1913 - 1883-1913, Annerley, Special Education Resource Centre for Hearing Impaired, 1913, p. 21.

and, the selling of articles made by students from the school's carpentry workshop,[95] the Sydney school came under greater financial pressure as unemployment rose.[96]

For instance, cost-saving measures were undertaken, eg. the position of the school Collector had to be discontinued[97], and deaf students were performing the domestic work at the Sydney school.[98] Meanwhile, by 1889 the Sydney school needed to attract more students and placed advertisements in the press for several months.[99] In addition, the Sydney school gained permission from the New South Wales Education department to send circulars to most schools in the State in an attempt to attract more deaf students.[100] As other schools for the deaf had been established in some other States of Australia, the need for deaf students to travel interstate to their special school impacted on the enrolment numbers at the Sydney school.[101]

Deaf school leavers began experiencing greater difficulties finding employment as increased immigration and industrialisation were changing the face of the workforce. In work areas that did not depend greatly on oral communication skills and which had been the province of deaf people in the past, there was now competition from non-English speaking migrants. At the same time, new areas of employment were restricted because modernising industry needed literate men and women who could be trained for new types of jobs and who could learn new skills, either by listening or reading instructions.[102]

Catholic school for the deaf

Following the National Education Act of 1848, Catholic church leaders sought to maintain their involvement in the education system of the Colonies in order to preserve

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95 RIDBC Annual Report 1894, p. 28.

96 John Ramsland, op. cit., p. 188; M.A. Jones, The Australian Welfare State, Sydney, George Allen & Unwin, 1981, p. 12.

97 RIDBC Annual Report 1881, p. 20.

98 RIDBC Annual Report 1880, p. 13.

99 Ernest Lund, op. cit., p. 10.

100 ibid.

101 RIDBC Annual Report 1893, p. 9.

102 K.W. Hodgson, op. cit., pp. 348-349.

religion as the principle of life"[103] and establish an educational system that would create the "Catholic mentality".[104] It appears that as part of this strategy, the first Roman Catholic teachers from the religious order of Dominican Sisters arrived in Maitland, New South Wales and in 1867 established a boarding school for Roman Catholic mainstream students.[105]

Catherine Sullivan

In 1872, however, while looking for a more appropriate religious environment for their deaf daughter who they had withdrawn from the Sydney school, the Sullivan family appealed to the Bishop of Bathurst, Matthew Quinn, for assistance.[106] Quinn, who knew that the Dominican Sisters had operated St Mary's school for deaf children in Ireland since 1849,[107] thought that Catherine could be placed in the Maitland school, so he contacted the Bishop of Maitland, Dr John Murray. As a result, Catherine was accepted later that year, but the Sisters at Maitland had no experience with teaching deaf students. An appeal was made to Ireland, which resulted with the arrival of six Dominican Sisters from the Cabra school for the deaf in 1875.[108]

Sister Hogan

One of the new arrivals was Sister Hogan, described as a post-lingual, highly intelligent Irish deaf woman,[109] who became the sister-in-charge of the first Roman Catholic school for the deaf in Australia. Under the Colony's legislation for educational institutions for that time, the Newcastle school was not subjected to the same type of inspection as the Sydney school. In December 1875 the school enrolled its first

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[103] U Corrigan, Catholic Education in New South Wales, Sydney, Angus & Robertson Limited, 1930, p. 99.

[104] Ronald Fogarty, Catholic Education in Australia - 1806-1950, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1959, p. 409; Geoffrey Sherington, Australia's Immigrants 1788-1978, Sydney, George Allen & Unwin, 1982, p. 70; Elsie May Pettinari, op. cit., p. 8; J.A. Burke, op. cit., pp. 1-3, 8.

[105] University of Newcastle Library Archives: Rosary Convent for Deaf Girls A5698, Annual Reports, 1876-1977, 1890, p. 19; Sister Egan, History of..., p. 3; J.A. Burke, op. cit., pp. 1-2, 8; Elsie May Pettinari, op. cit., pp. 5-6.

[106] Sister Egan, History of..., op. cit., p. 3.

[107] K.W. Hodgson, op. cit., p. 197.

[108] Sister Egan, History of..., op. cit., pp. 3, 7-8; University of Newcastle Library Archives: Rosary Convent for Deaf Girls A5695(xi), Information Sheet, 1950a; University of Newcastle Library Archives: Rosary Convent for Deaf Girls A5695(xii), School Enrolment Book, 1875; Elsie May Pettinari, op. cit., p. 12; UON, Rosary Convent for Deaf Girls A5698, Annual Reports, 1900, op. cit., p. 9; UON, Rosary Convent for Deaf Girls A5698, Annual Reports, 1890, op. cit., pp. 3-4.

students, including Catherine Sullivan (then fifteen years of age), in rooms at the Star of the Sea convent in Newcastle.[110]

Mode

In contrast to Watson at the Sydney school, Hogan used the one-handed manual alphabet, sign language and writing to communicate.[111] More specifically, however, she was the first deaf educator in New South Wales to claim that sign language was the natural language for deaf students, and to categorise English as a foreign language.[112] In this respect, she echoed the view of the Abbé de l'Epée,[113] and preceded those expressed by the general deaf community almost a hundred years later.

An additional reason that students at the Newcastle school were not instructed in the oral mode[114] was because Catholic educators, sharing views similar to Watson at the Sydney school, were not convinced that it was worth the time and effort:

> ...since for the accomplishment of this very doubtful fact we should neglect to cultivate their minds and supply them with the vast amount of useful information they might require by reading and explanations in their natural language of signs.[115]

In addition, the Sisters appeared doubtful about the value of articulation to the deaf, for as they saw it, deaf individuals should be able:

> ...to articulate, but those acquainted with the minds of the deaf-mutes are aware of the little practical utility of the system [ie. learning to use speech] and how little the results can contribute to their own profit or happiness, or the satisfaction of their friends in after years.[116]

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[109] J.A. Burke, op. cit., pp. 24-25; Sister Egan, History of..., op. cit., p. 1.

[110] UON, Rosary Convent for Deaf Girls A5698, Annual Report, 1890, pp. 18-19; Sister Egan, History of..., op. cit., p. 4; University of Newcastle Library Archives: Rosary Convent for Deaf Girls A5694, Lord Mayor's Appeal Leaflet, 1948a; UON, Rosary Convent for Deaf Girls A5695(xii), School Enrolment..., op. cit.; Elsie May Pettinari, op. cit., pp. 11-12.

[111] UON, Rosary Convent for Deaf Girls A5698, Annual Report 1900, op. cit., p. 11; J.A. Burke, op. cit., pp. 41-42, 44a; North Rocks Central School, Jean Walter (Wal 1), op. cit., p. 20; K.W. Hodgson, op. cit., p. 197.

[112] J.A. Burke, op. cit., p. 92.

[113] Harlan Lane and Franklin Philip, The Deaf Experience, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 1984, p. 34.

[114] J.A. Burke, op. cit., pp. 41-42, 92.

[115] University of Newcastle Library Archives: Rosary Convent for Deaf Girls A5696(xi), Rosary Convent Reports, 1875-1892, 1888, p. 23.

[116] ibid., p. 24.

Enrolments

Enrolments at the Newcastle school were accepted only for children aged between 8-14 years, who were of "sound mind", able to express ideas and display some evidence of "taking intelligent notice of people and objects".[117] Some students outside of this age range could be enrolled if they were "capable of receiving" instruction.[118] Although dedicated to the Catholic faith, the Newcastle school did accept non-Catholic deaf children. For example, in 1876, the fifth student to be enrolled was a five year old Protestant girl named Mary Meehan.[119] Students who were not accepted, or who were asked to leave, were described as being "weak-looking", "helpless", "of doubtful intellect", "unable to dress", "an idiot", or merely described as "an unfit subject".[120]

The strict controls on the enrolment prerequisites were maintained throughout the twentieth century. This had the effect of creating a relatively homogeneous group of deaf students, which further aided the creation of a group identity and contributed to the maintenance of that group after the students left school.

Aims of the school

Assisting this group identity were the aims of the educational program, which were clearly defined without reference to the curriculum designed for hearing students in mainstream schools. The main purpose was to aid the formation of the child's religious character and knowledge. The second aim was to provide the child with certain facts related to geography, history and other suitable subjects. Without having to conform to the requirements of New South Wales Education Department inspectors, the Sisters were wholly responsible for the teaching and examination process of their deaf students. The third aim was:

> to convey to him such a knowledge of written language as will enable him to carry on in after life, with his fellow-men that free interchange of thought, which is so indispensably necessary for him in his intercourse with society.[121]

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[117] UON, Rosary Convent for Deaf Girls A5698, Annual Report 1890 , op. cit., 1890, p. 6; UON, Rosary Convent for Deaf Girls A5695(xii), School Enrolment..., op. cit., p. 8.

[118] UON, Rosary Convent for Deaf Girls A5696(xi), Rosary Convent..., op. cit., p. 8.

[119] Sister Egan, History of..., op. cit., p. 4.

[120] Ernest Lund, op. cit., p. 92; UON, Rosary Convent for Deaf Girls A5696(xi), Rosary Convent...1888, op. cit., pp. 8-9.

[121] UON, Rosary Convent for Deaf Girls A5696(xi), Rosary Convent...1887, op. cit., p. 14.

Catholic educators acknowledged the difficulty of this third aim, which they saw as being caused by the lack of knowledge the deaf possess on starting their instruction. The importance they attached to it, however, was clearly expressed in their literature:

> There is no affliction, therefore, more melancholy, more appalling than that of the unenlightened Deaf Mute. If, contrasted with the Blind, the state of the Deaf and Dumb will be found still more pitiable, since the former from infancy are susceptible of gradual information from conversation and from other modes of verbal instruction, whilst, the latter if left untaught by the means of education, peculiar to their condition, are inevitably consigned to an ignorance of all the varied knowledge that is communicated by the medium of sound.[122]

At the Newcastle school, the students were first taught the manual alphabet, then names of familiar objects, next adjectives, followed by nouns. The next step, and the most difficult, was the deaf student's ability to understand grammatical forms, idiomatic expression and conventional phrases.[123] By the end of six years of education at the Newcastle school, it was hoped that the deaf student would be capable of a certain proficiency in written language in order to be able to express himself, "with considerable accuracy, in an easy and familiar style".[124]

Newcastle school

The original Newcastle school was moved to the newly-built Rosary Convent at Waratah in 1888.[125] It was intended that these new facilities would meet the needs of all Catholic deaf children throughout Australia. Towards this end, boarding facilities were made available for the deaf students between the years 1888-1976.[126]

Miss Hanney

One of the stated objectives of the Roman Catholic Church was to use their own sisters and brothers as teachers. Apart from the religious teaching aspect, the savings on teachers' salaries reduced the Church's overall expenditure on the school.[127]

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[122] ibid., p. 11.

[123] ibid., pp. 14-15, 17-18.

[124] ibid., pp. 11-12, 13, 19.

[125] Sister Egan, History of..., op. cit., p. 4; University of Newcastle Library Archives: Rosary Convent for Deaf Girls A5695(ii), Sister Martinal's Handwritten Account of the Waratah School 1875-1889, 1889.

[126] Elsie May Pettinari, op. cit., p. 14; Leanne Neal, op. cit., p. 25; University of Newcastle Library Archives: Rosary Convent for Deaf Girls A5696(xi), Rosary Convent Reports, 1875-1892, 1888, p. 6.

[127] Ernest Lund, op. cit., p. 70.

Nevertheless, the Newcastle school continued their own teacher-training practice and accepted deaf ex-students as pupil-teachers.[128] One such student was Miss Marianne Hanney who had enrolled at the school in 1879 when she was nine years of age.[129] With Hogan and Hanney as two deaf teachers of deaf students, this school for the deaf was unique in its time.

Sister Mary Dwyer

Hogan remained in charge of the school until her death in 1915. However, in 1895, Sister Mary Columba Dwyer, a hearing teacher who favoured the use of the combined mode for the deaf students, was appointed to assist in the operation of the school.[130] Dwyer was interested in new developments relating to educating deaf students and obtained publications, such as the American Annals of the Deaf, to keep abreast with trends.[131] Her attitude could also have been influenced by her father and uncle who were both school inspectors of the New South Wales Education Department and the Catholic schools respectively.[132] However, while Hogan was at the Newcastle school, the use of one-handed fingerspelling alphabet remained the dominant mode of communication between teachers and students.[133]

Funding

Income to meet expenses at the Newcastle school was derived from fees paid by those families who could afford them. Donations from members of the Roman Catholic congregation, community clubs and the general public were also solicited.[134]

Compulsory education and deaf education

The New South Wales Colonial government's initial lack of provision for the education of deaf children within the State-based school system can be seen as resulting from problems associated with establishing the system as a whole, as discussed earlier. By

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128 ibid., pp. 52-53.

129 UON, Rosary Convent for Deaf Girls A5698, Annual Report 1890, op. cit., p. 19; J.A. Burke, op. cit., pp. 381-383.

130 Sister Egan, History of..., op. cit., p. 7; Ernest Lund, op. cit., pp. 52, 54, 120; J.A. Burke, op. cit., pp. 71-72.

131 ibid., p. 76.

132 Ernest Lund, op. cit., pp. 52, 120; J.A. Burke, op. cit., pp. 72-73, 128, 148.

133 ibid., pp. 41-2, 91-92, 96-97.

134 UON, Rosary Convent for Deaf Girls A5698, Annual Report 1890, op. cit., p. 5.

1880, however, most of those problems had been overcome and the Public Instruction Act of 1880 proclaimed compulsory school attendance for all the Colony's children with the exception of specific categories. Among those categories of children exempted were the "infirm", which included deaf children.[135]

The New South Wales Colonial government approach was in marked contrast to that of the Victorian Colonial government. In Victoria, compulsory education for all children, including the deaf was proclaimed in 1872.[136] The consequences of that legislation contributed to the later rise of eugenic influences in that State. These had a profound impact on education and medical thought.[137] The intensity of debate in Victoria was never equalled in New South Wales where there were fewer attempts to legislate against those, whom the leader of the Victorian Education Department's medial team in the early 1900s, called the "feeble-minded".[138] Therefore, some caution needs to be exercised when generalising to New South Wales the attitudes of the Victorian Colonial and subsequent State governments towards the education of the deaf. The New South Wales government's use of infirm as a description of the deaf is a case in point.

The concept of the deaf as infirm has a long history, going back to ancient Rome and assuming important legal consequences in sixteenth century Spain, where it played an important part in the establishment of deaf education, as discussed in Chapter One. In 1880 in Colonial New South Wales the term applied to those deaf children who could not succeed in learning with the form of instruction that teachers were directed to provide in the normal classroom. That form of instruction was designed to meet specific outcomes that depended on speech and hearing. As an example, attached to the Public Instruction Act of 1880 were standards of proficiency which teachers were expected to achieve in each half year with pupils in both infants and primary schools.

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[135] National Library of Australia: New South Wales Minister for Education N371.912/AUS, Minister's Opening Speech at the Fifth Australian Conference of Teachers of the Deaf, Sydney, 1953a, p. 9.

[136] Bob Bessant, 'Children and Youth in Australia 1860s-1930s' in Bob Bessant (ed.), Mother State and Her Little Ones, Centre for Youth and Community Services, Melbourne, 1987, pp. 7-30, pp. 10-11.

[137] Grant Rodwell, 'Professor Harvey Sutton: National hygienist as eugenicist and educator', Royal Australian Historical Society, vol. 84, no. 2, December, 1998, p. 164, University of Newcastle Library Expanded Academic ASAP Int'l Ed., Article 63 of 87, p. 1.

[138] ibid. pp. 3, 4, 6.

These included reading, taking dictation, and singing,[139] which were obviously very difficult accomplishments for young deaf children. However, there are no records in the New South Wales Education Department archives or the newspapers of the time to suggest that specific teaching strategies were employed for deaf students or, apparently, any other provisions for children with special needs. In the unlikely event of individual teachers possessing specialist skills it appears that it would have been difficult to exercise them under conditions where, for example, schools with average attendance of 160 pupils were required to be staffed by only a teacher, an assistant, and a pupil teacher.[140]

Although it can be seen how the deaf were classed as infirm, there is a pronounced silence surrounding the reasons why they were classified as such in the Colony of New South Wales. Nor is it easy to explain their resultant omission from the compulsory education legislation. It is not likely that the Government was unaware that the rigidity of the curriculum and stated outcomes for students, along with limited staffing and other physical difficulties, were barriers to the education of deaf children. The Colonial government had established State-based schooling along the lines of the British system, which had acknowledged the deaf schools as special facilities and had opened its own in London in 1874.[141] Consequently, it is unlikely that the Colonial education authorities at that time were unaware of the special teaching needs of deaf children. Therefore, it appears deaf children who could not cope with the normal classroom were deliberately omitted from the legislation.

Despite the lack of documentary evidence for the period, there are a number of possible reasons why the Government classified the deaf as infirm and did not provide specific services in addition to those already mentioned. For example, the compulsory education legislation in Victoria, enacted eight years earlier, was already showing early signs of the problems which came to the fore in the early 1900s, and New South Wales would not have wanted to experience similar difficulties. In particular, the requirement for all children to attend classes in Victoria created a group of children who could not maintain satisfactory academic progress through the grades. The problems of what to

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[139] New South Wales Department of Public Instruction, op. cit., pp. 22-23.

[140] New South Wales Department of Public Instruction, The Public Instruction Act of 1880, Sydney, William Applegate Gullick, 1898, p. 22.

[141] Special Education Resource Centre for Hearing Impaired Library Archives: Hunter Essay, The Historical Development of Oral Education of the Deaf, Annerley, 1968, p. 6.

do with the numerically increasing group eventually led to proposals for solutions based on segregation and, in some circumstances, sterilisation of individuals.[142]

Apart from the deaf being unable to achieve expected outcomes, it is probable that there were concerns in New South Wales government circles about the high cost of providing specific services for individual children in government schools. Although the economy of the colony was developing,[143] the cost of providing for individual children across a large geographic area was likely to have been beyond the financial capacity of the Department of Education at the time, as it was a century later. As late as 1985, the retiring Director-General of Education in New South Wales identified financial constraints within the Department as a reason for its failure to provide a full range of services for all children with special needs.[144] It is reasonable to assume that such restraints would have also applied in the late 1800s as it is likely that the Government would have been aware of the high cost of providing boarding and other specific services for deaf children by the inspectors who had visited the Sydney school. The government must also have been aware that the Sydney school had unsuccessfully tried to reduce the need for additional specialised staff by enrolling day pupils in 1860. The school had found that day children's attendance was irregular and the lack of overall contact time with teachers, compared to that of boarders, restricted opportunities for the children's education and outweighed any advantages of initial reductions in costs for the school.[145]

Should the New South Wales government have attempted to provide for the special teaching requirements of the deaf in the latter half of the 1800s, there would likely have been further problems in planning for the location and capacity of school services. The difficulties would have been created by a lack of census information that the educational authorities needed to identify the numbers and location of deaf children. While the existence of these problems was not recorded in documentation or newspapers in Australia at the time, educators of the deaf in America acknowledged

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[142] Grant Rodwell, Professor Harvey Sutton: op. cit.,, pp. 3-4; Ross L Jones, 'The Master Potter and the Rejected Pots: Eugenic Legislation in Victoria, 1981-1939', Australian Historical Studies, vol.30, no. 113, 1999, pp. 319-342, p. 324.

[143] M.A. Jones, op. cit., pp. 6-10.

[144] Private Papers Barbara Crickmore: Interview with Mr D.A. Swan by Jan Burnswood and Jim Fletcher, 1985.

[145] RIDBC Annual Report 1866, pp. 5-6.

them in planning their own services during the same period and long after.[146] Finally, if the whereabouts of deaf children could be determined, the lack of trained staff at the two deaf schools indicated that there were few teachers in the colony trained to work with deaf children.[147] While training colleges existed in Europe, Britain, and America, there was no training for teachers of the deaf in Australia.[148] Consequently, any attempt by the Board of Education to provide services for deaf children was unlikely to have been properly staffed.

Avoiding the difficulties of establishing schooling for the deaf by providing the existing schools for the deaf with additional government funding to let them expand their services would also have created problems for the government. As only two schools existed in the State it would have been difficult to allocate additional funds only to the Sydney school as this may have invited accusations of religious discrimination, reflecting the incident involving Catherine Sullivan which led to the establishment of the Catholic school in 1875.[149] Alternatively, the provision of additional funds to the Catholic school for the deaf could have inflamed issues of State aid to church schools. The Colonial government had instituted a non-denominational school system in 1848 with an aim to take control of educating the colony's children away from the church schools.[150] That the matter of State aid to church schools was a continuous issue was attested to in the 1930s,[151] and again in 1983 when a bill to increase funding for catholic schools, albeit at the expense of some high status private schools, was defeated in the Commonwealth parliament.[152] Although no evidence for such concerns appears in the New South Wales Education Department archives, the newspapers, or parliamentary debates of the period, it is reasonable to assume that it would have been a factor in determining government funding practices for deaf education.

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[146] Hyman Goldstein and Jerome D Schein, 'First Steps Toward the Collection of Uniform Statistics of Severe Hearing Impairments and Deafness in the United States', American Annals of the Deaf, vol. 109, no. 5, November, 1964, pp. 400-409, pp. 400-401.

[147] RIDBC Annual Report 1863, p. 5.

[148] R.G. Brill, International Congresses on Education of the Deaf 1878-1980 pp. 427-428; Ernest Lund, The Education of Deaf Children – An Historical Analysis of Thought and Procedure in New South Wales, MA Thesis, Melbourne University, 1939, pp. 50-52 .

[149] U. Corrigan, Catholic Education in Australia, Sydney, Angus & Robertson Limited, 1930, p. 99.

[150] Geoffrey Sherington, op. cit.; Ronald Fogarty, op. cit., p. 409.

[151] Ernest Lund, op. cit., pp. 33 & 36.

[152] Dean Ashenden, op. cit., p. 5.

Consideration of the lack of financial resources to meet the cost of special services, ideological problems associated with the additional funding of the existing school, difficulties associated with identifying the location of deaf children, and a lack of appropriately skilled teachers, all contribute to answering the question of why the government omitted deaf children from compulsory education legislation. However, reflecting on the larger picture of the evolution of Australian society during the period suggests alternative answers. In particular, a number of issues related to good health, hygiene, citizenship, normality, and educability appeared to attract the attention of both politicians and educators.

Within that framework, attitudes towards the deaf were formed which categorised them as infirm, although methods of measuring deafness and assessing the educational consequences of deafness were crude and inaccurate. There was also a lack of distinction between pre- and post-lingual deaf, a lack of understanding about the causes of deafness or the existence of multiple disabilities, and ignorance of the implications of these different conditions for education.

As has already been mentioned, for example, educators in the latter half of the 1800s considered deaf children to have blank minds.[153] The inability to speak was thought to mean an inability to think and, consequently, the deaf were often characterised as lacking social and basic self-help skills as a result of "mental deficiency".[154] The Sydney school's Annual Report in 1862, stated that the deaf were "…cut off from the intercourse of mind with mind…from want of communication of thought, they must soon be placed in a state bordering upon idiocy."[155] The report also contended that the deaf student's 'faculties' needed to be 'roused into intelligent action and usefulness' before they could be taught.[156] It was claimed in the 1863 Annual Report that after a deaf student had been enrolled for a few months at the school that …the original stupid look which characterises the untaught deaf and dumb vanishes…'.[157] Although the

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[153] J.B. Sheen, op. cit., pp. 126, 131, 135.

[154] RIDBC Annual Report 1862, pp. 6-8; Donald Moores, Educating the Deaf – Psychology, Principles, and Practices, 2nd edn, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1982, p. 31; Ernest Lund, op. cit., pp. 91-92.

[155] RIDBC Annual Report 1862, pp. 6-8.

[156] ibid.

[157] RIDBC Annual Report 1863, p. 5.

Newcastle school had strict guidelines for enrolment, it too provided examples of the deaf as 'mentally deficient'. For example, the first male student enrolled at the Newcastle school in 1876 remained for two months only because he was classified as not having a 'sound mind'.[158] The perception was not assisted by the existence in the community of 'mental deficients' who were also deaf, or deaf children who had become behaviour problems and social misfits as a result of their inability to communicate. The problems were undoubtedly compounded by the lack of medical knowledge about deafness and difficulties with diagnosis of multiple disabilities, which was still a problem almost a century later.[159]

In the latter half of the 1800s, however, it also appears that others had few educational expectations for the deaf. For example some parents of deaf children considered the schools for the deaf '…as a kind of asylum…'[160], being happy to have their deaf child write his or her own name and little more.

At the same time, it is clear that these views of limited educational outcomes were not shared by all parents or applied to all deaf children. For example, the "Widow" who appealed for schooling for her daughter in Melbourne, in 1859, specifically stated that her daughter was deaf and dumb as a result of colonial fever, and clearly considered her educable. Similarly, the second child enrolled at the Catholic school was a girl age 10 years who lost her hearing at age 7 years as a result of scarlatina.[161] This child would undoubtedly have gained a significant knowledge of language and developed many associated cognitive and practical skills before she lost her hearing. She, and others with similar experiences would have benefited most from the services of the schools for the deaf, and provided the schools with examples of educational successes for their public displays.[162]
The displays supported the concept that with appropriate teaching the deaf could take their place in the community as responsible and capable citizens. That the schools for

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[158] University of Newcastle Library Archives: Rosary Convent for Deaf Girls A5695(xii), Rosary Convent Reports, 1927-1950.

[159] Hyman Goldstein and Jerome D Schein, op. cit., pp. 400-401.

[160] Ernest Lund, op. cit., p. 7.

[161] University of Newcastle Library Archives: Rosary Convent for Deaf Girls A5696(ix), Rosary Convent Reports, 1875-1892.

[162] RIDBC Annual Report 1863, p.10; RIDBC Annual Report 1866, pp. 9-10, RIDBC Annual Report 1867, p. 10.

the deaf in New South Wales saw a need to regularly promote the image suggests there was a growing section of the community who did not see the deaf as educable or capable of taking their place in society. This would have assumed greater importance towards the end of the 1800s when there were indications of an international movement towards the segregation of people who appeared different to the majority of the population.[163]. The apparent critical shift in social attitudes was accompanied by an international movement within the ranks of educators of the deaf that focussed on the social and educational benefits of the oral mode and raised opposition to the manual and combined forms of communication.[164]

The deaf schools continued to present public displays of their students' capabilities throughout the late 1800s and into the early 1900s. Although the Sydney school, in particular, used public displays of student skills and knowledge to raise funds, they also demonstrated the normalcy of the student's education and the similarity of their curriculum to that of hearing students. In additional to language and academic subjects, the curricula of the deaf schools in the latter part of the 1800s included physical exercise and vocational training, usually in specific trades thought suitable for the deaf.[165] The deaf schools of the colony were not acting in isolation from other countries, as evidenced by major debates about vocational training at the 1893 Congress of deaf educators.[166]

Over the following decades, issues of good health, hygiene, normalcy, citizenship and vocational training, as well as general educability, played a major role in the development of policies and practices in schools. In the latter half of the 1800s there were signs of these issues assuming some prominence. It was likely that a prevailing public perception of the deaf as generally uneducable contributed to their 1880 general classification as "infirm". On the basis of infirmity, deaf children were excluded from compulsory education legislation.

Schools for the deaf

The colony of New South Wales now had two special schools for the deaf. There was

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[163] Donald Moores, op. cit., p. 65.

[164] R.G. Brill, op. cit., p. 395.

[165] Special Education Resource Centre for Hearing Impaired Library Archives, Queensland Blind...op. cit., p. 16.

[166] R.G. Brill, op. cit., pp. 419-420.

also Rose's school in Melbourne and another private school had been opened in Adelaide in 1868.[167] Before the end of the century, these were joined by schools in Brisbane, in 1892[168] and Perth 1899.[169] Others were to follow.

Later, while acknowledging the advantages of these schools for deaf students, in that they provided instruction by users of manual language and those familiar with the learning patterns of the deaf, it was contended that the very establishment of the schools promoted educational segregation of deaf students.[170] The segregation or integration of education for the deaf became a greater issue in the 1940s and 1950s.

The technological model

During the late nineteenth century there was an increase in deafness and hearing impairment amongst servicemen, mainly as a result of exposure to cannon and other explosives used in military campaigns, such as the Crimean and Boer Wars.[171] The need for rehabilitation of these soldiers initiated some potentially positive medical research into hearing loss, which led to the idea that deafness, in general, could be "eliminated" with the use of newly developed hearing devices.

The belief that hearing devices could restore hearing to deaf children was supported by research at the Glasgow Institution in 1891. It was claimed that only 5% of the students

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[167] Sister Egan, History of..., op. cit., p. 40.

[168] Queensland School for the Deaf, Commemorative Report on the Occasion of the Official Opening of the Queensland School for the Deaf - New Building Program, 8 December 1973, p. 4; Special Education Resource Centre for Hearing Impaired Library Archives: Searle Essay, The History of the Education of the Deaf in Queensland, Annerley, 1952, pp. 3-6; J.F. Enchelmaier, 'Educational Provisions for the Hearing Impaired in Queensland - An Historical Perspective of Decentralization', paper presented at Australian Conference of Principals and Heads of Services for the Hearing Impaired, Adelaide, South Australia, 1986, p. 3.

[169] Special Education Resource Centre, Burns Essay, op. cit., p. 10; Leanne Neal, op. cit., p. 21; Angela Wilson, Deafness Through...(Part 4)...op. cit., p. 24.

[170] Norman W. Drummond, Special Education in Australia, North Sydney, Torren Printing Pty Ltd, 1978, p. 5.

[171] The New International Illustrated Encyclopaedia, vol. 6, Adelaide, Grifflin Press, 1958a, 2. pp. 300-301; The New International Illustrated Encyclopaedia, vol. 1, Adelaide, Grifflin Press, 1958b, p. 403.

were totally deaf and that 95% could benefit from using amplification devices.[172] These findings added support for the move towards the oral mode of teaching, which had begun to grow following debate at the 1880 International Congress of Deaf Educators.[173]

Opposing the trend, Edward Gallaudet, of the United States, claimed that the oral mode was very impractical for approximately 60% of the deaf population whom he considered were incapable of achieving success with it.[174] At the International Congress held at Chicago in 1893, he strongly advocated for the combined mode to be available in schools for the deaf.[175] Gallaudet persisted in his claim that no more than 35% of deaf students, taught by the oral mode, could speak intelligibly.[176]

In the late nineteenth century, however, in England, Europe, and the United States, acoustic methods of instruction began to gain popularity at the expense of the manual methods. New approaches to teaching speech to the deaf began to appear. For example, an American otologist, Goldstein, described his acoustic method as a stimulation to an individual's hearing mechanism. The method used, among other things, musical instruments and their vibrations to teach the deaf to discriminate sounds as a prelude to discriminating the sounds of human speech.[177]

Summary and Conclusions

The introduction of government controlled schools in the Colony of New South Wales in the mid-1800s was aimed at providing non-denominational education for children

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[172] Special Education Resource Centre for Hearing Impaired Library Archives: Hunter Essay, The Historical Development of Oral Education of the Deaf, Annerley, 1968, p. 11; T.J. Watson, 'Speech Instruction - Auditory Training and the Development of Speech in Deaf Children', in R.G. Brill (ed.), International Congresses on Education of the Deaf - An Analytical History 1878-1980, Gallaudet College, Washington, DC, 1984, pp. 130-131, p. 130.

[173] Donald Moores, op. cit., p. 73; J.B. Sheen, op. cit., p. 153; R.G. Brill, op. cit., p. 395; David Wright, Deafness - a personal account, London, Allen Lane The Penguin Press, 1969, p. 177.

[174] J.B. Sheen, op. cit., p. 230.

[175] R.G. Brill, op. cit., p. 395; Donald Moores, op. cit., pp. 69-70, 73.

[176] J.B. Sheen, op. cit., p. 245.

[177] Special Education Resource Centre, Hunter Essay, op. cit., p. 11; John Bordley and Patrick Brookhouser, 'The History of Otology', in Larry Bradford, and William Hardy (ed.), Hearing and Hearing Impairment, Grune & Stratton, New York, 1979, p.11; Angela Wilson, 'Deafness Through the Ages (Part 3) - An Historical Survey of Deaf Education', Lantern Light, April, 1976a, pp. 22-27, p. 26.

able to learn in a mainstream classroom. However, there is no evidence in New South Wales Education Department's archives or newspaper reports during the period to indicate that special teaching provisions were made available for deaf children. The regulation relating to class sizes and teacher:student ratios suggest that special provisions, which often depend on one-to-one teaching and minimum distractions, could not have existed. As little was known about the diagnosis and assessment of deafness at the time, it is possible that the special educational needs of deaf children were not fully understood by the Colony's bureaucrats and politicians. However, the need was known in Britain, which influenced the model of State education introduced into the Colony of New South Wales, and was know to other colonists as evidenced by the demand for special services by the parents of deaf children.

While extant records do not document the reasons for the failure of the Colonial government to provide specialist teaching for deaf students, a number of reasons are evident from an examination of the broader situation relating to education of children in Australia during the second half of the 1800s. Consideration has been given to some of the financial, logistical, and ideological problems faced by the Colonial government in establishing a State education system over a wide geographic area and in the face of intense opposition from the existing denominational schools. These were matters that would have absorbed considerable time and energy and are likely to have distracted the government from providing additional special services. On the other hand, evidence has also been provided to suggest that conformity and rigidity were features of the centralised administration of the government school system and the lack of flexibility worked against the provision of services for children with special educational needs. Further, the detailed specification of curriculum content and expectations for student outcomes also indicates that that government had specific aims for children in its education system which were unlikely to be achieved by deaf children.

Overall, therefore, the failure of the government to provide specific services for the education of deaf children, particularly after 1880, appears to have been the result of policies designed to avoid involvement rather than ones based on a lack of knowledge of the problems. Difficulties experienced by Victorian schools as a result of compulsory education legislation that included the deaf in that colony would likely have influenced the New South Wales Colonial government. A conclusion that the exclusion of the deaf from compulsory education legislation in New South Wales was intentional is

supported by evidence of the deaf being classified as infirm and increasing negative attitudes towards the infirm across society in general. In particular, a perception that the deaf were uneducable and misfits in the community appears to have influenced their exclusion from New South Wales compulsory education legislation in 1880.

That the exclusion of the deaf from compulsory education legislation was based on ideological grounds, rather than practical concerns, is further evidenced by the successful establishment of private schools for the deaf in Sydney and Melbourne in 1860 and in other Colonies of Australia in the latter half of the 1800s. Apart from following the lead of the private schools, or taking them over, Board of Education in New South Wales could have followed Britain's example and established its own school for the deaf, as the London Board of Education had done in 1875. The most appropriate opportunity for the New South Wales government would have been the establishment of a deaf school in Newcastle as an alternative to the Catholic school for the deaf. This would have mirrored its pattern for mainstream education of positioning non-denominational State schools close to church schools. That it chose not to do so clearly indicates government intention not to involve itself with the education of the deaf.

Separate from government inaction, the establishment of the special schools for the deaf outside the government system effectively initiated education segregation for deaf children in New South Wales. This impacted on the deaf in two ways.

First, education for the deaf was not resourced at the same level as education for hearing children in the mainstream State school system. The difficulties this created for deaf children were compounded by the failure of the State Government to include them in provisions for compulsory education. At the same time, those deaf children who did gain access to the special facilities at the Sydney school were subjected to a curriculum designed for hearing children. The combination of these factors, particularly in relation to the duration of schooling, worked against deaf children achieving the same academic outcomes as their hearing peers.

Second, the schools for the deaf themselves contributed to a partitioning of the deaf community through the imposition of different manual modes, complicated further by the introduction of oral and combined modes, which inhibited communication between the deaf groups. At the same time, the boarding facilities helped insulate students at

both schools and contributed to the formation of a separate culture based on a number of factors including religion and mode of communication. In turn, this led to the establishment of at least four different adult deaf associations with their own practices and traditions.

Thus, the importance of this period lies in the patterns of educational services for the deaf that were established and the reasons why they were established. The significance of these patterns lies in their inappropriateness for the education of many deaf students. The remaining chapters of this thesis will show that although the problem was recognised, it was perpetuated throughout the twentieth century, leading to the educational marginalisation of a large percentage of deaf students.

CHAPTER THREE

FROM FEDERATION TO WORLD WAR 1

Introduction

In 1901, Federation of the Australian States marked, amongst many other things, the start of a number of educational reforms in New South Wales. Although the Colonial Government had previously been involved in schooling, the Australian Constitution of 1901 formally vested responsibility for primary and secondary education with State Governments. For one thing, it meant that New South Wales no longer had to comply with directives from London and could develop its own educational policies without reference to the other States or the Commonwealth Government.[1]

The Government of New South Wales, similarly to those of other States, saw the need to review existing approaches to education. Consequently, several Royal Commissions were established to consider desired educational outcomes, while overseas study tours were organised to investigate diverse practical matters ranging from teaching strategies to school architecture.[2]

Many reforms were implemented, including a new primary curriculum, new training for mainstream teachers, and the abolition of fees for children attending Government schools.

During this period, deaf children continued to be excluded from compulsory education legislation, there were no special provisions for the education of deaf children in

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[1] K.S. Cunningham and J.J. Pratt, Review of Education - 1939, Melbourne, Melbourne Press University, 1940, pp. 67-8, 109; G.W. Bassett, 'The Australian College of Education', in D.A. Jecks, (ed.), Influences in Australian Education, Perth, Carrolls Pty Ltd., 1974, pp. 218-244, pp. 218-219; Alan Barcan, A History of Australian Education, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1980, p. 234; Eric Bowker, 'The Commonwealth and Education 1901-69', in J Cleverley and J Lawry (ed.), Australian Education in the Twentieth Century, Longman Australia Pty Limited, Camberwell, Victoria, 1972, pp. 147-148.

[2] New South Wales Department of Education, Education 2000, Document 787, 1992, p. 7; Christabel Wescombe and Geoffrey Sherington, Education in New South Wales - A Guide to State and Commonwealth Sources 1788-1992, Sydney, Hale & Iremonger Pty Ltd, 1993, p. 30; R.J. Andrews, J Elkins, P.B. Berry, and J.A. Burge, A Survey of Special Education in Australia - provisions, needs and priorities in the education of children with handicaps and learning difficulties, Schonell Educational Research Centre, University of Queensland, 1979, p. 14; University of Newcastle Library Archives: Rosary Convent for Deaf Girls A5698, Annual Reports, 1876-1977, 1900, pp. 14-15.

mainstream schools, no government funding for additional schools for the deaf, and no additional government funding to enable the existing deaf schools to abolish fees for attending children. At the same time, deaf children were being subjected to an increasing array of labels based on intelligence tests, government health surveys, and a push towards the technical and medical models of deafness. Each of these matters reflected social attitudes generally categorised under the heading of eugenic ideals which were practiced with an aim of securing "racial betterment".[3]

Eugenic ideals and education of the deaf

In education generally, eugenic ideals led to an increased emphasis on academic achievement and vocational training. They also promoted physical development of children and led to the introduction of open-air school architecture to provide a healthier school environment.[4]

For some, the ideals included the concept of "curable dysgenic condition".[5] For the deaf, these views emphasised the use of technology and medical procedures to "cure" deafness and de-emphasised the role of specific teaching strategies and the use of manual languages by the deaf. It also created the category of "incurables" to be segregated educationally and socially. These views were to gain a strong following in the first half of the 1900s, particularly in Victoria, and exert a continuing nationwide influence over education of the deaf generally.

For example, the failure of governments to open additional schools for the deaf, to make special provisions in existing mainstream schools or to provide funding of special schools for the deaf equal to that of mainstream government schools, appears to reflect the attitudes, if not policies, of the pre-federation Colonial government. The period from 1900 to 1914 witnessed and increased doubts about the efficacy of educating the 'deaf and dumb'.[6] This long-standing belief was reinforced by rising

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[3] Grant Rodwell, 'Professor Harvey Sutton: National hygienist as eugenicist and educator', Royal Australian Historical Society, vol. 84, no. 2, December, 1998, p. 164, in University of Newcastle Library Expanded Academic ASAP Int'l Ed., Article 63 of 87, p. 2.

[4] ibid., p. 7.

[5] ibid., p. 9.

[6] Fred DeLand, The Story of Lipreading – Its Genesis and Development, Washington, DC, Volta Bureau, 1968; R.G. Brill, International Congresses on Education of the Deaf 1878-1980, p. 420.

interest in the relationship between intelligence, or the results of intelligence testing, and the provision of educational services.[7] It was also accompanied by emerging negative attitudes about the deaf, promoted by prominent people such as Alexander Graham Bell.[8]

Watts contended that the eugenicists were very influential in Australian education and health matters in the late 1800s through to the mid-1900s.[9] But, as Rodwell notes, establishing firm links between the influence of eugenicists and implemented practices is far from simple.[10] In any case, according to Watts, the application of eugenic principles was subject to wide interpretation from the negative (enforced sterilisation of individuals to prevent procreation of undesirable gene pools), to positive eugenics which emphasised the provision of opportunities for individual physical and intellectual development.[11] Watts also noted that relatively influential individuals with the eugenics movement held a range of views along the negative:positive spectrum dependent on the subject matter.[12] It would therefore appear extremely hazardous to relate specific government action (or inaction) on matters associated with deaf education to aspects of eugenic ideology, although the link cannot be ignored.

Among many reforms implemented were a new primary curriculum, new training for mainstream teachers, an emphasis on healthy school environments and physical development for children, and abolition of fees for students attending Government schools. All of these impacted on the provision of deaf education, as did the Government's continued refusal to specifically include deaf children in compulsory education legislation.

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[7] John Lewis, 'So Much Grit in the Hub of the Educational Machine', in Bob Bessant (ed.), Mother State and Her Little Ones, Centre for Youth and Community Services, Melbourne, 1987, pp. 140-166, p. 147.

[8] Donald Moores, Educating the Deaf – Psychology, Principles, and Practices, 2nd edn, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1982, p. 72; Harlan Lane, When the Mind Hears, New York, Random House, 1984, p. 226.

[9] Rob Watts, 'Beyond Nature and Nurture: Eugenics in Twentieth Century Australian History', Australian Journal of Politics and History, vol. 40, 1994, pp. 318-334, pp. 318-319, 325-328, 330.

[10] Grant Rodwell, Eugenics and Australian State Education 1900-1960, PhD Thesis, University of Newcastle, 1997., p. 3.

[11] Rob Watts, op. cit., pp. 318, 323.

[12] ibid., pp. 323-325.

The appointment of Harold Earlam as Principal of the Sydney school, and the registration of the Newcastle school as a certified school also impacted on the operation of the schools for the deaf in New South Wales. At the same time, the deaf children were being subjected to an increasing array of labels, based on intelligence tests, Government health surveys, and the push towards medical and technical models of deafness.

Medical inspections

There is no evidence that the move towards assessment and labelling was particularly discriminatory or intentional, on the part of the Government of the day, but nor did it appear to be accidental. For example, in 1907, New South Wales appointed its first State Medical Inspecting Officer to investigate the health of children in Sydney schools.

One of the first investigations instituted (similar to those carried out in countries such as the United Kingdom, France, Germany and the USA), was specifically interested in the students' height, weight and vision, but other details such as hearing and speech were also recorded.[13] The results indicated that deafness was a relatively common problem. On the other hand, it also has to be acknowledged that the survey revealed the existence of many students with a wide range of disabilities, all of which had to be accommodated in the educational reforms.

Schools for the deaf

In this context, deaf students could have been seen to have certain advantages over other students with disabilities in that two special schools already existed to meet their specific educational needs. At the same time, it is quite evident that the schools for the deaf wished to be seen as the specialist service for the deaf, and not necessarily those children with additional problems. In particular, the aim of the Sydney school was described as the "...education and maintenance and as far as possible the advancement in life of deaf and dumb children".[14]

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[13] New South Wales Department of Public Instruction, The physical condition of children attending public schools in New South Wales (with special reference to height, weight, and vision), Sydney, William Applegate Government Printer, 1908, pp. v-vi, 1-2; S.H. Smith and G.T. Spaull, History of Education in New South Wales 1788-1925, Sydney, George B Philip & Son, 1925, p. 263.

[14] Act 10, 1905, Royal New South Wales Institution for the Deaf and Dumb and the Blind Incorporation, Statutes of New South Wales 1903-1905, pp. 261-266.

Similar staff attitudes persisted over time, as was evidenced in the 1930s, for example, when teachers of the deaf did not consider themselves as special educators and did not associate with either mainstream teachers or those working with intellectual handicaps/disabilities.[15] In this respect, teachers of the deaf appeared to follow the assertions of many members of the deaf community that they were different, not disabled. Nevertheless, successive principals and superintendents of the Sydney school elucidated the special qualities of teachers of the deaf, as well as the particular teaching skills required of them, and there appears little doubt that they considered themselves as different to all other teachers.[16] The reluctance of the Sydney school to accept government intervention in the 1950s,[17] and the Catholic schools refusal of a government take-over in the 1970s,[18] could be seen as reinforcing the notion of the independence of deaf educators. There appears to be no reason not to assume that these attitudes existed earlier, as evidenced overseas by debate at the many deaf educator congresses from 1878.[19] Therefore, it is possible that the schools for the deaf opposed government involvement in the direct provision of services and that the government accepted their views. However, it is unlikely that the government would have been swayed by the views of the Catholic school for the deaf at a time when the State was still in conflict with the church over education.

It is also quite evident that, during this period, both the Sydney and Newcastle schools wished to preserve their independence from the Government-controlled education system. For example, in 1905, when the Sydney school needed to formalise its financial structure, the school's Board chose to incorporate, rather than register as a

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[15] K.S. Cunningham and J.J. Pratt, op. cit., p. 240; I. Turner, The Training of Teachers in Australia, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1943, p. 320; Pierre Gorman, 'Australia for Children with Speech and/or Hearing Impairments', in (ed.) Some Aspects of the Education of Handicapped Children in Australia, A.H. Massina & Co, Carlton, 1971, pp. 55-63, p. 61.

[16] RIDBC Annual Report 1863, p. 9; National Library of Australia: New South Wales Minister for Education N371.912/AUS, Minister's Opening..op. cit., p.7: National Library of Australia: New South Wales Minister for Education N371.912/AUS, President's Address at the Fifth Australian Conference of Teachers of the Deaf, Sydney, 1953b, pp.12-14; Bill Rose, 'AASE 21st Birthday Celebration', Australian Association of Special Education Inc., N.S.W. Chapter, Newsletter, no. 2, June, 1995, p. 2;

[17] National Library of Australia: New South Wales Minister for Education N371.912/AUS, President's Address at the Fifth Australian Conference of Teachers of the Deaf, Sydney, 1953b, pp. 12-15.

[18] St Dominic's Centre for Hearing Impaired Children Archives: Ann Wharton, Schools Opposed to Government Takeover, 1975, p. 1.

school. At the same time, the Newcastle school remained tied totally to the Catholic Church during the first decade. It was not registered as a school until 1916, when it became compulsory under the New South Wales Public Instruction (Amendment) Act for all private schools to be inspected regularly. For example, the Newcastle school was inspected every two years.[20]

New South Wales Government action

Regardless of the contribution made by teachers of the deaf in the 1900s, the educational segregation of deaf students into private institutions during the latter half of the 1800s resulted from the New South Wales Board of Education's failure to provide specialist teachers or appropriate teaching facilities for deaf children in government schools. In the absence of documented evidence to explain this failure, it has been necessary to draw from the bigger picture of attitudes towards the deaf that could be shown to exist in colonial society at that time. It was concluded that, at best, the New South Wales Education Department exhibited a mixture of indifference and ambivalence to education of the deaf and, at worst, deliberately avoided getting involved in the provision of special services. The latter point was supported by reference to two events. The first was the failure of the government to extend its policy of providing a non-denominational school as an alternative to an existing church school, when the Catholic school for the deaf was opened in Newcastle. The second was the categorisation of the deaf as infirm and their exclusion from the 1880 compulsory education legislation.

Continuation of these attitudes towards education of the deaf in the first two decades of the twentieth century reinforced that separation and compounded the differences in the provision of educational services for deaf students compared to their hearing counterparts in mainstream classroom. These differences are most marked in relation to the low levels of Government funded services for the education of deaf children

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[19] R.G. Brill, The Education of the Deaf – Administrative and Professional Developments 1878-1980, Washington, D.C., Gallaudet College, 1984.

[20] University of Newcastle Library Archives: Rosary Convent for Deaf Girls A5698, Annual Reports, 1876-1977, 1943, p. 1; Ernest Lund, The Education of Deaf Children - An Historical Analysis of Thought and Procedure in New South Wales, MA Thesis, Melbourne University, 1939, pp. 147-148; Alan Barcan, A History..., op. cit., p. 230; Elsie May Pettinari, Catholic Education in Newcastle, 1870-1977, Extended Essay in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Bachelor of Educational Studies Thesis, Newcastle, 1979, p. 39; K.S. Cunningham and J.J. Pratt, op. cit, pp. 235, 239; Act 51, 1916, Public Instruction (Amendment), Statutes of New South Wales 1916.

compared to those for hearing children, the resultant school fees that needed to be collected from parents of deaf children attending the special schools for the deaf, and the continued imposition on deaf children of an expanding primary curriculum designed for hearing children. The impact of these points can be seen in the following examples.

Funding

First, the government showed no interest in the establishment of more special schools for the deaf in New South Wales and made no significant increase in funding to the existing two schools. Neither reports of parliamentary debates nor records in New South Wales Education Department archives indicate that this was an educational issue for the government at the time. Similarly, there are no newspaper references to demands for new schools for the deaf, which probably reflects increasingly negative social views on the use of public resources to educate the infirm. Clearly the Catholic school for the deaf in Newcastle acknowledged a growing demand for another school when it opened the Castle Hill school. That the demand was apparent despite the limitations of their strict enrolment requirement, excluding many deaf children from applying to attend, indicated that many deaf children were not receiving special educational services. At the same time, both the Sydney and Newcastle schools were operating under financial constraints, and relied on fundraising and benefactors to continue providing specialist services.[21]

As a consequence, parents of deaf children needing specialised teaching still had only four options if choosing to remain in New South Wales. They could send their children away from the family environment to board at the Sydney school, they could send them to board at the Newcastle school, they could enrol their deaf child in their local mainstream school knowing there were no specific educational services for deaf students, or parents could take full responsibility for the welfare and education of their child themselves.[22] Under these circumstances, some parents preferred that their child stayed at home,[23] which perpetuated the existence of a group of deaf students who had never attended school.

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[21] Norman W Drummond, Special Education in Australia, North Sydney, Torren Printing Pty Ltd., 1978, p. 4; Act 10, 1905, Royal New South Wales Institution for the Deaf and Dumb and the Blind Incorporation, Statutes of New South Wales 1903-1905, pp. 261-266.

[22] Norman W. Drummond, op. cit., p. 4.

[23] Special Education Resource Centre for Hearing Impaired Library Archives: Searle Essay, The History of the Education of the Deaf in Queensland, Annerley, 1952, p. 9.

Free education

Second, the Free Education Act of New South Wales in 1906 abolished parent-paid school fees for children attending the non-government schools for the deaf. Although no reasons for this decision are documented in government records or newspaper reports of the time, it is assumed that the abolition of fees would have led to expectations of increased government funding to the schools for the deaf as compensation. As discussed above, unequal financial treatment of the schools for the deaf, or increased funding to the Catholic institution, would have raised the issues of religious discrimination or State aid to church schools. Under these circumstances, the government can be seen to have adopted a policy of least contention. While the effect of this Act on potential enrolments at the schools for the deaf has not been documented, it could be assumed that it did little to encourage low income parents to send their deaf child to one of the specialised schools. On the contrary, it is possible that it resulted in more deaf students being enrolled in mainstream classes or remaining in the home environment.

Support for this may also be seen in the previously mentioned results of the 1907 medical examinations of students attending public schools in the City of Sydney. The results showed that one of the three most common physical conditions suffered by students was deafness.[24] However, the pre-audiometry hearing tests relied on children reacting to a range of non-standardised sounds (eg. ticking clocks, spoken words), in environments with very little control of other noises. Therefore, degrees of deafness and temporary impairment such as that caused by otitis media with effusion[25] (commonly referred to as glue ear) versus permanent aural damage, are unlikely to have been assessed. It is also possible that parents and teachers may have been unaware of many children with mild forms of deafness. Nevertheless, the findings showed that many children with hearing problems were enrolled in mainstream classes without the benefit of specialist services.

New curriculum

Third, there was a movement towards expanding the basic primary education

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[24] New South Wales Department of Public Instruction, The physical..., op. cit., pp. v, 2.

[25] Dr Elizabeth Rose, 'Otitis Media', Australian Hearing Services - Hear and Now, vol. 3, June, 1998, pp. 4-7, pp. 4-6.

curriculum (eg. a new "revolutionary" school syllabus was introduced in 1905 in New South Wales).[26] There appears to have been little argument against the changes. For example, Alexander Mackie, the Principal of the Sydney Training College for Teachers, claimed that the aim of education had been too narrow because of past needs for the attainment of proficiency in reading, writing and arithmetic. He further claimed that the individuality of the child was usually "sacrificed", and that students often left school with the ability to read but without the ability to express thought.[27] In itself, this was not a new approach, or different from that propounded by the deaf schools. For example, in 1900 the Principal of the Sydney school was reported as saying:

> ...education means after all, far more than a mere preparation for earning money or making a living: It means the development of character in the large and generous sense of the word; it is calculated to stir up impulses of a wholesome and elevating nature in the hearts and minds of the young - impulses which generally lead to success in life, and without which, failure is almost inevitable.[28]

However, the introduction of additional subjects such as literature and history into the mainstream primary curriculum, as a means of enhancing moral and social aspects of a general education, created several specific problems for the schools for the deaf in New South Wales.[29]

In particular, attempts by the schools for the deaf to implement an expanded curriculum created teaching difficulties for the deaf schools which were disproportionate to those of the mainstream schools. At the Sydney school, by 1901 for example, the academic subjects most consistently referred to in its Annual Reports as being taught to the deaf students, were English history, scripture, geography, grammar, arithmetic, writing and object lessons.[30] As Walter reported, however, the student's first subject was communication,[31] which had been acknowledged for many years as a prerequisite to

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[26] S.H. Smith and G.T. Spaull, op.cit., p. 196; Ernest Lund, op. cit., p. 84.

[27] New South Wales Department of Education, 'The Aim of the Primary School', Public Instruction Gazette, 1907, p. 2.

[28] RIDBC Annual Report 1900, pp. 91-92.

[29] Robert Cowen and Martin McLean, op. cit., p. 49; Yola Center, 'Integration - Historical Perspectives', in Education of Children with Special Needs in Regular Classrooms - An Australian Perspective, Special Education Centre, Macquarie University, Ryde, 1987, p. 12.

[30] RIDBC Annual Report 1867, p. 13; RIDBC Annual Report 1886, p. 13; North Rocks Central School for Deaf Children Library Archives: Jean Walter (Wal 1), The History of the New South Wales Schools for Deaf and for Blind Children 1860-1960, 1961, p. 18.

[31] ibid., pp. 18-20.

any learning.[32] As has been discussed earlier, only after acquiring basic communication skills, could instruction in reading and writing commence. Then, only after basic reading and writing skills had been mastered could the learning of other academic subjects proceed. The broadening of the primary academic curriculum simply added a greater degree of pressure on classroom time in schools for the deaf.

Teacher training

The specialised nature of the training of teachers of the deaf provided another difficulty in meeting the requirements of an expanded curriculum. The primary focus of these teachers was to provide deaf children with a means of communication and a degree of literacy. In the main, they were not equipped to teach changing academic subject matter. The New South Wales State Government educational reforms imposed on the mainstream curriculum were implemented by mainstream teachers trained in the Government-sponsored teacher training program. Until the 1950s, these program did not provide any special training for teachers working with deaf children.

Both schools for the deaf in New South Wales continued to induce teachers from overseas. Although usually experienced in teaching the deaf, this did not mean that they were familiar with the requirements of the new curriculum. Apart from such overseas teachers, training teachers to work with deaf students in New South Wales during the early 1900s was the responsibility of the individual schools for the deaf.[33] For example, from 1909, the Newcastle school provided in-school training of teachers of the deaf for "suitable" Catholic sisters, who received their teacher training at the Mater Misericordiae Novitiate and Training College at Ascot Vale in Melbourne.[34]

The usual practice, however, was to use the pupil-teacher apprenticeship approach. While the system preserved existing levels of expertise and specialist skills, it did not necessarily provide appropriate training for new curricula, nor did it result in uniform results.[35] Consequently, these teachers of the deaf may not have been equipped with the skills to cope with the changes in curriculum content, modes of instruction, or the

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[32] ibid., pp. 18-19; Ernest Lund, op. cit., p. 77; Harlan Lane, op. cit., pp. 9-10.

[33] J.A. Burke, History of Catholic Schools for Deaf and Dumb Children in the Hunter Valley, MA Thesis, University of Newcastle, 1974, pp. 70-72.

[34] Ernest Lund, op. cit., p. 70.

[35] R.G. Brill, op. cit., pp. 427-428.

new ways of grouping students imposed by intelligence test results.[36]

Public image

At the same time, however, the schools for the deaf needed to appear to be offering an academic program at least as good as the mainstream Government schools. To do otherwise could have undone the past efforts of image-building and indicated to the public that the aims of deaf education were lower than those for hearing students. Such an image could have negatively affected enrolments, although the limited educational options for parents of deaf children may have restricted the consequences. More important, however, may have been concern for the possible loss of critically important donations and financial patronage which could have resulted from any perceived lowering of educational standards.

Physical and sporting activities

In non-academic areas, the situation was a little different from the academic areas and may have helped the image of the Sydney school, in particular. This was brought about by another important goal of the New South Wales education system, "...the symmetrical development of [the students'] individual minds and bodies".[37] The aim resulted in physical and sporting activities being introduced into the general school curriculum, which was adopted with some apparent enthusiasm by the Sydney school.[38]

In 1912, the Sydney school held its first sports day, on the sports ground of the Sydney Grammar school. By 1914, the Sydney school competed in sport matches, including swimming, cricket, tennis and soccer, against mainstream schools.[39] These events provided the opportunities to introduce a level of integration, for the first time, between deaf and hearing students. It also provided an opportunity to show deaf students in a positive comparison with hearing students and to promote different meanings of deafness. For example, the deaf boys won the C Grade high school soccer

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[36] K.S. Cunningham and J.J. Pratt, op. cit., p. 50; New South Wales Department of Education, 'Atypical Children', Education Gazette, vol xxxiii, no. 11, 1 November, 1939, p. 343; J.A. Burke, op. cit., p. 363; Frank Hewett and Steven Forness, Education of Exception Learners, Boston, Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1974, p. 44.

[37] New South Wales Department of Public Instruction, The physical..., op. cit., p. 20.

[38] RIDBC Annual Report 1912, p. 18.

[39] ibid., pp. 15-16.

championship in 1917 and 1918. In cricket, one deaf boy was selected to play for New South Wales school boys against Queensland.[40]

Compulsory attendance

Fourth, in 1916, the New South Wales Public Instruction (Amendment) Act was passed. This Act reinforced the 1880 Act in that it lowered the entry level from seven to six years of age, and enforced compulsory day attendance of children between the ages of six and fourteen years, at mainstream schools.[41] However, in New South Wales, deaf students attending the special schools were still not included in this State Government directive.[42] The omission of deaf students from the legislation further emphasised the differences in the Government's commitment to the education of hearing students compared to the education of deaf children.[43]

Health and hygiene

Further financial pressure was placed on the Sydney school and the Newcastle school as a result of the school medical inspections. Findings indicated the need to provide a healthy learning environment for students in classrooms, and this was adopted as a goal of the New South Wales Government.[44] Suggested improvements in the school learning environment included the establishment of open air classrooms, replacement of the long tables with dual desks, and having separate classrooms for each group. These new physical changes in the classroom environment were also considered, by the Government, as a means of providing the student with an awareness of good hygiene which, in turn, would help prevent the spread of diseases that were rife during this period.[45]

For the schools for the deaf in New South Wales that had boarding facilities, the need

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[40] North Rocks Central School, Jean Walter (Wal 1), op. cit., p. 52.

[41] New South Wales Department of Education, Annual Report of the Minister for Education on the activities on the Department of Education for 1984, 1985, p. 11; New South Wales Department of Education, 'Non-State Schools Attendance of Pupils', Education Gazette, vol. xxxiv, no. 2, 1 February, 1940, p. 10; Yola Center, op. cit., pp. 11-18.

[42] K.S. Cunningham and J.J. Pratt, op. cit., p. 239.

[43] Ernest Lund, op. cit., pp. 5-6.

[44] New South Wales Department of Public Instruction, The physical..., op. cit., p. 4; S.H. Smith and G.T. Spaull, op.cit., pp. 264-265.

[45] K.S. Cunningham and J.J. Pratt, op. cit., p. 16; Valerie Thompson, A Girl Like Alice, North Rocks, North Rocks Press, 1990, p. 49; S.H. Smith and G.T. Spaull, op.cit., pp. 264-265.

to prevent diseases spreading throughout their school was of paramount importance, not only for the welfare of the students and staff, but for the effective operation and profitability of the schools. The Sydney school followed the practices in the New South Wales Government schools, and six modern open air classrooms were built in 1914.[46]

Impact on schools for the deaf

Thus, the operations of the special schools for the deaf were being affected, philosophically and financially, by Government actions designed to promote an increase in the standard of general education. Because of the specialised teaching techniques and learning environments of the schools for the deaf, changes to the curriculum were considerably more difficult to implement.

Apart from the possible lack of teacher skills, the expanded curriculum required a greater amount of time to teach, which was rarely available as deaf children frequently started school later and left education earlier than their hearing counterparts. Apart from saving on educational costs and administration, the failure of successive State Governments to specifically include deaf students in compulsory education legislation meant that parents of deaf children were not compelled to keep them at school and continue paying fees for the eight years of compulsory schooling. These factors further academically marginalised deaf students from their hearing counterparts in mainstream education.

Medical and technical models

In the early part of the twentieth century, many members of the medical profession began to believe that rehabilitation techniques being used with servicemen could be applied to deaf children. In particular, it was thought that the hearing and speech problems of many of the newly discovered cases of deaf school children could be remedied by surgery, the use of hearing devices, or speech therapy.[47]

While it is quite probable that these techniques did help some deaf children (depending on the degree, type and onset of deafness), little documentary evidence is available. More importantly, perhaps, is the division it began to create within the population of

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[46] Jean Walter, 'History of the New South Wales School for Deaf Children', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 2, no. 1, November, 1960, pp. 7-14, pp. 11-12.

[47] New South Wales Department of Public Instruction, The physical..., op. cit., pp. v, 1-3, 31.

deaf children and their families. For the first time, there appears to have been official categorisation of deaf students on the basis of whether, with the assistance of speech therapy or the use of hearing devices, they could or could not be taught to become oral. The movement towards oral instruction and oral competence added another dimension to teaching deaf students. It also had a profound impact on the public perception of non-oral deaf students, an issue already initiated by the use of intelligence tests.[48]

Intelligence tests

The use of intelligence tests had been developed in an effort to provide a rationale for grouping learners into more efficient teaching units, ie. ones based on levels of the students' intellectual development. The results of intelligence tests segregated students into educational categories.[49] Since the early tests were based on points difficult for non-oral and non-literate deaf students to conceptualise,[50] these students did not score as highly as their hearing peers. The outcome almost certainly added to the mesh of meanings about the deaf, deafness, and deaf education by promoting the use of negative labels. It is probable that intelligence testing also helped create stereotypes of low-scoring children based on desirable and undesirable features of community membership. For the deaf, reflecting ancient and medieval prejudices, it was linked to the ability to speak.

In some cases, the attitudes of hearing and speaking members of the community became quite extreme. For example, it was during the development of intelligence tests that the eugenic movement gained strength, particularly in a number of American States. There, deafness became associated with low intelligence and some deaf adults were forcibly sterilised in an effort to prevent the transmission of deafness and low intelligence through procreation.[51] While there is no evidence that the eugenics movement exerted any great influence in New South Wales during this period, the

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[48] Harlan Lane, op. cit., pp. 400-401; Donald Moores, Educating the Deaf - Psychology, Principles, and Practices, 2nd edn, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1982, pp. 9-10.

[49] W.F. Connell, The Australian Council for Educational Research 1930-80, Hawthorn, ACER Ltd., 1980, p. 37; John Lewis, op. cit., pp. 160-162; Bob Bessant and Allyson Holbrook, Reflections on Educational Research in Australia, Coldstream, Australian Association for Research in Education Inc., 1995, p. 25.

[50] Donald Moores, op. cit., pp. 153-155.

[51] Errol Cocks, An Introduction to Intellectual Disability in Australia, Canberra, Australian Institute on Intellectual Disability, 1989, pp. 8-9.

effect of intelligence tests resulted in the international acceptance of labelling some deaf students as backward or slow. Labelled students such as these were either rejected by some schools for deaf students or remained at the school for the deaf, perhaps in the same class for the total number of years they were enrolled at the special school.[52]

The use of intelligence test results also appears to have increased the interest in promoting the teaching of the oral mode to deaf students. From this point, deaf students who appeared to be capable of learning the oral mode were clearly divided from those deaf students needing the manual mode. In fact, the issue of grouping was raised at the International Congress of Deaf Educators at Leige in 1905. In particular, grouping deaf students according to pre-lingual and post-lingual deafness and mental capacity were discussed by the delegates at this Congress.[53]

Mode

Internationally, adult non-oral deaf people who were part of the Deaf Section at the Fifth Congress of Deaf Educators, held in Paris in 1900, attempted to temper the general move towards oralism. As an example, one of the resolutions passed by the Deaf Section was that an international uniform sign language be developed.[54]

Buchli noted that these delegates, comprising superintendents or principals and teachers from schools for the deaf in different countries, rarely agreed with each other on most issues, but especially those related to mode of instruction.[55] It appears that the belief in signs as the natural language of the deaf, expounded earlier by de l'Epée and Hogan, were not shared by a majority of these delegates. Instead, there appeared to be an increasing movement towards trying to establish a uniform approach to instruction, based on the oral mode.

Sydney school

According to the Sydney school's 1905 Annual Report, the Principal, Watson, had all

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[52] R.G. Brill, op. cit., p. 424.

[53] ibid., p. 403.

[54] ibid., p. 442.

[55] M. Buchli, 'Opening Session 1950', in R.G. Brill, International Congresses on Education of the Deaf - An Analytical History 1878-1980, Washington, D.C., Gallaudet College, 1984, p. 130; R.G. Brill, op. cit., p. 448.

deaf students commence oral instruction on their entry to the Sydney school. If the student was not achieving, he or she would then be given instruction in the two-handed manual mode. Watson, despite the growing popularity of the oral mode, eventually declared himself in favour of providing deaf students with the combined mode of instruction (oral and manual).[56] By 1907, unlike the 1860s, the school's deaf student population was divided into three main groups, approximately 60 being taught to speak words and sentences, 20 receiving instruction in articulation of letters, and six being taught the manual mode, being fingerspelling and writing.[57]

It was generally recognised that within these three main groups there was an extreme range of abilities and potentialities. Initially, students were grouped according to their mode of instruction, then, as enrolments expanded, according to age groups and mode. However, this form of grouping was further complicated by students starting at different ages, some in a later stage of development, students who were not just deaf but had other disabilities, and those students who had additional learning difficulties.[58] The 1893 Annual Report indicates that Watson had taken additional measures to overcome grouping "difficulties", ie. students were grouped according to their "actual differences in the progress and capacity".[59] However, speaking of deaf students in general, the Principal of the Sydney school claimed that they all remained in "intellectual infancy" until they received instruction.[60]

Harold Earlam

Harold Earlam, another experienced English teacher of the deaf and blind, who became Principal of the Sydney school following Watson's death in 1911, had a history of school administration and had clear views about both the New South Wales Government and the Sydney school. Like Watson, he believed that education of the deaf should have been made compulsory and that the Government should have been

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[56] RIDBC Annual Report 1905, pp. 17-18.

[57] RIDBC Annual Report 1907, pp. 17-19; RIDBC Annual Report 1911, p. 2.

[58] V Stephens, Deafness the Invisible Handicap: A history of the provisions of education for Hearing-Impaired with special reference to Western Australia, M.Ed Thesis, Murdoch University, 1984, pp. 8-9; Ernest Lund, op. cit., p. 8.

[59] RIDBC Annual Report 1893, pp. 14-15.

[60] Ernest Lund, op. cit., p. 81.

financing the Sydney school.[61] Earlam believed that until compulsory education was introduced for deaf and blind students they would "...always be allowed to grow up without the rudiments of an education".[62] Apparently Earlam's belief concerning the need for compulsory education was supported by the report of the Education Department's inspector, who was reported in the 1912 Annual Report as stating:

> So long as there is no compulsory provision for the education of the Deaf and Blind Children, the measure of accomplishment is not likely to be satisfied.[63]

Earlam also believed that parental attitudes were an important factor in the child's education. Without the legislative compulsion to ensure the school attendance of deaf children, parents had to be persuaded to voluntarily see that their children arrived at the classroom on a constant basis. Lund reports that his successful work in improving the children's regular attendance led the school to reinstate day students.[64]

Earlam also brought new ideas concerning the work of teachers and students to the Sydney school. For example, he preferred to employ experienced teachers of the deaf, commenced regular staff meetings where educational and professional issues were discussed, and required teachers to submit monthly reports on their teaching. The students were also encouraged to actively participate in the life of their school by producing a school magazine.[65]

Earlam continued providing instruction in oral, manual and combined methods of instruction, even though he believed that deaf students should be given an abundance of language instruction and claimed that speech was the prerequisite to learning language.[66] At the same time, he was forthright about the potential scholastic achievements of his students and set the scene for changing public attitudes towards the education of the deaf.

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[61] RIDBC Annual Report 1906, pp. 9-10, 29-31; RIDBC Annual Report 1907, pp. 9, 15; RIDBC Annual Report 1911, pp. 9, 31.

[62] ibid., p. 37.

[63] RIDBC Annual Report 1912, p. 21.

[64] Ernest Lund, op. cit., p. 85; North Rocks Central School, Jean Walter (Wal 1), op. cit., p. 41.

[65] RIDBC Annual Report 1912, p. 18; Jean Walter, op. cit., pp. 11-12; Valerie Thompson, op. cit., pp. 86-88; Ernest Lund, op. cit., p. 130.

[66] Angela Wilson, 'Deafness Through the Ages (Part 4) - An Historical Survey of Deaf Education', Lantern Light, August, 1976b, pp. 23-31, p. 24; Jean Walter, op. cit., p. 12; Ernest Lund, op. cit., p. 131.

In particular, Earlam maintained that the educational achievements of deaf students could not be compared to those of hearing students who had acquired language skills before commencing their education.[67] Whether this was designed to educate benefactors and potential donors towards accepting different educational outcomes of the students, or aimed at parents, school inspectors, or all of these people, is not clear. What is clear, however, is his acknowledgement of the problems of educating deaf students at that time and his attempt to cut the ties of comparison between the Sydney school and mainstream education.

Newcastle school

In 1905, the Newcastle school was said to have a few oral mode students, and the majority were manual-mode students.[68] For this majority, the one-handed manual mode of instruction was still preferred as a means of achieving the major goal of teaching deaf students to write competently in English.[69] Similar to the Sydney school, this created sub-groups within the student population. The maintenance of the one-handed manual mode also effectively created another distinct group of deaf students in New South Wales. They were not able to communicate effectively with the two-handed manual mode or combined mode students from the Sydney school, nor were they able to communicate with any of the non-signing oral mode students.

Sister Mary Columba Dwyer

The situation remained the same at the Newcastle school for the next decade at least. Dwyer, who became Sister-in-charge after the death of Hogan in 1915, believed that the oral mode could be used successfully only with post-lingually deaf students who were highly intelligent. Otherwise, she considered that too much time was allocated to the deaf student being taught to mouth a word which refocused the object of educating deaf students.[70] Dwyer also believed that the popularity of the oral mode was due to its

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[67] North Rocks Central School, Jean Walter (Wal 1), op. cit., p. 44.

[68] University of Newcastle Library Archives: Rosary Convent for Deaf Girls A5698, Annual Reports, 1876-1977, 1918, p. 1; J.A. Burke, op. cit., pp. 88-90.

[69] Sister Egan, History of Catholic Deaf Education in Australia 1875-1975, Newcastle, Newey & Beath Printers Pty Ltd, 1975a, p. 8.

[70] UON, Rosary Convent for Deaf Girls A5698, Annual Report 1920, op. cit., p. 1; J.A. Burke, op. cit., pp. 76-78, 88-90; UON, Rosary Convent for Deaf Girls A5698, Annual Report 1900, op. cit., p. 4.

appeal at fund-raising public demonstrations involving deaf students.[71] For example, some members of the audience at these events were said to suspect that the non-oral deaf, whose questions and answers were presented in the manual mode, memorised the answers to questions.[72]

Registration

Following proclamation of the 1916 Public Instruction Act, the Dominicans registered the Newcastle school as a certified school which, among other things, enabled it to receive a Government grant.[73] Registration also meant that the school was subject to Government inspections similar to those of the Sydney school.[74] This marked the beginning of Government involvement in the curriculum provided to deaf students in the Catholic schools for the deaf. For example, Fogarty claims that subjects such as needlework, art and music became "non-essentials" in the overall curriculum provided at all schools, including the Newcastle school.[75]

The inspections became a major influence in future decisions regarding teaching strategies and on the established curriculum that had, since 1875, focused on the deaf student's mental development, comprehension and written expression. From 1916, when the New South Wales Education Department's revised syllabus was issued,[76] the curriculum was expanded to include subjects such as English language, history, grammar, arithmetic and geography.[77]

In 1918, a new syllabus that was not based on the chronological age of the deaf student, was introduced by Dwyer at the Newcastle school.[78] Unlike the age-grading that remained in place at mainstream schools, material to be taught to the deaf

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[71] ibid., pp. 3-5; J.A. Burke, op. cit., pp. 88-89.

[72] ibid., pp. 144, 147; UON, Rosary Convent for Deaf Girls A5698, Annual Report, 1900, op. cit., pp. 3-5.

[73] Rosary Convent for Deaf Girls A5698, Annual Report, 1943, p. 1; K.S. Cunningham and J.J. Pratt, op. cit., p. 235.

[74] Alan Barcan, A History..., op. cit., p. 211; S.H. Smith and G.T. Spaull, op.cit., pp. 261-262.

[75] Ronald Fogarty, Catholic Education in Australia - 1806-1950, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1959, pp. 379-380.

[76] Ernest Lund, op. cit., p. 136.

[77] J.A. Burke, op. cit., pp. 67, 142, 142, 148.

[78] ibid., pp. 155-156.

students was graded according to the level of difficulty. The child, regardless of their age, was required to master material in each grade before proceeding to the next level.[79] Since movement through grades was solely dependent on mastery levels, the deaf students at the Newcastle school could remain in the same grade for a number of years before moving up to the next level.[80]

Funding

Sydney school

The Sydney school continued to receive a Government grant but still relied on tuition fees from families who could afford to pay, and donations from the public, to help meet staff wages and other costs associated with the operation of a boarding school.[81] In 1903, the Deaf, Dumb and Blind Institution Vesting Act was passed. This provided the Sydney school with crown land containing an existing building which was to be used for education and "other purposes" (ie. vocational instruction) related to deaf students.[82]

Arising from the efforts of some individuals who were concerned about the financial management of the Sydney school, an Act of Parliament was passed in 1905 which incorporated the New South Wales Institution for the Deaf and Dumb and Blind.[83] The Act obliged the members of the Sydney school's Board of Directors to follow legal guidelines in their financial management of the school.[84]

Management problems aside, the availability of teachers and resources for the students was still dependent on the income that could be generated, particularly from fees. The need to attract more fee-paying students to the Sydney school prompted Earlam to appeal to medical practitioners, as they were likely to be the first line of communication when parents were told their child was deaf. He also provided a demonstration of teaching methods at a meeting of the New South Wales branch of the

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79 ibid.

80 ibid., p. 158.

81 Ernest Lund, op. cit., p. 34.

82 Act 21, 1903, Deaf, Dumb, and Blind Institution Vesting, Statutes of New South Wales 1903-1905, p. 79.

83 K.S. Cunningham and J.J. Pratt, op. cit., p. 239; Act 10, 1905, Royal New South Wales Institution for the Deaf and Dumb and the Blind Incorporation, Statutes of New South Wales 1903-1905, pp. 261-266; RIDBC Annual Report 1956, p. 1.

84 House of Representatives, Hansard, 28 June, 1905, p. 448; RIDBC Annual Report 1900, pp. 30-31.

British Medical Association, entreating the members to influence parents of deaf children to send the children to the school at the age of five years.[85]

Newcastle school

The Newcastle school for Catholic deaf students received a boost to its fundraising when several Bishops formally inaugurated a special national yearly collection in 1915 that had been permitted to commence in 1911. Known as the Ephpheta Collection, the money was donated by individuals attending church services on a particular day, nominated as the Eleventh Sunday after Pentecost, being related to the story of Christ healing the deaf man. This was taken from the Gospel of St Mark, referred to in Chapter One.[86] The collection was augmented, in 1914, when the New South Wales Government also responded to a request for financial assistance from the Newcastle school, and provided an annual grant of 500 pounds.[87]

Deaf adults

By 1903, the Sydney school had enrolled over 400 deaf students since 1860.[88] A significant number of students had successfully passed through the schools for the deaf and many maintained contact with both the school and former classmates, forming a virtual community of their own. Over the years, some of these deaf students and deaf adults had been meeting for religious and social gatherings. They had used a number of venues, ranging from street corners (because the lighting enabled them to see their manual communication to each other) to borrowed halls.[89] The 1886 Annual Report states that the Sydney school had organised evening classes for their ex-students in order to provide literacy and religious sessions.[90] In 1902, the adult deaf in Sydney became more organised and moved into a building adjacent to the Sydney

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[85] Ernest Lund, op. cit., p. 12.

[86] UON, Rosary Convent for Deaf Girls A5698, Annual Report 1914, op. cit., pp. 13, 21; Sister Egan, History of..., op. cit., p. 8; K.W. Hodgson, The Deaf and Their Problems - A Study in Special Education, London, Watts and Co, 1953, p. 67.

[87] University of Newcastle Library Archives: Rosary Convent for Deaf Girls A5690(1a), Letter from the Under Secretary of New South Wales, 1914; J.A. Burke, op. cit., p. 104.

[88] ibid., p. 84.

[89] Adult Deaf and Dumb Society of New South Wales, 'Farewell - "No. 5".', Silent Messenger, 2, February, 1970, p. 1.

[90] RIDBC Annual Report 1886, p. 14.

school, being the New South Wales Institute for Adult Deaf.[91] By 1908, they began publication of The Silent Messenger, a magazine containing information about their social and religious activities, for distribution amongst the deaf community.[92]

Although the initial organisation was formed with the help of hearing friends, this movement can be seen as the basis of the first self-help and deaf advocacy groups which, in time, started to exert a significant influence on the education of deaf students in New South Wales. It also laid the foundations for the creation of a deaf culture which, in the latter part of the twentieth century, was to become very influential in the debate between manual and oral modes used for teaching deaf students.[93]

Within the deaf community, the Adult Deaf and Dumb Society of New South Wales was formed in 1913. One of its objects was to provide basic literacy education for deaf adults who had not attended school, or who had received inappropriate schooling.[94] Just before the start of the First World War, the need for a separate adult deaf association for the spiritual welfare of ex-students of the Newcastle school living in Sydney was raised by some Roman Catholic hearing individuals.[95] However, due to the advent of the First World War, nothing was implemented until the following decade.

Summary and Conclusions

The first two decades of the twentieth century saw a greater degree of State Government involvement in the education of children in New South Wales. Provisions for compulsory school attendance were strengthened, school fees were abolished for all State schools and concern for the health of school children led to investigations and reforms in classroom environments. While these reforms provided many benefits for hearing children in mainstream schools, there were few benefits for the two schools for the deaf, or for deaf students. This was due to the omission of the schools from the fee

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[91] RIDBC Annual Report 1902, p. 26; Adult Deaf and Dumb Society of New South Wales, Farewell..., op cit., p. 1; Act 10, 1905, op. cit., pp. 261-266.

[92] Adult Deaf and Dumb Society of New South Wales, 'Untitled', Silent Messenger, 1, June, 1908, pp. 1, 3, p. 1.

[93] R.G. Brill, op. cit., p. 433; Joseph Lo Bianco and Peter Freebody, Australian Literacies, Belconnen, Language Australia, 1997, pp. 64-65.

[94] K.S. Cunningham and J.J. Pratt, op. cit., p. 234; J.L. Ferris, A Brief History of the Society Celebrating 75 Years - "From Patronage to Partnership", Deaf Society of New South Wales, Annual Report, 1988, pp. 8-11, p. 8.

[95] Sister Egan, History of..., op. cit., pp. 11, 21.

abolition legislation and omission of deaf students from compulsory attendance requirements.

While the Sydney school did receive a small Government grant and the Newcastle school received some funding from 1916, the New South Wales State Government made no other commitments to the education of the deaf. Despite the discovery of many students with hearing problems in the classrooms of Sydney's mainstream primary schools, no new special school facilities or supplementary facilities in State schools were introduced.

For the schools for the deaf, the imposition of the curriculum designed for hearing children had already been seen to have created difficulties in relation to the duration of schooling for deaf children. The expansion of the primary school curriculum after Federation compounded the problems of the teachers of the deaf in their efforts to maintain educational parity with mainstream schools.

The period also saw the formation of the first association of deaf adults. These were mainly the non-oral former students of the Sydney school, concerned for the welfare of other deaf adults. In particular, they provided support and education to two groups of deaf. First, those who had either not attended school, because of the lack of a compulsory requirement and second, those who had not succeeded in the mainstream school they had attended, because of a lack of educational support.

At the start of the 1920s, there were at least five groups of deaf students with different forms of communication. Of these, the oral group was beginning to receive the greater allocation of medical, technical and educational resources. This movement continued past the middle of the twentieth century, to the educational and social detriment of the non-oral deaf students

CHAPTER FOUR

BETWEEN THE WARS

Introduction

The period 1918-1939, between the First and Second World Wars, produced a number of events that were particularly important to the development of the schools for the deaf. Most visible may have been the opening of the Castle Hill school for deaf boys, the increased prominence of medical and technical approaches to education of the deaf, the establishment of additional adult deaf societies, and the founding in 1935 of the Australian Association of Teachers of the Deaf as the first professional body of its type in the country. In combination, these events can be seen to have further contributed to the emergence of the deaf as a distinct community group, both educationally and socially.

Less visible may have been the New South Wales Government's continued refusal to include deaf children in compulsory education legislation. Despite lobbying and the findings of two Government appointed committees, no action was taken in this area during this period, as is outlined below.

Compulsory schooling

Despite calls both from educators of the deaf[1] and the adult deaf associations,[2] deaf children were still not included with their hearing counterparts under compulsory New South Wales education legislation.[3] Lund postulates that one of the major reasons for the Government's reluctance to introduce compulsory education for the deaf was the involvement of the Catholic church and fear of awakening the "...dormant question of State aid to Denominational schools".[4] The point appears to have merit, given the previously mentioned history of conflict between church and State over education during the latter half of the 1800s. It also appears to be validated by the attitude to

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[1] North Rocks Central School for Deaf Children Library Archives: Jean Walter (Wal 1), The History of the New South Wales Schools for Deaf and for Blind Children 1860-1960, 1961, p. 43.

[2] Editor, 'Editorial', Deaf Advocate, vol. 5, no. 1, March, 1935, p. 1.

[3] Ernest Lund, The Education of Deaf Children - An Historical Analysis of Thought and Procedure in New South Wales, MA Thesis, Melbourne University, 1939, pp. 5-6.

[4] ibid., p. 36.

State funding of church schools expressed again in 1983.[5]

While it is quite possible that both the Sydney school and the Newcastle school saw compulsory schooling as a means of ensuring their financial future, they were also undoubtedly concerned about the deaf children who were kept at home by their parents.[6] Certainly this was the issue for the Adult Deaf Society.

On the other hand, it was acknowledged that for the Government to provide sufficient facilities for deaf students, on a State-wide basis would have required considerable expenditure. It would have needed the employment of teachers with specialised skills for teaching deaf students in schools outside Sydney and Newcastle. At the same time, there was concern about the amount of funding required to take responsibility for these residential students who could not be educated in mainstream schools.[7]

However, involvement would not have been unprecedented. In the late 1920s, the New South Wales Government took responsibility for students with intellectual disabilities by providing an "institution" and "special staff" to accommodate over 100 students.[8] These students received training that was:

> ...sensory, utilitarian and ethical, leading to farm work and the learning of simple trades, the object being to make the "ament" self-supporting, and assist him to conform to the demands of society.[9]

Similarly, in the 1920s, the New South Wales Government developed plans to provide specialised education for "gifted children". These plans resulted in four experimental

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[5] Dean Ashenden, State aid and the division of schooling in Australia, Geelong, Deakin University Press, 1989, p. 5.

[6] J.L. Ferris, A Brief History of the Society Celebrating 75 Years - "From Patronage to Partnership", Deaf Society of New South Wales, Annual Report, 1988, pp. 8-11, p. 9; North Rocks Central School, Jean Walter (Wal 1), op. cit., p. 49; John Flynn, No Longer by Gaslight - The First 100 Years of the Adult Deaf Society of Victoria, East Melbourne, Adult Deaf Society of Victoria, 1984, p. 156.

[7] New South Wales Department of Education Library Archives: B Harkness G159, Proposed Compulsory Education of the Deaf and Dumb and the Blind (Chairman, B.C. Harkness), 1936, p. 2; Ernest Lund, op. cit., p. 25.

[8] S.H. Smith and G.T. Spaull, History of Education in New South Wales 1788-1925, Sydney, George B Philip & Son, 1925, p. 266; Cliff Turney, 'Continuity and Change in the Public Primary Schools 1914-1932', in J Cleverley and J Lawry (eds.), Australian Education in the Twentieth Century, Longman Australia Pty Limited, Camberwell, Victoria, 1972, pp. 32-76, pp. 69-70; K.S. Cunningham and J.J. Pratt, Review of Education - 1939, Melbourne, Melbourne Press University, 1940, p. 282.

sixth grade classes, later known as Opportunity Classes (OC), being established in 1932.[10] In contrast, at this time, there was no indication that the New South Wales Government had the funds, the expertise, or intention to implement special classes for deaf students.

In the early 1930s, several organisations involved with deaf students had communicated to the New South Wales Minister for Education, Mr N Drummond, the need to introduce compulsory education for these students. New South Wales continued to be the only State in Australia where school attendance for the deaf was not compulsory.[11] The Government determined that before legislation could be introduced, a committee was required, "...to investigate the position...".[12] In 1932, this resulted in the formation of a research committee to investigate matters concerning the education of the deaf (and blind). Among the members of this committee was Earlam, Principal of the Sydney school.[13] After two years of investigation, they submitted three reports on their findings on the educational provisions for deaf (and blind) students in Australia and New Zealand.[14] The New South Wales State Cabinet considered the committee's recommendation, but decided to refer the matter to a sub-committee chaired by Dr R Wallace, in 1936.[15]

Meanwhile, in 1935, the New South Wales Education Department appointed its first researcher, Harold Wyndham, to look into the education of students with disabilities in general. From the results of the initial investigations, a guidance service for these students was developed in 1936 and special schools and classes for "atypical"

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9 S.H. Smith and G.T. Spaull, op.cit., p. 266.

10 Cliff Turney, op. cit., pp. 71-72.

11 K.S. Cunningham and J.J. Pratt, op. cit., p. 239; Ernest Lund, op. cit., p. 24; New South Wales Department of Education Library Archives: D Drummond G159, Statement for Submission to Cabinet from the Minister for Education (D.H. Drummond) - Education of the Deaf, Dumb and Blind Children of New South Wales, 1937; NSWDOE, B. Harkness G159, op. cit., p. 1.

12 NSWDOE, D Drummond G159, op. cit.

13 North Rocks Central School, Jean Walter (Wal 1), op. cit., p. 45.

14 NSWDOE, D Drummond G159, op. cit.; Ernest Lund, op. cit., p. 24.

15 NSWDOE, D Drummond G159, op. cit.

students were organised.[16] These classes did not, however, cater for deaf students. In 1936, Dr Wallace handed down the sub-committee's findings, which included the following:

* Deaf students had the right as future citizens to be educated and for them hopefully to be self-supporting.
* The student's deafness prevented them from being educated in a mainstream school.
* Many deaf students were not receiving education because the State had not made education for the deaf compulsory.[17]
* Many deaf students enrolled at the schools for the deaf when they were too old for the special education to be effective.[18]
* Teachers with "...proved experience in this special field..."[19] were preferred over teachers working in mainstream schools who had gained their primary and high school teaching qualifications from the State-controlled teaching colleges.

Further, it was concluded that the expertise of experienced teachers of the deaf would be needed to develop new teaching strategies (ie. oral mode of instruction) to teach the increasing proportion of oral deaf students enrolled in the schools for the deaf.[20]

In addition, the 1936 sub-committee agreed with the recommendation of the 1934 committee, that compulsory education for deaf students should be legislated and it suggested three possible provisions. First, the sub-committee suggested that the State should have full responsibility for the education and maintenance of these students. Second, the State should subsidise existing schools for the deaf to cover education costs.[21] Third, it was suggested that the State should take control of the school activities at the Sydney school for the deaf, but permit the school's Board of Directors

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[16] W.C. Radford, Review of Education in Australia 1955-1962, Hawthorn, Australian Council for Educational Research, 1964, p. 284; H.S. Wyndham, 'Educational Developments in New South Wales', Education News, vol. 5, no. 5, 1955, pp. 3-5, p. 4; New South Wales Department of School Education Library, Government Schools of New South Wales 1848 to 1993, Marrickville, Southwood Press, 1993, p. 233.

[17] Ernest Lund, op. cit., pp. 5-6.

[18] NSWDOE, B. Harkness G159, op. cit., p. 1.

[19] ibid., p. 2.

[20] ibid., p. 3; K.S. Cunningham and J.J. Pratt, op. cit., p. 232.

[21] NSWDOE, B. Harkness G159, op. cit., p. 2.

to continue to be responsible for the "maintenance" of the students.[22]

The sub-committee suggested that the last option would enable the State to utilise the special staff employed at the existing special schools, enable the schools to receive donations from the public, yet let the State have the legal responsibility for education at these schools.[23]

Another recommendation of the committee was that, even if the State took the responsibility for the education of these students, the existing operation of the Sydney school remain unchanged, eg. teacher appointments, teachers maintain residential status in order to provide extra-school activities, and the State would pay for teachers salaries, students' travelling expenses, equipment and maintenance of buildings. Apparently, the sub-committee did not recommend including the school in the fee abolition legislation, but recommended that the Government continue to pay the fees for deaf State wards and for those parents who could not afford their child's fees.[24] Finally, the sub-committee confirmed the need for deaf students to attend their special school for at least ten years.[25]

According to Lund, the New South Wales Minister for Education considered the following options:

1a) Sydney school - for the Education Department to take responsibility for the educational provisions and for the school Board to continue with the "domestic" provisions of the students.

1b) Newcastle school and Castle Hill school - no changes recommended.

2) Establish two State boarding schools, one for the oral deaf and one for the non-oral deaf.

3) Establish special classes for all deaf students in mainstream schools.[26]

However, none of the recommendations was implemented at this time.[27] Lund, whose

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22 NSWDOE, D Drummond G159, op. cit.

23 NSWDOE, B. Harkness G159, op. cit., p. 2.

24 ibid.

25 ibid., p. 4.

26 Ernest Lund, op. cit., p. 25.

27 ibid., pp. 25-26.

Doctoral thesis on the subject is the only source of information recorded in this period, provides no reason for the Government's apparent inaction and no light is thrown on the matter by the archives of the New South Wales Education Department. At the same time, the media appeared to have taken no interest in the matter and published no reports on the sub-committee's recommendations or Government response. While the Deaf Society of New South Wales would have almost certainly have followed the work of the sub-committee with interest, and could possibly have lobbied for the recommendations by the Government, records of the Society's activities during this period were destroyed by fire in1980. In the absence of any evidence, it can be assumed that other factors played a role in the decision not to implement any of the recommendations at this time.

Based on changing social attitudes evident since the 1880s, it was earlier suggested that certain aspects of eugenic ideals could have been influential in government decision-making about education of the deaf. Although, it has also been acknowledged that establishing a firm connection between the ideals, influence, policy and practice is particularly difficult.[28] Taking a wider view of the impact of the eugenics movement, Jones notes that the "socially inefficient" , including the "less intelligent"[29] were the subject of institutionalisation and sterilisation programs in America, Scandinavia, and Germany. He also reported that sterilisation laws in Germany were applied to the deaf as well as a range of other people "suffering" a variety of conditions.[30] During the 1920s and 1930s attempts were made in Victoria and New South Wales to introduce legislation permitting institutionalisation and sterilisation similar to that in Europe.[31] Although none were successful, these attempts demonstrate that some influential people considered that specific groups of children should not be part of the mainstream, and that these groups appeared to have included the deaf.

Jones notes that the Victorian Bills were almost unopposed in public and that their

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[28] Grant Rodwell, Eugenics and Australian State Education 1900-1960, PhD Thesis, University of Newcastle, 1997, p. 3.

[29] Ross L Jones, 'The Master Potter and the Rejected Pots: Eugenic Legislation in Victoria, 1981-1939', Australian Historical Studies, vol. 30, no. 113, 1999, pp. 319-342, p. 322.

[30] ibid., p. 341.

[31] Grant Rodwell, Professor Harvey Sutton...op. cit., pp. 3-4; Ross L Jones, op. cit., p. 324.

failure to become law "…is difficult to explain".[32] It is generally agreed, however, that by the 1930s eugenic ideals had shifted from a negative to positive approach to achieving aims of "racial betterment" with eugenicists seen as "progressive reformers".[33] The new approach had been incorporated into a wide range of programs designed to help families and children improve their condition, with an emphasis on medical and technical support. Therefore, while eugenic ideals exerted considerable influence on education policies and practices in the 1930s, the reason why the New South Wales government procrastinated on the issue of deaf education appears to involve more than just consideration of social values.

In the Victorian context, a report in the Argus claimed that Parliamentary inaction on Bills that did have sufficient support to become law was due to the depression.[34] In his analysis of the situation, Jones contended that "in retrospect, it is difficult to say whether factors other than economic considerations contributed to government inactivity".[35] Similar conclusions can be applied to the New South Wales government's inactivity on the recommendations of the 1934 and 1936 committees on the provision of education for deaf children.[36]

Apart from matters associated with eugenic ideals, the cost of providing specialist teaching for a relatively small number of deaf children located across a large geographic area was clearly a concern for successive governments. This was a point acknowledged by the Minister for Education in New South Wales as late as 1952.[37] In the 1920s, however, the government had met the cost of establishing an institution and providing special education for more than students with intellectual disabilities.

These students received training that was…

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[32] Ross L Jones, op. cit., p. 340.

[33] Grant Rodwell, Professor Harvey Sutton...op. cit., p. 2.

[34] Hope Deferred - Blackburn - Letters to the editor' Melbourne Argus, Monday 24 July 1939, p. 10

[35] Ross L Jones, op. cit., p. 339.

[36] New South Wales Department of Education Library Archives: D Drummond G159, Statement for Submission to Cabinet from the Minister for Education (D.H. Drummond) - Education of the Deaf, Dumb and Blind Children of New South Wales, 1937; NSWDOE, B. Harkness G159, op. cit., p. 1.

[37] House of Representatives (NSW), Hansard, 30 September, 1952a, pp. 965-985, p. 972.

> …sensory, utilitarian and ethical, leading to farm work and the learning of simple trades, the object being to make the "ament" self-supporting, and assist him to conform to the demands of society.[38]

At the same time, the New South Wales Government developed plans to provide specialised education for "gifted children". These plans resulted in four experimental sixth grade classes, later known as Opportunity Classes(OC), being established in 1932.[39] In contrast, at this time, there was no indication that the New South Wales Government had the funds, the expertise, or intention to implement special classes for deaf students.

In 1935, the New South Wales Education Department appointed its first researcher, Harold Wyndham, to look into educational matters of students with disabilities in general. From the results of the initial investigations, a guidance service for these students was developed in 1936 and special schools and classes for "atypical" students were organised.[40] These classes did not, however, cater for the deaf.

Although all three actions can be justified in terms of complying with eugenic ideals, they also demonstrate that additional expenditure on a specific group of students with special needs would not have set a political precedent. Consequently, concerns for the concept of funding special education services for the deaf in mainstream schools is unlikely to have been the only barrier to government action.

On the other hand, the ability of the New South Wales State government to finance additional education programs would have been a problem in the 1930s, particularly as a result of the depression. Across Australia, spending on education was generally reduced, resulting in less maintenance on buildings, fewer teachers, and larger class sizes.[41] Bessant reports that there were claims in the newspapers that education was wasted on many children and an unnecessary expense to the public.[42] In addition, the

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[38] S.H. Smith and G.T. Spaull, History of Education in New South Wales 1788-1925, Sydney, George B Philip & Son, 1925, p. 266.

[39] Cliff Turney, op.cit., pp. 71-72.

[40] W.C. Radford, op. cit., p. 284; H.S. Wyndham, 'Educational Developments in New South Wales', Education News, vol. 5, no. 5, 1955, pp. 3-5, p. 4; New South Wales Department of School Education Library, op. cit., p. 233.

[41] B. Bessant, 'The Depression and Education', B.K. Hyams and B. Bessant, Schools for the People?, Camberwell, Victoria, Longman Australian Limited, 1972, pp. 133-166, pp. 135-136.

[42] Ibib., p. 136.

situation was seen by some to be unnecessarily aggravated by compulsory schooling that forced the State to provide education to all children although many children did not have the ability to progress through the rigid grade system in mainstream schools.[43] In addition, there was increasing public debate about the purpose of education and the value of academic studies compared to preparing children for employment.[44] Cunningham, the Director of A.C.E.R. related the debate to the issue of education as a privilege rather than a right, which may have reflected his support of some eugenic ideals.

Both the matters of outcomes of schooling and of rights to education were particularly relevant to the deaf. The first point echoed long standing issues, such as discussed at the International Congresses of deaf educators concerning the objects of education for the deaf, while the second point was central to the deaf having equal access to educational opportunities available to their hearing counterparts. These concerns coincided with official acknowledgement by the New South Wales Education Department that most deaf children attending the Sydney school were unlikely to achieve the same academic educational levels as their hearing peers in mainstream schools. This acknowledgement must have cast doubt on the efficacy of increasing government expenditure on education of the deaf.

Apart from the funding of deaf education it appears that meeting the cost of general education was a continuing problem for State governments. This is supported by taking a wider view of the efforts of the New South Wales Minister of Education, D.H. Drummond to involve Education Ministers from other States in an attempt to secure Commonwealth funding for education.[45] That Drummond persisted in trying to involve the Commonwealth Government after Ministers from other States had given up indicates the strength of his concern about funding. Although meetings with the Commonwealth government took place, no agreement was reached and it must be assumed that the New South Wales Education Department continued to experience financial problems.

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[43] John Lewis, 'So Much Grit in the Hub of the Educational Machine', in Bob Bessant (ed.), Mother State and Her Little Ones, Centre for Youth and Community Services, Melbourne, 1987, pp. 140-166, p. 162.

[44] B. Bessant, op. cit., p. 136.

[45] ibid., pp. 137 & 151.

At the same time, it is possible that concerns for both social values and costs of programs would have been increased by developments within the field of deaf education and related to what was happening in mainstream schools. In particular, the implementation of wider curricula and higher academic standards in mainstream schools forced the schools for the deaf to raise their academic standards. New technological aids for working with the deaf allowed some deaf children to progress further than others with the new curricula. Their progress demonstrated a greater variation in abilities between children categorised under the general heading of deaf than had previously been recognised. At the same time, advances in medical knowledge led to a better understanding of different conditions involving deafness, for example the implications of pre-lingual deafness compared to post-lingual deafness. In turn, this understanding led to the recognition that different deaf children had different educational needs. For some children the use of hearing devices and articulation training, including lip-reading, provided them with far more opportunities for learning than another child who could not benefit from devices or such training. The schools for the deaf, both in Australia and overseas, recognised these differences and attempted to provide forms of instruction that best suited the child and not the teacher or a national identity, such as that attached to German and French methods in the nineteenth century.[46]

Although the schools for the deaf could group children or select children for enrolment on the basis of different teaching methods, the provision of education to all deaf children by the government would have required a range of different specialist teachers and technological aids. Clearly, the cost of providing such services, and the logistics of making them available across the State, would have been significant factors if the deaf had been included in compulsory education legislation.

Medical involvement

Meanwhile, the need to rehabilitate servicemen returning from military service with war-damaged hearing became a priority again, after the First World War. This led to renewed interest in rehabilitation techniques, including surgery, using hearing devices,

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[46] T.J. Watson, 'Speech Instruction – Auditory Training and the Development of Speech in Deaf Children', in R.G. Brill, International Congresses on Education of the Deaf 1878-1980, pp. 130-131, p. 131; R.G. Brill, International Congresses on Education of the Deaf 1878-1980, p. 443; K.S. Cunningham and J.J. Pratt, op. cit., pp. 224-225; David Wright, Deafness – A Personal Account*, London, Allen Lane The Penguin Press,* p. 188;

and the teaching of lipreading.[47] As a consequence of the level of success achieved with these post-lingually deafened adults, doctors and speech therapists began to look at the possibility of using similar rehabilitation strategies with deaf children.

Despite the known differences in teaching pre-lingually, compared to post-lingually deaf students, the movement towards the use of medically-based rehabilitation techniques with deaf students gained in strength. According to Hunter[48], the result of medical intervention was that many deaf students were given the opportunity to use hearing devices to enhance their residual hearing and to learn the oral mode. As was recognised much later, however, such opportunities did not necessarily mean a successful outcome.[49]

Part of the problem rested with the efficiency of the device and another part with the appropriateness of the environment in which it was used. A larger part, however, rested with appropriate diagnosis of the type and degree of deafness, which required accurate diagnostic equipment.

Early hearing tests involved only one aspect of hearing, being a person's sensitivity towards sound, that is, how the deaf individual responded to sounds. The usual testing technique, as used in the 1907 New South Wales school children's health survey, was to observe the child's reaction to the ticking of a watch, the clicking of coins or the conversational voice.[50] This method provided little information about the extent or effect on the child of their deafness, nor did it indicate whether an amplification device would help the child.

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[47] Frank Hewett and Steven Forness, Education of Exception Learners, Boston, Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1974. p.49.

[48] Special Education Resource Centre for Hearing Impaired Library Archives: Hunter Essay, The Historical Development of Oral Education of the Deaf, Annerley, 1968, p. 12.

[49] Kevin Barrand, 'The Benefits of the Phonic Ear System', Sound News, vol. 11, no. 2, September, 1982, pp. 35-37, pp. 35-36; Mrs John Calvert-Jones, 'Address by Mrs. John Calvert-Jones, representing the Advisory Council for Children with Impaired Hearing, on a parents' panel held by the Australian Association of Teachers of the Deaf on Monday 7th January, 1974.', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 15, 1974, pp. 48-51, p. 51; Gallaudet College, Educating the Hearing Impaired Child: A Legal Perspective, 1981, p. 1.

[50] Special Education Resource Centre for Hearing Impaired Library Archives: Walker Essay, The Ascertainment of Deafness and Education of the Preschool Child in the 20th Century, Annerley, 1964, p. 1.

No other reliable methods of diagnosis were available. Experiments with audiometers commenced in the 1870s in an attempt to provide information about the extent of hearing loss. However, it was not until the 1920s that a reasonably standardised device, a vacuum-tube audiometer which could measure different degrees of deafness, became available.[51] This development had a profound impact on the education of the deaf in a number of ways.

First, and perhaps foremost, was that it established the medical profession as the prime influence, replacing teachers of the deaf, in the allocation of the child to a specific educational approach. In particular, from this point, it was the medical profession who determined the likelihood of the child benefiting from the use of a hearing device and so, being taught in the oral mode. The position of the medical profession, in relation to education of the deaf, was further boosted when, in June 1931, the first speech therapy department in Australia was established at the Royal Alexandra Hospital for Children, in Sydney.

The establishment of the speech therapy department was provided with support from two overseas events. The first was in 1932, when Professor and Mrs Ewing, at the University of Manchester, in England, commenced experimental work on deaf students' reaction to sound. The results showed that the majority of participants had residual hearing that could be increased by the use of hearing devices. These findings confirmed the growing belief that those students with sufficient residual hearing to benefit from amplification of sound could be trained to talk.[52]

The second impact on the education of the deaf was not quite so specific, but still had major implications as an idea. In 1933, the differences in learning patterns between oral deaf and non-oral deaf students were discussed at the International Congress of Deaf Educators. A majority of delegates believed that the oral deaf student should be educated with hearing students.[53] In New South Wales, despite an unknown number of deaf children having attended mainstream schools since 1848, there appeared to be

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[51] John Bordley and Patrick Brookhouser, 'The History of Otology', in Larry Bradford, and William Hardy (ed.), Hearing and Hearing Impairment, Grune & Stratton, New York, 1979, p. 8; Richard G Brill, The Education of the Deaf - Administrative and Professional Developments, Washington DC., Gallaudet College, 1974, p. 169; David Wright, op. cit., pp. 187-188.

[52] T.J. Watson, op. cit., p. 131; David Wright, op. cit., p. 188.

[53] R.G. Brill, op. cit., p. 443.

little official interest in educating oral deaf students with their hearing counterparts at this time. Several years after the 1933 International Congress, however, the speech therapy department at the Royal Alexandra Hospital for Children began to work more closely with the School Medical Branch of the New South Wales Education Department and the Child Guidance Clinic.[54] Then, in 1939, an eighteen month speech therapy course was commenced and sponsored by the Hospitals Commission of New South Wales.[55]

The third impact was the emphasis on audiometry and the oral mode, which provided the grounds for expansion of a new commercial element to education of the deaf, ie. the supply of hearing devices. This impacted not only on individuals, whose families had to pay for the devices, but also on the schools for the deaf. From the 1930s onward, the purchase of group hearing aids became a major budget item. It also impacted on the New South Wales Government when the Commonwealth Government became involved in the manufacture of an Australian-designed hearing device, after the Second World War.

Fourth, the results of audiometric testing were used to indicate whether the child was capable of learning by the oral mode. At a time when medicine and technology were being used to support the oral mode, a non-oral child could be seen to receive no benefit. In fact, the results could be used to confer another label on the child and to deny him or her access to newly-developing educational resources, with subsequent unequal educational outcomes.[56]

One example of the new educational resources available to oral deaf students was the wireless. The introduction of regular public radio broadcasts in 1920,[57] impacted on the deaf both socially and educationally.[58] Socially, radio provided the hearing and some oral deaf students with new forms of information and interests, through news and

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[54] K.S. Cunningham and J.J. Pratt, op. cit., pp. 224-225.

[55] ibid.

[56] Australia: National Board of Employment Education and Training, The Implications of the Introduction of Good Strategies in Higher Education for Disadvantaged Students, 1994, p. 15.

[57] Reader's Digest, Encyclopedia of Family Health, Sydney, Reader's Digest Association Limited, 1994, p. 215.

[58] University of Newcastle Library Archives: Rosary Convent for Deaf Girls A5996(ix), Sydney Teachers' College Reports 1949-1966, 1958, p. 9.

current affairs broadcasts, light entertainment and drama. Educationally, radio began to be used to support the mainstream school curriculum.[59]
The non-oral deaf were effectively denied access to these new facilities. Similarly, during this period, gramophones and records of stories and music became a major component of home entertainment, along with radio. At about the same time, silent movies gave way to the "talkies", which denied the non-oral deaf another source of social entertainment and education.

Schools for the deaf

At the schools for the deaf greater emphasis was being accorded to teaching the oral deaf. In 1933, a speech training device, called a sonotone, was purchased by the Newcastle school for work with their oral deaf students.[60] At the Sydney school, a group hearing aid was installed in 1935. According to Walter, this was the first group hearing aid installed in a school in Australia. She also reported Earlam as saying that the uses and value of hearing aids were limited and that they could not, in his opinion, replace lipreading. He also considered it doubtful that hearing aids would ever allow very deaf children to attend mainstream classrooms.[61]

Sydney school

Nevertheless, at the Sydney school, language development was the major subject for deaf students.[62] Only the primary curriculum was available, because academic progress was not the major goal of the school. Even so, this curriculum was modified in its literacy level and presented at a slower pace than it may have been presented to hearing students.[63] Despite the modifications, most students failed to complete all primary education subjects at a level similar to their hearing peers.

As reported earlier, Earlam had already emphasised the educational problems of deaf

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[59] B Bessant and A.D. Spaull, Politics of Schooling, Carlton, Pitman Publishing Pty Ltd., 1976, p. 24.

[60] J.A. Burke, History of Catholic Schools for Deaf and Dumb Children in the Hunter Valley, MA Thesis, University of Newcastle, 1974, p. 199.

[61] North Rocks Central School, Jean Walter (Wal 1), op. cit., p. 44.

[62] ibid., p. 50.

[63] Special Education Resource Centre for Hearing Impaired Library Archives: Searle Essay, The History of the Education of the Deaf in Queensland, Annerley, 1952, pp. 21-22; North Rocks Central School, Jean Walter (Wal 1), op. cit., p. 48.

students and declared that there was little likelihood that they could achieve at the same level as their hearing counterparts. That some deaf students were unable to achieve academic levels of hearing peers began to be accepted by the New South Wales Education Department. In their reports on the Sydney school, inspectors made reference to the many difficulties of teaching deaf students to speak or read. They even suggested that arithmetic work should be simple and practical and that deaf students should not be given abstract problems that were beyond their experience.[64] Although the main focus of the teaching effort was on language development, social skills and some pre-vocational training were also given attention. These lessons were designed to prepare the students for some degree of independence on leaving the school.[65] This pre-vocational training included wood-work, metal-work, boot-repairing, printing and gardening for boys. For girls, there was needlework, cookery and other household duties.

The manual, oral, and combined modes of communication continued to be used at the Sydney school.[66] However, along with Earlam's preference for the oral mode and, because of the increasing influence of the medical model and the introduction of improved hearing tests and hearing aid devices, the majority of the deaf students were instructed in the oral mode. In addition, the school purchased a film projector to provide an additional visual aid resource for the students.[67]

The need for a variety of teaching aids and techniques for the deaf, the oral deaf, and deaf students with an intellectual disability, continued to provide a challenge to the staff at the Sydney school.[68] This was especially so while the school's policy was to accept all students who were deaf (unless they had unacceptable behaviour).[69]

While the oral deaf were able to make use of new technology, the non-oral deaf could not. As a result, it was claimed that this led to distinction made between the oral deaf

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64 RIDBC Annual Report 1936, pp. 22-23.

65 K.S. Cunningham and J.J. Pratt, op. cit., pp. 234-235.

66 Ernest Lund, op. cit., p. 119.

67 RIDBC Annual Report 1936, pp. 13-14.

68 Ernest Lund, op. cit., p. 87.

69 ibid., pp. 87-88.

and the non-oral deaf children.[70] This difference between the non-oral deaf and oral deaf students resulted in the oral deaf students being described as the advantaged class in contrast to the deaf students using the manual mode of communication.[71]

Newcastle school

Unlike the Sydney school, however, the Newcastle and the Castle Hill schools were still very selective in the deaf students they enrolled and still highly regarded the advantages of using the manual mode with their students, especially up to 1920. However, from 1924, when the oral mode was given to some of their students who would benefit from it, they continued the use of the one-handed manual alphabet, in combination with a sign language, with their students.[72] The continuity with the manual mode was assisted by the appointment of ex-students to the teaching staff.

The death of Sister Mary Columba Dwyer in 1924 created a void at the Newcastle school.[73] Dooley referred to the period 1924-1938 as being one of "some stagnation" until the "initiative" was taken to invite the "oral expert" Father Page from Canada.[74] For a number of years, leadership of the school was taken, in turns, by Sisters Collins, Casey and Corrigan. The latter was in charge in 1927 when the physical teaching environment of the Newcastle school was changed. Students were given adjustable dual desks and each class was taught in separate groups.[75] These major physical changes in teaching deaf students made it similar to the Sydney school. In the same year, Miss Hanney, Miss Hutchison and Miss Lynch, all former students, were named as being members of the teaching staff at the Newcastle school.[76]

In 1931, a mainstream Catholic teacher, Sister Madeline Egan, joined the staff at the Newcastle school,[77] as a trainee teacher of the deaf. As Egan had not previously

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70 RIDBC Annual Report 1935, p. 12.

71 RIDBC Annual Report 1937, p. 13.

72 Ernest Lund, op. cit., pp. 121-124.

73 J.A. Burke, op. cit., pp. 76-77; Sister Egan, Pictorial Centenary Souvenir, Newcastle, Newey & Beath Printers Pty Ltd, 1975b, p. 3; Sister Egan, History of Catholic Deaf Education in Australia 1875-1975, Newcastle, Newey & Beath Printers Pty Ltd, 1975a, p. 11.

74 St Dominic's Centre for Hearing Impaired Children Archives: Dooley Monograph, To Be Fully Alive - A Monograph on Australian Dominican Education of Hearing-Impaired Children, 1989, p. 126.

75 Sister Egan, History of..., op. cit., p. 13.

76 ibid.

77 J.A. Burke, op. cit., p. 166.

taught deaf students, she observed the teaching strategies used at the Newcastle school for two years.[78] In 1933 she was appointed Principal of the Newcastle school and in the same year introduced the use of textbooks as recommended by the New South Wales Education Department.[79]

While Egan was in charge of the Newcastle school, she advocated the use of the manual mode. She considered it to be a dependable method of communication, unlike the oral mode which, she believed, resulted in many oral deaf students being unable to speak clearly.[80]

Egan's adherence to the manual mode may have been reinforced by the presence of non-oral deaf ex-students, who helped out at the school, particularly in the sewing group.[81] In addition to this connection with ex-students, the teaching staff at the Newcastle school and the Castle Hill school produced the first edition of Past and Present in October 1935. This publication was sent to ex-students of these Catholic schools and contained social news and spiritual guidance.[82]

Despite Egan's personal preference for the manual mode, the oral mode was made available for some students.[83] In the 1930s, another group hearing device, the Sonotone, was purchased for the Catholic schools.[84] This latest group hearing aid enabled the teacher to use one microphone for up to twelve students, because the teacher's voice was transmitted to the individual students receiving unit. This reduced the time formerly required for individual language work between teacher and student.[85]

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[78] ibid., pp. 169, 172.

[79] ibid., pp. 178-180.

[80] J.A. Burke, op. cit., pp. 243-244.

[81] UON, Rosary Convent for Deaf Girls A5698, Annual Report 1920, op. cit., p. 8; J.A. Burke, op. cit., p. 247.

[82] Sister Egan, History of..., op. cit., p. 20; University of Newcastle Library Archives: Rosary Convent for Deaf Girls A5700, Unbound Documents, 1936.

[83] UON, Rosary Convent for Deaf Girls A5698, Annual Report 1941, op. cit., p. 1.

[84] J.A. Burke, op. cit., p. 205; Ernest Lund, op. cit. p. 127; Elsie May Pettinari, Catholic Education in Newcastle, 1870-1977, Extended Essay in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Bachelor of Educational Studies Thesis, Newcastle, 1979, p. 13.

[85] Angela Wilson, 'Deafness Through the Ages (Part 3) - An Historical Survey of Deaf Education', Lantern Light, April, 1976a, pp. 22-27, p. 26; J.H. Burchett, Utmost for the Highest, Melbourne, Hall's Book Store Pty Ltd, 1964, p. 34.

Castle Hill school

When it opened in 1922, St Gabriel's School for Deaf Boys on the Old Northern Road at Castle Hill became the second Catholic school and the third special school for the deaf in New South Wales.[86] Prior to this new special residential school being established, boys of thirteen years of age and over attending the Newcastle school had been transferred to the Westmead Industrial School, near Sydney. There they undertook vocational training under the tuition of the Marist Brothers.[87] However, the sisters at the Newcastle school had been concerned for many years about the need to have male teachers for the boys before the age of thirteen.[88] This concern increased with the pressure to expand the duration of schooling of their deaf students. That is, there was a growing trend to accept children younger than eight years of age and maintain older students beyond 14 years of age.[89] Plans had been drawn up for a second school some years earlier, but construction was delayed by the advent of World War One.[90]

Initially, teachers at the Castle Hill school were drawn from the Christian Brothers Order and, similarly to the Dominican Sisters, had received their teacher training at the Cabra school for deaf boys, St Joseph's Institution since 1846, in Ireland.[91] Later, Brothers for the Castle Hill school teaching staff were acquired from the Christian Brothers' Training College at Strathfield, in Sydney.[92]

Similarly to the Newcastle school, the Castle Hill school was registered as a certified school under the Public Instruction (Amendment) Act of 1916. Like its Newcastle

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[86] Sister Egan, History of..., op. cit., p. 32; Australia: Department of Education and Science, Special Education in Australia: Department of Education and Science, 1972, p. 34.

[87] Sister Egan, History of..., op. cit., p. 11; University of Newcastle Library Archives: Rosary Convent for Deaf Girls A5996(xi), Information Sheet, 1948b; UON, Rosary Convent for Deaf Girls A5698, Annual Report 1900, op. cit., p. 3.

[88] Sister Egan, History of..., op. cit., p. 11; K.S. Cunningham and J.J. Pratt, op. cit., p. 235.

[89] Ernest Lund, op. cit., pp. 92-93.

[90] ibid., p. 93.

[91] UON, Rosary Convent for Deaf Girls A5698, Annual Report 1922, op. cit., p. 12; Sister Egan, History of..., op. cit., p. 11; St Gabriel's School for the Deaf, Golden Jubilee 1922-1972, Parramatta, St Gabriel's School for the Deaf, 1973; K.W. Hodgson, The Deaf and Their Problems - A Study in Special Education, London, Watts and Co, 1953, pp. 197, 268.

[92] Ernest Lund, op. cit., p. 70.

counterpart for deaf girls, enrolment was open only to boys of "sound mind" and who were too deaf to cope in a mainstream hearing class.[93] The school was modelled on the latest Government schools' design, with the addition of boarding facilities. In addition to its academic curriculum, the school had vocational training workshops, (eg. woodwork, printing, making scarves and stockings on knitting machines and rug making), a vegetable garden, some farm animals (eg. cows), and sporting activities (eg. cricket, soccer).[94]

The Castle Hill school received funding from the same sources as the Newcastle school, ie. annual proceeds from the school fees, donations from the general public, and a Government grant. Apart from fund-raising events within the community, the Newcastle school and the Castle Hill school were also assisted through non-monetary support, eg. members of the Rotary Club would take the deaf students on outings.[95] In 1933, a swimming pool was constructed, which enabled annual swimming carnivals to be staged.[96]

With the opening of the Castle Hill school, the Newcastle school was nominated as a girls only school. This created entirely different educational and social environments for the deaf children attending each school. These differences were clearly illustrated when, in the early 1930s, the Newcastle school produced a book, called How to Converse with the Deaf, which provided illustrations and instructions on how to use the manual language of the Catholic schools for the deaf. It was noted, however, that the staff at the Castle Hill school did not agree with all the signs used in this publication.[97] While both practised the manual system that had originated at Cabra, it appeared that the geographic distance between the two Catholic schools in New South Wales had prevented a complete standardised sign language being maintained.

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[93] ibid., pp. 94-95; K.S. Cunningham and J.J. Pratt, op. cit., p. 235; UON, Rosary Convent for Deaf Girls A5698, Annual Report 1935, op. cit., pp. 1, 61; UON, Rosary Convent for Deaf Girls A5698, Annual Report 1922, op. cit., p. 12.

[94] St Gabriel's School for the Deaf, op. cit.; University of Newcastle Library Archives: Rosary Convent for Deaf Girls A5701, History of Catholic Deaf Education (handwritten notes), 1950b, pp. 3-8.

[95] Sister Egan, History of..., op. cit., pp. 15, 18.

[96] St Gabriel's School for the Deaf, op. cit.

[97] J.A. Burke, op. cit., pp. 242-243.

The development of local "dialects in manual languages is a common feature of isolated groups of non-oral deaf, and serves to illustrate how a distinctive group identity can be quickly established amongst the deaf.[98] It also serves to illustrate the importance of language, which later became the main issue amongst the deaf and deaf educators.

The increasingly widespread acceptance of the benefits of the oral mode of communication for oral deaf students resulted in the Roman Catholic schools for the deaf wanting their staff to receive specific lipreading and speech training from a specialist in the area, mainly in order to see if some of their students could benefit from being taught by a trained teacher of the oral mode.[99] In June 1938, the oral mode (using lipreading and speech) was introduced to the teaching staff by an overseas Roman Catholic teacher and Director of a school for deaf boys in Canada, Father Page.[100]

Funding

The failure of the New South Wales Government to make any positive decision on the question of compulsory education of deaf students, or to accept any further responsibility for the costs of their education, left all three schools for the deaf reliant on the small Government grant, student fees and public donations.
By 1939, the Sydney school for the deaf and blind employed 22 full-time teachers to instruct 141 deaf and 50 blind students. Also, some pre-vocational subjects such as book repairing required special teachers, and four visiting teachers were employed for the manual and vocational training curriculum provided at the school.[101]

The Newcastle school had made alterations to the physical environment of the classrooms and purchased group devices. Some of the costs were met by special events. For example, the dual desks were paid for by the Golden Jubilee celebrations in 1926.[102] From 1927, the sewing department created an industry by taking orders for

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98 Richard Senghas and Ann Senghas, 'Creation through Contact: The Development of a Nicaraguan Deaf Community and the Nativization of its Language', paper presented at Second International Conference on Deaf History, Hamburg, 1994, p. 45.

99 Sister Egan, History of..., op. cit., p. 22.

100 J.A. Burke, op. cit., pp. 200-203; Sister Egan, History of..., op. cit., p. 22.

101 K.S. Cunningham and J.J. Pratt, op. cit., pp. 234-235.

102 Sister Egan, History of..., op. cit., p. 13.

ladies and children's clothing, priests' vestments and altar linen.[103] It was this industrial section that enabled some of the non-oral deaf ex-students of the school to remain at the Newcastle school for an extended period.[104]

Teacher training

Outside the pupil-teacher system, there were still no training facilities for specialised teachers of the deaf in New South Wales during this period. Most teachers were still recruited from overseas, where the basic qualifications and training provided to teachers of the deaf began to undergo a philosophical change. This was particularly so in countries such as the United States and the United Kingdom because of the emphasis on the oral mode. In the early days of the Sydney school, the usual qualification was to have had some experience with the deaf and a knowledge of how to communicate with deaf students. At this point, teachers were now expected to have specific knowledge of subjects such as child psychology, anatomy and physiology of speech and hearing, speech training, elements of phonetics, history of the education of the deaf and unlike before, teach in a child-centred teaching environment,[105] similar to the new educational philosophy of teaching in mainstream schools.[106]

Without training facilities, Australia could do little to ensure the standards of qualifications of new teachers, or provide support for raising the qualifications of existing teachers of the deaf. The problem was discussed in 1935 at a conference of superintendents and principals, representing nine schools for the deaf across Australia and "overseas visitors".[107] At that point, tradition still placed considerable emphasis on the teacher's experience with the deaf, rather than formal teaching qualifications.[108] As such, there was concern that few individuals had the skills or knowledge to adapt to

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[103] UON, Rosary Convent for Deaf Girls A5698, Annual Report 1941, op. cit., p. 20a; Sister Egan, History of..., op. cit., pp. 13-14.

[104] Ernest Lund, op. cit., p. 144; Elsie may pettinari, op. cit. p. 12

[105] R.G. Brill, op. cit., p. 429.

[106] B Bessant, 'Education for a National Purpose', in B.K. Hyams and B Bessant, Schools for the People? - An Introduction to the History of State Education in Australia, Camberwell, Longman Australia Pty Limited, 1972, pp. 86-107, pp. 87-88; Alan Barcan, 'The Transition in Australian Education 1939-67', in J Cleverley and J Lawry (ed.), Australian Education in the Twentieth Century, Longman Australia Pty Limited, Camberwell, Victoria, 1972, pp. 172-204, pp. 184, 192-193.

[107] UON, Rosary Convent for Deaf Girls A5698, Annual Report 1935, op. cit., p. 37.

[108] ibid., p. 37; I Turner, The Training of Teachers in Australia, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1943, p. 321.

changing teaching methods, particularly those associated with the oral mode.

The Australian Association of Teachers of the Deaf

To remedy the situation, the delegates of the 1935 Superintendents and Principals Conference founded the Australian Association of Teachers of the Deaf (AATD), with Harold Earlam as President. The AATD was described as "..a professional, examining, and certifying organisation"[109], the aim of which was to help teachers of the deaf to "...promote their professional growth in-service by setting up regulations governing the award of a Licentiateship, an Associateship and a Fellowship to experienced teachers of the deaf".[110]

The AATD commenced its first examination for its members in 1937. Similar to overseas training courses, subjects included the principles of education, with special reference to the education of the deaf, methods of teaching speech to the deaf, methods of teaching language and associated subjects to the deaf, handwork, hygiene, anatomy and physiology of the organs of speech, history of the education of the deaf, practical teaching and speech.[111] It is apparent that the subjects to be studied for these examinations were clearly inclined towards the oral mode of communication for deaf students.

The emphasis on providing professional recognition for teachers of the oral mode further relegated the declining status of manual mode users. Together with overseas training that focused on the oral mode, there now appeared to be little encouragement for new teachers to train in the manual mode. Except for pupil-teachers, there was a definite prospect that teachers of the manual mode could become extinct, with detrimental consequences for the education of non-oral deaf children.

Adult deaf societies

The only repository of manual mode users was the adult deaf associations. In 1922, the Adult Deaf and Dumb Society of New South Wales was incorporated under the

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[109] K.S. Cunningham and J.J. Pratt, op. cit., p. 240.

[110] I Turner, op. cit., p. 320.

[111] Ernest Lund, op. cit., p. 76; I Turner, op. cit., pp. 320-323; Special Education Resource Centre for Hearing Impaired Library Archives: Burns Essay, The History of the Development of the Education of the Deaf in Australia, Annerley, 1969, p. 15; K.S. Cunningham and J.J. Pratt, op. cit., pp. 240-241.

Companies Act.[112] The Society had active input from hearing individuals who believed that deaf adults should be provided with guidance in Protestant values.[113] The deaf members themselves were, however, more concerned with providing classes to raise the literacy levels of deaf adults.

In the same year, 1922, the Australasian Adult Deaf Mute Association was formed for Roman Catholic deaf adults. In 1940, Archbishop Gilroy approved the setting up of the first New South Wales Catholic Club Rooms for the Deaf which were located at Lisgar House, in Carrington Street, Sydney.[114] Apart from the spiritual factor, another difference between these two adult deaf groups was their mode of communication. As mentioned previously, the ex-students of the Sydney school used the manual mode with the two-handed manual alphabet, while the one-handed manual mode alphabet was used by ex-students of the Newcastle school.

In 1929, a third group of deaf adults formed the New South Wales Association of Deaf and Dumb Citizens. The members of this association preferred the oral mode of communication,[115] though the use of "dumb" in the name of their association could seem to be misleading to the general hearing public.

Thus, the three associations of adult deaf reflected the divisions created by the different modes of instruction used at the schools for the deaf in New South Wales. But, despite these differences in communications, as well as religious affiliations, they did share at least one common concern. This was a belief that many deaf children were not receiving appropriate education and training because the New South Wales Government had not introduced compulsory education legislation for deaf children to attend schools for the deaf.[116]

Summary and Conclusions

The period between the two world wars saw many changes in the provision of

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[112] J.L. Ferris, op. cit., p. 8.

[113] ibid.

[114] UON, Rosary Convent for Deaf Girls A5698, Annual Report 1941, pp. 15, 21; Sister Egan, History of..., op. cit., p. 23.

[115] New South Wales Association of Deaf and Dumb Citizens, 'Untitled', Deaf Advocate, vol. 4, no. 2, March-April, 1934, p. 15.

[116] Editor, op. cit., p. 1; Ernest Lund, op. cit., pp. 5-6.

education by the New South Wales Education Department. These included special facilities for children with intellectual disabilities and a range of other disabilities, as well as special classes for gifted children. At the same time, secondary schooling was expanded and distinctions created between academic and technical programs of study. However, the government made no additional facilities or funding available for education of the deaf within the state school system. The advent of the depression saw New South Wales, along with other States, reduce expenditure on education generally. The period also generated public debate that involved a number of fundamental eugenic ideals and centred on the value of schooling for children who were thought unlikely to fully contribute to Australian society. The deaf were implicated as a group with a limited capacity to contribute when the State bureaucracy officially affirmed that most students at schools for the deaf would not be able to attain the same level of academic achievement as their hearing counterparts.

In a period when education was characterised by concerns for funding and influenced by eugenic ideals, the New South Wales Education Department continued to exclude deaf students from compulsory attendance legislation or to provide for an expansion of services being provided by the existing deaf schools. The exclusion was not addressed although calls for government action to do so were made by the schools for the deaf, the newly formed association of teachers of the deaf, and the increasingly more organised adult deaf society. Similarly, the New South Wales Education Department failed to act in spite of four years of Government committee and sub-committee investigations, culminating in recommendations for the Government to more fully support education of the deaf. While no one reason can be identified as a cause of Government inaction, the interlaced themes of the place and value of the deaf in society, funding restrictions created by the depression, and an expanded recognition of the complexities involved in teaching deaf children, all contribute to the conclusion that the New South Wales Government deliberately avoided involvement in deaf education.

Apart from any detrimental educational outcome, these failures for the Government to act reinforced both public and professional perceptions that educational services for the deaf were not to be rated equally with that for some mainstream students, gifted students, or, indeed, for children with other disabilities. In this respect, it further marginalised the deaf educationally and with the advent of technological developments in radio, talking films and records, marginalised them socially.

The period 1918 to 1939 also witnessed the consolidation of the oral mode as the primary approach to teaching deaf children. This was supported by overseas research, medical and technological advances in audiology, a commercial manufacturing industry for devices, teacher training and a professional accreditation scheme and community preferences for speech over signing. However, while the application of the oral mode training brought the oral deaf closer to the hearing world, it increased the educational and social gap between oral deaf and non-oral deaf individuals.

Educationally, at the same time as resources were increasing to support the oral mode, there was no encouragement to increase or even maintain resources for the non-oral deaf. By the end of this period, there appeared to be no training facilities for manual mode teachers and a lessening of reliance on pupil-teacher arrangements. The outcome was a growing marginalisation of the non-oral deaf in the schools for the deaf.

One of the consequences of these movements appeared to be a strengthening of group identity amongst the deaf. While the different modes used in teaching, as well as the religious affiliations of the schools for the deaf, played a part, the development of adult deaf societies indicated the potential impact the influence could have. By the end of this period there were three adult deaf groups. For the most formalised group, the Adult Deaf and Dumb Society of New South Wales, the main aim was to assist who they considered to be the most disadvantaged, the deaf who had not experienced school. In addition, they were involved in lobbying the Government to implement compulsory education for deaf children. The lack of compulsory education in the past was seen as the reason why many deaf adults had not experienced schooling.

CHAPTER FIVE

GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION

Introduction

The second half of the 1940s can be viewed as a period when the activities of Governments, educators and parents helped create the foundation on which was built the provision of educational services for the deaf over the ensuing fifty years. The cornerstones of this structure were the concentration of resources in favour of the oral mode, integration, teacher preparation and Government intervention.

One of the more visible features was the bringing of deaf education into the arena of mainstream schooling. By the end of the 1940s, for the first time in New South Wales, the education of some deaf children could be considered a part of the State educational system. However, Government provisions were based on the concept of integration. Some oral deaf children, with the benefit of hearing aids, were able to make reasonable progress in mainstream classrooms. Other oral deaf children who could also benefit from the use of hearing aids, but who could not progress satisfactorily in a mainstream classroom, were placed in special Opportunity Deaf (OD) units attached to mainstream schools. There was no Government provision for those deaf children who could not make educational progress in integration classrooms or OD Units in mainstream schools.

A period of change

Although the New South Wales Government had considered the problems and difficulties of deaf education in the 1930s, it had resisted any involvement in the provision of services. As Barcan noted, however, the period 1938-1947 provided "great changes" and "...a new educational ideology which was welcomed by some educationalists discontented with established patterns". In particular he noted that New South Wales was one of the most energetic States in introducing educational reforms.[1] Sister Caterina Heffernan, a teacher of the deaf at the Newcastle school who looked specifically at education for the deaf, considered events of 1946 the start of a

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[1] Alan Barcan, A History of Australian Education, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1980, pp. 273, 275.

stormy revolution.[2] In fact, some of the reforms of the early 1940s created an environment of instability that precipitated the revolution for those involved in deaf education, and set the scene for more upheaval in the education of deaf children in New South Wales.

There appeared to have been twin catalysts for the rapid changes in deaf education: the demands of war, and the 1940-41 rubella epidemic. The reactions of both the New South Wales and Commonwealth Governments to these events created a new level and distinct partitioning of educational services for deaf children. As a consequence, the period saw an effective reduction in the educational resources available for the education of non-oral deaf students. As a result, the level of education achieved by deaf students was below the normal standard of education expected of hearing students by the general community. Expanded integration emphasised these differences and added further to the development of a separate group identity of the non-oral deaf. This was reinforced by the differential educational treatment provided to some groups of deaf students by Governments and educators.

Differential educational treatment of the deaf

An example of differential educational treatment of the deaf, compared to that of the hearing, at that time, is illustrated by the wartime closure of the Sydney school. The military had identified more than 60 school buildings it wanted to occupy for the duration of the war. The Education Department refused to hand over 15 of its school buildings in New South Wales.[3] The Sydney school was also commandeered, and it appears that the Board was given little option. As a consequence, unlike the students in mainstream schools, education of the deaf was suspended when the school building was taken over by the RAAF from April, 1942, to 1946. The school's staff and students had to vacate the facilities and were dispersed.[4]

Most students had to be sent home, although some of the teaching staff who were not

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[2] Private Papers Barbara Crickmore: Heffernan Essay, A History of the Course for Teachers of the Deaf, 1974, p. 1.

[3] Andrew Spaull, Australian Education in the Second World War, St Lucia, University of Queensland Press, 1982, pp. 16-17.

[4] RIDBC Annual Report 1956, p. 1; RIDBC, Annual Report 1959, p. 11; Angela Wilson, 'Deafness Through the Ages (Part 4) - An Historical Survey of Deaf Education', Lantern Light, August, 1976b, pp. 23-31, p. 25.

otherwise involved in the war effort tried to maintain educational services with their students through correspondence lessons. These were mainly to do with subject matter and not with language development. The lessons were sent to the deaf students, although it was recognised that the "...success of the lessons rested with the parents...", who were not trained teachers of the deaf.[5]

Other deaf students were accommodated at various locations around Sydney, including local mainstream schools, and provided with support whenever possible. It was generally agreed, however, that this was a period of great disruption for the deaf students and staff.[6] Further, it was not one that had to be endured by hearing students or their teachers in the mainstream schools.

Soon after the end of the war the Sydney building was returned to the school's Board for educational use. However, there is no indication that the Government made any specific effort to make up for the loss of schooling suffered by the former and ongoing deaf students, once the war was over. It appears that those who were too old to return to the Sydney school had only the Deaf Society to turn to for further educational services. At the same time, when the Sydney school reopened in 1946, there was a long list of deaf children waiting to enrol. Some of these had been due to start school, at age five years, in 1942. They were now nine years of age and had never experienced school.[7]

It is possible to nominate the circumstances of war as justification for relocation of the school building. A five year suspension of the only specialised education service for the deaf in New South Wales, outside the Catholic system, is a little more difficult to explain. The failure of both the State and Commonwealth Governments to ensure continuing education of all the school's deaf students, during the period of closure, points to a lack of official support or real concern for deaf education at the time.

Such a conclusion is strengthened by the fact that, during this period, increased

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[5] Jean Walter, 'History of the New South Wales School for Deaf Children', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 2, no. 1, November, 1960, pp. 7-14, pp. 12-13.

[6] Private Papers Barbara Crickmore: Parr Paper, Special Education in Australia - Hearing-Impaired Children, 1980, p. 8; Jean Walter, op. cit., pp. 12-13; Angela Wilson, Deafness Through...(Part 4)..., p. 25.

[7] Jean Walter, op. cit., pp. 12-13.

facilities were being provided in other areas of education. For example, at the end of 1942, the Commonwealth Government provided New South Wales and the other States with funds for the training of additional preschool teachers. The rationale for the provision of these funds may have had more to do with public pressure than education. According to Spaull, these teachers were needed to meet a "demand for preschool facilities by middle class groups in the suburbs and country towns".[8]

Public Instruction Act, 1944

In the early 1940s there may not have been sufficient numbers of parents of deaf children to put any real pressure on Governments for deaf education services. The New South Wales Government's proclamation of the Public Instruction (Blind and Infirm) Children Amendment Act in 1944 could be seen as reinforcing this view. It was the first time that children with disabilities were mentioned in Public Instruction Acts. Before the 1944 Act, "blind and infirm" students were referred to in legislation pertaining to charitable institutions, orphan schools, infirmaries and hospitals.[9] Among other things, this Act "...established the principle of compulsory education..."[10] of blind and infirm children. For the purposes of compulsory education legislation, however, the infirm did not include deaf children, as was confirmed by the New South Wales Minister for Education when he stated at the Australian Conference of Teachers of the Deaf in 1953:

> This Act gives the Governor power to proclaim the compulsory schools attendance of blind or otherwise infirm children. The Act has been proclaimed for blind children. I am anxious that it should be proclaimed for deaf and partially deaf children as soon as possible.[11]

Such was the New South Wales Government's position in relation to the education for the deaf at the end of World War Two. The Education Department had involved itself

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[8] Andrew Spaull, op. cit., p. 241. Andrew Spaull, op. cit., p. 241.

[9] Act 29, 1901, Public Institutions Inspection, Statutes of New South Wales, 1901, pp. 297-298, p. 297; Act 10, 1905, Royal New South Wales Institution for the Deaf and Dumb and the Blind Incorporation, Statutes of New South Wales 1903-1905, pp. 261-266, p. 261.

[10] D.M. Waddington, W.C. Radford and J.A. Keats, Review of Education in Australia 1940-1948, Carlton, Melbourne University Press, 1950, p. 63; Act 7, 1944 Public Instruction (Blind and Infirm Children) Amendment Act, Statutes of New South Wales, 1944, pp. 42-46.

[11] National Library of Australia: New South Wales Minister for Education N371.912/AUS, Minister's Opening Speech at Fifth Australian Conference of Teachers of the Deaf, Sydney, 1953a, pp. 7-11, p. 9; K.S. Cunningham and J.J. Pratt, Review of Education - 1939, Melbourne, Melbourne Press University, 1940, p. 9; House of Representatives (NSW), Hansard, 21 October, 1952b, pp. 1492-1513, p. 1496.

with the Department of Health during the latter half of the 1930s in the area of child guidance and speech therapy. Beyond this, however, there is no indication that the New South Wales Government wanted anything to do with deaf education, and eventual State involvement resulted from extraordinary circumstances.

The 1940-41 rubella epidemic

A number of sources suggest that Government involvement in education of the deaf was brought about by the 1940-41 rubella epidemic which resulted in a dramatic increase in the numbers of congenitally deaf children across the country.[12] While it is possible to chart a change in political action from this time, there is little evidence that Government attitudes towards deaf education had changed. The intervention that did occur appears to have been as a response to parental pressure rather than from a desire to provide equal educational opportunities for the deaf. This may be judged from the way the Government entered the field, the initial processes it employed and the degree of preparation provided to teachers. These points become all the more clear when contrasted to the more comprehensive approach adopted by the Government in the 1950s.

Dramatic increase in numbers of deaf children

The precise number of children who were found to be deaf as a result of the 1940-1941 rubella epidemic is unclear. Part of the problem is due to a lack of official statistics and the confounding factors of inadequate diagnostic procedures. Various newspaper reports of the period, however, put the figure at between 140 and 180 children in New South Wales.[13] Given that newspapers are not renowned for underestimations, is must be assumed that the accepted number at that time, was no more than 180 children State-wide. Given also that the school population in New South Wales totalled more than 300,000 during the 1940s,[14] it is doubtful that the Government was moved to action by this relatively small number of deaf children needing specialised educational services.

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[12] Commonwealth Office of Education, 'The Schooling of Children with Impaired Hearing', Education News, vol. 6, no. 6, December, 1957, pp. 7-10, p. 7; Duncan Gray, 'The National Acoustic Laboratories - 4 Decades of Service to Hearing Impaired People', Better Hearing, vol. 43, no. 2, June, 1989, p. 1, NL.N371.912/AUS, New South Wales Minister for Education, op. cit., p. 10.

[13] Sydney Morning Herald, 'German Measles Toll of Deaf Children', Thursday, 1 March, 1945b, p. 3; Sydney Morning Herald, 'Plea for Deaf Children, Thursday, 26 July, 1945c, p. 8; Parent, 'Plea for Deaf Children', Sydney Morning Herald, Monday, 6 August, 1945, p. 5.

[14] D.M. Waddington et al., op. cit., p. 14.

Certainly, newspaper evidence indicated that it was known that education of this group was likely to be a problem, but that nothing had been done. For example, the Sydney Morning Herald of July, 1945, reported that Professor Stephens of Sydney University had been on an overseas study of deaf education which had been sanctioned by the Premier. On his return to New South Wales, Stephens had provided Heffron, the Minister for Education, with proposals "...for a vigorous educational policy for deaf children of pre-school age".[15] The newspaper reported, however, that the matters "...had not been considered seriously".[16]

Kindergarten Union

Further evidence of the New South Wales Government's lack of concern may be found in the initiative of the Kindergarten Union (KU). At a time when the Sydney school was still being occupied by the RAAF, the KU opened a preschool for 40 rubella-affected deaf children.[17] The Samuel Cohen preschool at Pyrmont, in Sydney, commenced in April, 1945. The Director, Miss Joyce Osborne, was described as a "...speech therapist and trained kindergarten worker".[18] The preschool was equipped with hearing aids and received technical assistance from the Commonwealth Government's acoustic laboratory.[19]

Farrar school

By the beginning of 1946, however, many of the rubella-affected children, born in 1940-41, were of school age and the Sydney school was still closed. Under an amendment to the 1944 Education Act,[20] Miss Dorothy Burns registered a private oral school for deaf students, Farrar School for the Deaf, which opened with four children in a house at Croydon, in Sydney, at the beginning of February 1944.[21] Burns, a former teacher at the Sydney school since 1926, enlisted in the Army when the Sydney school was

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[15] Sydney Morning Herald, Plea for..., op. cit., p. 8.

[16] ibid.

[17] Sydney Morning Herald, German measles..., op. cit., p. 3; Sydney Morning Herald, Plea for..., op. cit., p. 8; Parent, op. cit., p. 5.

[18] Sydney Morning Herald, 'Aid for Deaf Children - New Kindergarten', Friday, 27 July, 1945a, p. 7.

[19] N.E. Murray, 'Educating Deaf Children', Sydney Morning Herald, Thursday, 9 August, 1945, p. 6.

[20] Act 7, op. cit., p. 43.

[21] Farrar Public School for the Deaf, Information Booklet, Ashfield, 1983, p. 1.

closed. Soon after her return to civilian life, she responded to parent requests for an oral day school that could also provide parent education.[22] By 1948, Farrar had fourteen deaf students under the age of nine years, with twelve of them being deaf rubella-affected children.[23]

Ministerial apathy and parent lobbying

The Sydney school for the deaf had the capacity to take some of the rubella-affected children, and listed possibly 85 rubella-affected children who were born in 1940 and 1941.[24] Using the newspaper figures, this would have left approximately 100 rubella-affected children without special schooling.[25] In the past, deaf children who were not attending the Sydney, Newcastle or Castle Hill schools were little more than ignored, and the actual numbers are unknown. According to the Adult Deaf Society, however, many deaf children never went to school, and those who did attend mainstream schools did so with little educational support.[26]

It is apparent that the mainly hearing parents of rubella-affected children did not want to send their deaf child to the special schools in Sydney or Newcastle.[27] These parents began to lobby for the Government to take greater responsibility for the education of deaf students. In a letter to the Editor of the Sydney Morning Herald in August 1945, a parent noted that the Government knew of the facts but because of "...a seemingly apathetic Minister for Education", nothing had been done.[28] In particular, parents

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22 Farrar Public School for the Deaf, Farrar Public School for the Deaf - Celebrating 25 years (1963-1988), Croydon Park, 1988.

23 ML: Commonwealth Office of Education Reports Q370.78/2, The General Standard of Achievement of Young Partially Deaf Children in Australia - Report No. 1 - September 1948, p. 7.

24 New South Wales Department of Education, 'Provision for A-typical Children - General Activities Course', Education Gazette, vol. xlii, no. 1 October, 1948b, pp. 334-335, p. 335; PPBC, Heffernan Essay, op. cit., p. 1; Staff Correspondent, 'Education for Children of a Silent World', Sydney Morning Herald, Tuesday, 22 July, 1947, p. 2.

25 Sydney Morning Herald, Plea for..., op. cit., p. 8; Parent, op. cit., p. 5.

26 J.L. Ferris, A Brief History of the Society Celebrating 75 Years - "From Patronage to Partnership", Deaf Society of New South Wales, Annual Report, 1988, pp. 8-11, p. 9; National Library of Australia: Dorothy Shaw Np362/42 0994/T737, Towards the Future - Proceedings of a 1 day seminar - 8 May 1977 - Deaf Peoples Views, 1977a, pp. 19-20, p. 20; National Library of Australia: Brian Bernal Np362/42 0994/T737, Towards the Future - Proceedings of a 1 day seminar - 8 May 1977 - Deaf Peoples View, 1977, pp. 22-23, p. 22.

27 PPBC, Heffernan Essay, op. cit., p. 1.

28 Parent, op. cit., p. 5.

wanted day school facilities near the homes of the deaf children.[29]

The lobbying marked the first time since the appearance of the letters to the Editor of the Melbourne Argus in the late 1850s that parents of deaf children made themselves heard publicly. While the politicians had turned aside from the nineteenth century requests, they were less able to ignore the parents of the rubella-affected children in the 1940s. For one thing, these parents began to coordinate their actions. At least three parent groups were established during 1946, all prepared to fight for the educational services they wanted for their deaf children.[30]

That the parents became organised may have been partly due to the fact that there were a greater number of them than at any one time in the past. However, Murphy, a Victorian teacher of the deaf, noted that in addition to their numbers, these parents were also different to other parents of deaf children. Apart from anything else, they were mainly hearing parents and had the common bond of children of similar ages born with deafness due to the rubella virus.[31] Different or not, Heffernan claimed that all parent groups were critical of Heffron for not accepting total responsibility for education of the deaf.[32]

New South Wales Government intervention

Most of this criticism was made in respect of two points. First, the failure of the New South Wales Government to act on its own committee's recommendations during the mid-1930s, and its failure to specifically include the deaf in compulsory schooling legislation.[33] Although it appears clear that the New South Wales Government did not want to be involved in education of the deaf at that point, it is also apparent that public pressure from parents of rubella-affected children required a response.

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[29] St Dominic's Centre for Hearing Impaired Children Archives: Dooley Monograph, To Be Fully Alive - A Monograph on Australian Dominican Education of Hearing-Impaired Children, 1989, p. 55.

[30] PPBC, Heffernan Essay, op. cit., p. 2.

[31] Leo Murphy, 'Three Decades of Education of the Deaf in Australia', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 21, 1980, pp. 5-15, p. 5.

[32] PPBC, Heffernan Essay, op. cit., p. 2.

[33] New South Wales Department of Education Library Archives: D Drummond G159, Statement for Submission to Cabinet from the Minister for Education (D.H. Drummond) - Education of the Deaf, Dumb and Blind Children of New South Wales, 1937; A.D. Burns, 'Deaf Children', Sydney Morning Herald, Wednesday, 8 August, 1945, p. 3.

Initially, the Government cited the very real post-war shortages in materials and manpower for delays in providing services.[34] When the New South Wales Government did react, it appears to have been influenced more by a model of providing technological support to boost residual hearing than by one associated more directly with ensuring good educational opportunities for all deaf students. In particular, it appears to have been swayed by two points. First, there was the general movement towards oral mode for the deaf. Second, there was the work of the Commonwealth Government which laid claims for the potential of hearing aids to solve the communication problems for most of the deaf. The basis for these claims had been supported by research findings of the Ewings, at Manchester University, in the early 1930s. They were reinforced in Australia by successes in rehabilitation work with deafened adults.

Oral mode

As discussed in the previous chapter, the early 1930s had seen an increase in support for the oral mode coming from overseas. The Sydney school and the two Catholic schools had introduced the oral mode and auditory training with some of their students during that period. Just before the Second World War, the AATD had introduced accreditation procedures for teachers of the deaf which were biased towards the oral mode. In addition, the Samuel Cohen Preschool and the Farrar school both focused on an oral only program.

Commonwealth Government's sideline support

In this pro-oral environment, the work on rehabilitation initiated for war-deafened returned servicemen after the First World War was renewed as a result of similar injuries to service personnel in the Second World War. The effort was strongly supported by the League for the Hard of Hearing which later became the Australian Association for Better Hearing, the membership of which comprised post-lingual deaf adults.[35]

To advance the rehabilitation work, the Commonwealth Government in 1943 funded

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[34] Don Smart, Federal Aid to Australian Schools, St. Lucia, University of Queensland Press, 1978, p. 26; D.M. Waddington et al., op. cit., p. 71.

[35] J.H. Burchett, Utmost for the Highest, Melbourne, Hall's Book Store Pty Ltd, 1964, pp. 184-185; Neil Hall, 'Self-help for the Deaf', Sydney Morning Herald, Thursday, 27 March, 1947, p. 9.

the National Health and Medical Research Council to establish an acoustics testing laboratory, which became known as the Australian Research Laboratory (ARL). In June, 1946, ARL was renamed as the Commonwealth Acoustics Laboratories (CAL) and in 1947 it was established as a permanent branch of the Department of Health.[36] Mr N.E. Murray, who had been with the ARL, was appointed the first Director of the CAL.[37] As the rehabilitation work increased and oral mode training became the norm, other State branches of CAL were established.

It is also possible that a growing interest in the welfare of deaf children may have played a part. For example, there was concern about the health of the nation's children, following a 1938 report by the National Health and Medical Research Council. This had prompted the Commonwealth Department of Health to fund the construction and operation of special child care and development centres in each State. Named after the wife of the then Governor-General, the Lady Gowrie centres were funded largely to research the growth and nutrition of children under five years of age, and better preschool teaching methods.[38]

While these services did not deal specifically with deaf children at that time, the consequences of the 1940-41 rubella outbreak must have made an impact on many early childhood services, although this may not have occurred until the children were diagnosed, which was often not until they turned two years of age.[39] In any case, Brereton contended that the "...Commonwealth Department of Health became interested in the acoustical problems of children with impaired hearing in 1944".[40] Shortly after, the Acoustic Research Laboratory in Sydney began conducting research on the use of hearing aids with very young rubella-affected deaf children.

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[36] Australia: Department of Health, Hearing Services provided by the National Acoustic Laboratories, Australian Government Publishing Service, 1979, p. 1; Leanne Neal, The Integration of Hearing Impaired Children: A Manual for Class Teachers, Grad.Dip.Sp.Ed. Thesis, Newcastle College of Advanced Education, 1986, p. 30.

[37] Duncan Gray, op. cit., p. 1.

[38] House of Representatives, Hansard, 23 November, 1939, p. 1505; House of Representatives, Hansard, 5 December, 1946, p. 1647; I Stamp, Young children in perspective, Canberra, Australian Preschool Association, 1977.

[39] Staff Correspondent, op. cit., p. 2.

[40] Beatrice Brereton, The Schooling of Children with Impaired Hearing, Commonwealth Office of Education, 1957, p. 243.

Burchett, who was then Principal of the Victorian School for Deaf Children, reported that Murray had the help of the Department of Health and the Education Department to set up a kindergarten for demonstration purposes.[41] It is probable that this cooperation between the Departments of Health and Education reflected the movement towards the medical model, including child guidance and speech therapy, that had begun prior to the Second World War. Use of hearing aids with very young deaf children would, almost certainly, have been seen as an adjunct to this approach.

The use of the hearing aids with young children was made possible by advances in audiometry and audiometric testing, facilitated by wartime research in electronics.[42] These advances had considerably increased the accuracy of instrumentation over earlier models and provided a degree of analysis not previously available.

In addition, there is other evidence to suggest that the Commonwealth Government was willing to become involved with the problems of deaf children. Support for this may be found in work on deaf education undertaken by the Commonwealth Office of Education (COE). The COE was established by the Commonwealth Minister for War Organisation for Industry in 1945, as part of the Commonwealth Government's preparation for post-war retraining of soldiers.[43]

Initially, the COE was to be an advisory body, not only for the Commonwealth Government, but also to assist the administration of education in the Australian Capital Territory and Northern Territory. Towards this end, the organisation was involved in a range of international and domestic information gathering exercises and the publication of a newsletter. At the same time, the COE began to undertake educational research that the States could not afford to do at this point.[44] Specifically, in 1947, COE initiated a seven-year comparative study of methods of educating deaf children. This lengthy

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[41] J.H. Burchett, op. cit., p. 199; PPBC, Parr Paper, op. cit. p. 9.

[42] ibid., p. 9; Duncan Gray, op. cit., p. 1.

[43] Peter Tannock, The Government of Education in Australia - The Origins of Federal Policy, Nedlands, University of Western Australia Press, 1975, pp. 4-5.

[44] Commonwealth Office of Education, 'The Commonwealth Office of Education', Education News, vol. 2, no. 2, April, 1949, pp. 3-6; Doug White, Education and the state: Federal involvement in educational policy development, Policy development and analysis course at the School of Education at Deakin University's Open Campus Program, Deakin University Press, 1993, p. 47; Eric Bowker, 'The Commonwealth and Education 1901-69', in J Cleverley and J Lawry (ed.), Australian Education in the Twentieth Century, Longman Australia Pty Limited, Camberwell, Victoria, 1972, p. 151.

research program was conducted in several Sydney schools by Brereton, who reported her findings in 1957.[45]

The work of both the CAL and the COE, in relation to deaf children, may have been undertaken as a result of the 1946 constitutional referendum. Of particular relevance is the approved amendment to section 51(xxiiia) of the Australian Constitution.[46] According to H.V. Evatt, a prominent member of the Labor Party and a constitutional expert, the amendment was proposed to provide the Commonwealth Government with the power "...to make provisions, not merely by States grants, for amongst other things, 'Benefits to Students'".[47] Whether the Commonwealth Government's unprecedented involvement with deaf children was simply an exercise of its new powers or was initiated by altruistic motives, is unclear. But at a time of supposed shortages of materials and manpower in post-war Australia, COE and CAL embarked on extensive research programs related to the education of deaf children.

The technological model

Apart from being its Director, Murray was seen as a particularly strong advocate for the work of the CAL.[48] According to Parr, who was the liaison person between the New South Wales Education Department and CAL, Murray claimed the results of tests on kindergarten-aged deaf children had demonstrated that "...a considerable proportion of the children had sufficient residual hearing to benefit from the use of hearing aids".[49] In making this claim, he echoed the 1932 research findings of the Ewings in England. Although he lacked any experience in deaf education, Murray asserted, according to Heffernan, that oral deaf children with a hearing aid would be able to cope in a normal classroom.[50] Murray was quoted in a newspaper report as saying that the main objective of the work with hearing aids:

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[45] Don Smart, op. cit., p. 25; John Keeves, 'Preface', in John Keeves (ed.), Australian Education: Review of Recent Research, Allen & Unwin Pty Ltd, North Sydney, 1987b, pp. viii-xvi, p. x; Beatrice Brereton, The Schooling of Children with Impaired Hearing, Commonwealth Office of Education, 1957.

[46] C. Howard, Australian Federal Constitutional Law, Second edn, Australia, The Law Book Company, 1972.

[47] House of Representatives, Hansard, 6 May, 1958, p. 1456.

[48] Beatrice Brereton, The Schooling..., op. cit., p. 243; PPBC, Parr Paper, Special Education in Australia - Hearing Impaired Children, 1980., p. 9.

[49] ibid.

[50] PPBC, Heffernan Essay, op. cit., p. 1.

> ...was to open up to these children normal methods of education in any chosen school, and so overcome difficulties, in setting up specialised educational facilities which would require a large number of specialised teachers.[51]

He believed the technology had reached a stage where the objective could be achieved. Not incidentally, perhaps, Murray publicly praised the "advanced outlook" of the New South Wales Education Department for the success of the project.[52] It appears quite probable that placing deaf children in mainstream classrooms must have had considerable appeal for the New South Wales Education Department. Apart from the matter of hearing aids, such a scheme would have allowed most of the rubella-affected deaf children to be absorbed into the existing education system with a minimum of administrative change or expense.

Many of the educators of the deaf, however, had some doubt about the benefits for all deaf children. Consequently, Murray's claims and assertions were investigated by Earlam and Burchett on behalf of the AATD. On completing this investigation, Burchett reported that he and Earlam:

> ...visited the laboratory and the kindergarten, but saw little to impress them in the demonstration they witnessed, and they felt they could not recommend such methods to the association.[53]

This was despite the fact that the AATD had shown a clear leaning towards the oral mode in its accreditation policies, launched in the latter half of the 1930s. It is possible, however, that personal and personality factors may also have played a part in the report's conclusions. For example, according to Parr, part of the disagreement may have been related to Murray's tendency to "...denigrate the achievements of the traditional School for the Deaf".[54] Murray also tended to denigrate the deaf school system, claiming that parents would realise the advantages of placing deaf students in normal schools "...over that of crowding these children into institutes, here or abroad".[55] In addition, he believed that integration with hearing children would encourage deaf children to learn to talk, whereas he claimed that in the deaf schools they

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51 N.E. Murray, op. cit., p. 6.

52 ibid.

53 J.H. Burchett, op. cit., p. 199.

54 PPBC, Parr Papers, op. cit., p. 10.

55 N.E. Murray, op. cit., p. 6.

"...communicated with each other manually, for the most part".[56]

Parr wrote that Murray was opposed by the traditional schools for the deaf in all States.[57] Despite the opposition, the New South Wales Education Department adopted his idea and permitted the enrolment of deaf children with a hearing aid in mainstream infants classes from 1946. It is quite probable that this action was taken in response to the demands of parents of rubella-affected children, mentioned earlier. Murray had taken a public stand on the issue and his claims must have been well-known to parents.[58] This alone would have given the plan some credibility.

In the main, however, only the official sanctioning of the scheme and the use of hearing aids rendered it new. It is probable that some deaf children had been attending mainstream schools since 1848. There were certainly some deaf children in hearing classes during the 1930s. According to Walter, from 1934 Earlam "...organised lipreading instruction for children attending ordinary schools...".[59] The only new aspect was that the progress of the children was to be monitored.

To support the initiative, the New South Wales Education Department appointed Parr as liaison officer to the CAL. His main role was to monitor the progress of the young deaf students. Difficulties were experienced from the start when a shipment of the American Telex hearing aids destined for the children's use, did not arrive until September of that year. Even after the new hearing aids were fitted, Parr reported that:

> It soon became apparent, that...far more individual assistance was required for the majority of these Rubella children enrolled in normal classes. In most cases the aided hearing was not good enough to permit easy acquisition of oral language.[60]

In his history of Catholic deaf education in New South Wales, Burke contended that the controversy over the use of hearing aids by oral deaf children in mainstream

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[56] PPBC, Parr Papers, op. cit., p. 9.

[57] ibid.

[58] ibid., pp. 9-10; N.E. Murray, op. cit., p. 6; N.E. Murray, 'Educating Deaf Children - Research in N.S.W.', Sydney Morning Herald, Tuesday, 10 June 1947, p. 2; Beatrice Brereton, op. cit., p. 243; PPBC, Heffernan Essay, op. cit., p. 1.

[59] North Rocks Central School for Deaf Children Library Archives: Jean Walter (Wal 1), The History of the New South Wales Schools for Deaf and for Blind Children 1860-1960, 1961, p. 45.

[60] PPBC, Parr Papers, op. cit., p. 10.

classrooms continued throughout the late 1940s.[61] Part of the difficulties with the Telex and other hearing aids, was that they were all supplied from overseas. This contributed to their high cost and problems with both maintenance and repairs.

There was also a problem with unsuitable or poorly performing hearing aids, which were considered little better than no aids at all.[62] Such a problem could have easily occurred for, as Murphy pointed out, the deaf child's hearing aid was "...a massive piece of equipment...", comprising three sections weighing several pounds.[63] A poor fit may have resulted if parents had gone to one of the less skilled hearing aid dealers who, even by 1951, required no educational, medical or scientific training in dispensing their product.[64]

1947 Select Committee

Parr reported that the New South Wales Government began searching for a solution to the problems of deaf children who were not coping in the mainstream classroom.[65] In 1947, parent pressure continued and in a response reminiscent of the 1930s, the New South Wales Education Department set up a Select Committee[66] "...to enquire into and report upon the education of deaf and partially-deaf children in New South Wales". The Committee's report was presented in 1949 and the New South Wales Education Department claimed that the recommendations formed the basis for Departmental action.[67] Parr suggested that few of the recommendations were implemented,[68] with the Department citing the twin obstacles of post-war labour and materials shortages along with financial restrictions placed on the Department's activities.[69]

Compulsory education

More pertinent, perhaps, the Education Department maintained that the inquiry had

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61 J.A. Burke, op. cit. pp. 275-277.

62 Private Papers Barbara Crickmore: Written account of meeting, 31 August, 1950, p. 4.

63 Leo Murphy, op. cit., p. 8.

64 St Dominic's Centre, Dooley Monograph, op. cit., p. 103.

65 PPBC, Parr Papers, op. cit., pp. 10-11.

66 NL.N371.912/AUS, New South Wales Minister for Education, op. cit., p. 9.

67 PPBC, Heffernan Essay, A History of the Course for Teachers of the Deaf, 1974, p. 2; PPBC, Parr Paper, Special Education in Australia – Hearing Impaired Children, 1980, p. 11.

68 ibid.

69 NL.N371.912/AUS, New South Wales Minister for Education, p. 9.

been necessary before compulsory education could be introduced into New South Wales specifically for deaf children. After the declaration of the 1944 Public Instruction Act, it was suggested that "the principle of compulsory education"[70] for the deaf would be implemented in 1948. Burns, the Principal of the Farrar school wrote to the Sydney Morning Herald in June, 1947, calling on the Government to enforce "compulsory education for deaf children from the age of five years".[71] Apart from anything else, the letter indicates that compulsory education must have been needed to ensure deaf children were sent to school. At the same time, the call for compulsory education could also have been a call for Government funding of deaf education.

Nevertheless, the following month, in July 1947, the Sydney Morning Herald carried a relatively long article, by a staff correspondent, with the opening paragraph:

> Next year for the first time education of deaf and dumb children will be compulsory in New South Wales. This has been announced by the Minister for Education, Mr Heffron.[72]

The funding point was pursued by Roger Booth, President of the Deaf Children's Education Welfare Society of New South Wales, in the same newspaper a few days later. If the Government declared education of the deaf compulsory, he argued, "...surely it cannot at the same time compel or expect charity to discharge the obligations, notwithstanding the fact that a subsidy is granted".[73] The question gained no response nor was one really needed, as education for deaf students was not made compulsory in the following year, as had been announced.

The proposal for Opportunity Deaf units

Notwithstanding the formation of the 1947 Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Deaf and Partially Deaf Children,[74] the difficulties experienced by many of the deaf children in mainstream classes and the continuing pressure by the parents of rubella-affected children forced the New South Wales Education Department to decide on a

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[70] D.M. Waddington et al., op. cit., p. 63.

[71] Dorothy Burns, 'Educating the Deaf', Sydney Morning Herald, Wednesday, 4 June, 1947, p. 2.

[72] Staff Correspondent, op. cit., p. 2.

[73] Roger Booth, 'Educating the Deaf', Sydney Morning Herald, Saturday, 26 July, 1947, p. 2.

[74] PPBC, Parr Papers, op. cit., p. 11; NL.N371.912/AUS, New South Wales Minister for Education, op. cit., p. 9.

new plan of action.[75] That decision was a proposal to establish OD units, each to enrol up to ten deaf children, attached to mainstream primary schools.

This, again, was not a new idea. It was similar to the third option, following the Report of the Wallace sub-committee and considered by the Minister of Education in 1936. In addition, OD units had already been introduced into Western Australia in 1946.[76] The scheme was also advocated by Murray in a newspaper report in June 1947. Advancing on his earlier ideas, he nominated three groupings of deaf children. The first comprised those deaf students with sufficient residual hearing for a normal classroom and the third group were those with so little hearing they would need a special school. In the middle, he nominated those who could benefit from small grouping and individual assistance in "...classes made reasonably accessible by being attached to ordinary schools throughout the metropolitan area".[77]

While there appeared to be less publicised opposition from deaf educators, the recommendations did not go without criticism. In the same paper, a month later, the Principal of the Sydney school commented on the placement of deaf children in ordinary classrooms, and was reported as observing that:

> Some people have the wrong idea that you can equip a congenitally deaf child with a hearing aid and send him to an ordinary school. But a child like that is helpless in an ordinary school, because he has no language.[78]

Heffernan claimed that the idea of establishing OD units in New South Wales originated in 1946, but was delayed for two years because no suitable teachers were available to take the classes.[79] It was also known that there were shortages of materials and labour for school construction and building maintenance.[80] As Wyndham pointed out in 1955:

> In nearly every education system since the war, the most obvious and urgent

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[75] ibid., p. 10.

[76] Beatrice Brereton, op. cit., p. 244.

[77] N.E. Murray, Educating Deaf..., op. cit., p. 2.

[78] Staff Correspondent, op. cit., p. 2.

[79] PPBC, Heffernan Essay, op. cit., p. 1.

[80] B Bessant, 'The War and Its Aftermath', in B.K. Hyams and B Bessant, Schools for the People? - An Introduction to the History of State Education in Australia, Camberwell, Longman Australia Pty Limited, 1972, pp. 167-189, pp. 172-173; Don Smart, op. cit., p. 26; D.M. Waddington et al., op. cit., p. 71.

> tasks have been to provide accommodation for an increasing school population and staffs for schools.[81]

It was somewhat surprising, therefore, that the New South Wales Education Department was prepared to allocate eight teachers, and the same number of classrooms to OD units. This, again, must attest to the strength of the pressure being exerted for education of the deaf, particularly as it was brought to bear on a Government that still avoided including deaf students in compulsory education legislation. It was clear, however, that the OD units were established only as a "temporary measure"[82] because it appears that the New South Wales Education Department believed that they would be needed only while the 1940s rubella-affected children passed through the educational system. This was reflected in the 1949 recommendations of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Deaf and Partially Deaf Children, which indicated that the need for special facilities would cease by 1957, once the rubella-affected children had passed through the education system.[83]

Nevertheless, the establishment of OD units was delayed and the shortage of teachers was identified as the crucial factor in any resolution of the issue. The shortages came about because, in general, the low birthrate in the late 1920s and early 1930s,[84] coupled with the consequences of World War Two, meant that there were comparatively few young people available for teacher training. In any case, to meet the demands of wartime, instructional resources had been directed to the training of technicians rather than educators.[85] As World War Two ended, new teachers who were being trained were encouraged towards the tertiary sector. This was because the need to provide reconstruction training for men and women returning to civilian life from the armed services was given a high priority. In addition, the post-war migration

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[81] H.S. Wyndham, 'Educational Developments in New South Wales', Education News, vol. 5, no. 5, 1955, pp. 3-5, p. 3.

[82] New South Wales Department of Education, 'Provision for A-typical Children - General Activities Course', Education Gazette, vol. xlii, no. 1 October, 1948b, pp. 334-335, p. 335; PPBC, Parr Papers, op. cit., p. 11.

[83] University of Newcastle Library Archives: Rosary Convent for Deaf Girls A5696(ix), Report of the Departmental Committee on the Education of the Deaf and Partially Deaf in N.S.W. - August, 1949.

[84] R.M. McDonnell, W.C. Radford and P.M. Staurenghi, Review of Education in Australia 1948-1954, Melbourne, Australian Council for Educational Research, 1956, p. 179.

[85] Dean Ashenden, State aid and the division of schooling in Australia, Geelong, Deakin University Press, 1989, p. 47.

schemes created a heavy demand on resources for adult migrant education.[86] As a consequence of all these factors, there were few newly qualified school teachers in the 1940s and early 1950s, and this was a central problem for education.[87]

In an effort to attract individuals to a teaching career in Government schools, new higher salary scales were introduced and new mainstream teacher-training facilities were opened in New South Wales during 1946.[88] McDonnell suggests that the increased financial incentive was necessary for the teaching profession to compete with other occupations which were more lucrative in the immediate post-war period.[89]

Yet, at a time when the New South Wales Education Department was citing a shortage of teachers as the reason for delaying OD units, it was supplying teachers to the Sydney school. According to Waddington, the nursery section which was established at the Sydney school in 1947 was staffed by a teacher seconded from the New South Wales Education Department.[90] More teachers were seconded during the latter half of the 1940s, and by 1952 the Education Department was supplying eleven teachers to the Sydney school.[91] It is quite possible that the New South Wales Education Department was trying to help the Sydney school cope with some of the rubella-affected children. After all, increasing the teaching capacity of the Sydney school would certainly have decreased some of the pressure that parents were applying to the Government.

Eventually, the claimed shortages of teachers and classrooms, within the New South Wales education system were overcome sufficiently for the first OD units to open in 1948.[92] McDonnell noted that they were designed for children who had demonstrated

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[86] Commonwealth Office of Education, 'The Commonwealth Office of Education - The First Ten Years', Education News, vol. 5, no. 8, April, 1956a, pp. 3-5, p. 3.

[87] D.M. Waddington et al., op. cit., p. 183.

[88] ibid., p. 191.

[89] R.M. McDonnell et al, op. cit., p. 179.

[90] D.M. Waddington et al., op. cit., 213; North Rocks Central School, Jean Walter (Wal 1), op. cit., p. 69.

[91] House of Representatives, Hansard, 14 November, 1957, pp. 1779-1782, p. 1780; Leo Murphy, op. cit., p. 5; Jean Walter, op. cit., p. 14.

[92] R.M. McDonnell et al, op. cit., p. 85; NL.N371.912/AUS, New South Wales Minister for Education, op. cit., p. 10; M Thomas, 'Handicapped Children', in F.W. Cheshire (ed.) Each to his full stature, Hawthorn Press, Melbourne, 1965, pp. 122-132, p. 123.

that they could learn with the use of a hearing aid and by means of an oral mode of instruction and "...who would be likely to benefit from associating with hearing children although unable to progress in a normal class".[93]

Clearly, the OD units were meant for those fully integrated children who were not coping in the mainstream classes. In effect, the New South Wales Education Department now sponsored two different groups of oral deaf: individuals in hearing classrooms and supported groups in OD units. In both respects, New South Wales Government policy was reflecting the world-wide trend towards the oral mode, which had become evident before the Second World War and was increasingly being adopted by Australian schools for the deaf. There appears to have been no attempt by the New South Wales Education Department to provide any services to those deaf children who did not qualify for enrolment in the OD units, beyond the secondment of teachers to the Sydney school. It is apparent, however, that these teachers would not have been trained for working with deaf children, particularly in the manual mode. Therefore, it is most probable that they were only helping to implement the dominant oral program.

OD Teachers

The importance of specially trained teachers, particularly in the education of the deaf, was being widely promoted after the Second World War. In 1950, Watson pointed out that "...with powerful modern apparatus in the hands of a well-trained and skilful teacher it [auditory training] can provide a powerful stimulus to the development of speech even with severely deaf children".[94]

In addition, the competence of teachers was recognised by Johnson as the most important factor, and was clearly expressed when he stated:

> Schemes, aids, methods, all are useful, but ultimately we get back to the main factor in the teaching of language to the deaf - the skill and ability of the teacher. Nothing in the way of extrinsic aids can avail to make up a deficiency of trained teachers.[95]

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[93] R.M. McDonnell et al, op. cit., p. 85.

[94] T.J. Watson, 'Speech Instruction - Auditory Training and the Development of Speech in Deaf Children - 1950', in R.G. Brill (ed.), International Congresses on Education of the Deaf - An Analytical History 1878-1980, Gallaudet College, Washington, DC, 1984, pp. 130-131, p. 131.

[95] National Library of Australia: W Johnson N371.921/AUS, President's Address at the Fifth Australian Conference of Teachers of Deaf, Sydney, 1953b, pp. 12-15, p. 14.

There is some doubt, however, about the experience and qualifications of the teachers who were appointed to take OD units in 1948. The New South Wales Education Department appears to have had experienced teachers in mind for the jobs and offered some additional specialised training. As was stated in their first advertisement specifically for OD staff for "...deaf and partially deaf"[96] children:

> Applications are sought from assistant teachers with not less than five years' teaching experience who are desirous of a teaching appointment...Successful applicants will be required to undergo a six months' training course organised by the Teachers' College on the basis of approximately one third lecture time and two thirds practice teaching in the type of school in which the position is sought.[97]

However, the notice was not placed in the Government Gazette until December 1948 and the classes had commenced nine months earlier, in March 1948.[98] (Provisions for Opportunity "D" Classes were published in the Education Gazette in October, 1948).[99] Consequently, it has been claimed that none of the original teachers appointed to the OD units had any training in teaching deaf students.[100] According to Heffernan, the Education Department sought infant class teachers who had had a rubella-affected student in their class.[101] Indicating some agreement, Wordley, who was involved with the Federation for Junior Deaf Education from the 1970s, was also of the opinion that none of the original teachers was adequately trained in using the oral mode with deaf students.[102] A reason for this delay may have been due to a belief amongst bureaucrats that the original OD classes would be needed only as a "temporary measure"[103] to cope with the rubella-affected deaf students.

By the end of 1948 it appears that the Education Department had begun to recognise that the need for special education provisions for the deaf was not going away as quickly as they first thought. It also appears that the bureaucrats either did not see the

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96 New South Wales Department of Education, 'Positions Vacant. Teachers of Handicapped Children', Education Gazette, no. 1 December, 1948a, p. 402.

97 ibid.

98 ibid.; PPBC, Heffernan Essay, op. cit., p. 1.

99 NSWDOE, Provision for..., op. cit., pp. 334-335.

100 PPBC, Heffernan Essay, op. cit., pp. 1-2; Mary Wordley, 'Mary Wordley - August 1990', Sound News, December, 1991, pp. 1, 6-7, p. 1.

101 PPBC, Heffernan Essay, op. cit., p. 2.

102 Mary Wordley, Mary Wordley..., op. cit., p. 1.

103 NSWDOE, Provision for..., op. cit., p. 335.

need for specially trained teachers or, as had been demonstrated in the past, they did not want to get involved in deaf education more than was absolutely necessary.

The lack of teachers with adequate experience, knowledge and skills in working with deaf children almost certainly played a part in creating a third group of oral deaf students. These were ones who, despite advances in hearing aid technology and OD unit support, still failed to progress. While the New South Wales Education Department made no reference to the situation in OD units, it did acknowledge that the appointment of unsuitable teachers had been a problem for children enrolled in Opportunity Seventh (O7) classes.[104] Opportunity Seventh, Eighth and Ninth classes were general activities courses and were described as "super-primary course[s], modified to meet the needs and special interests" of the students in these classes.[105]

Some doubt also exists about the qualifications of teachers who staffed the increased number of OD units after 1949. Although the gazetted advertisement mentions six-months training, there is no evidence that the Sydney Teachers College had an appropriate course at that time. Australian teachers wishing to train in the oral mode during this period were reported as going to Manchester University, in England.

Integration

Notwithstanding the problem of teacher training, the entry of the New South Wales Government into deaf education was a significant factor. Most of all, the concept of integration impacted on the way deaf children saw themselves and how they were seen by others. For some, the move was very positive while for others, particularly non-oral deaf, there were fewer benefits.

Radford, who was Director of the Australian Council for Educational Research at the time of his writing, stated that one of the least publicised but most significant educational policies implemented was:

> ...that of putting back into normal schooling, and amongst the great majority of their fellows, those with a handicap which, severe enough to warrant special attention, does not require the segregation of the child in a special institution.[106]

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[104] New South Wales Department of Education, 'Report on the Committee on Opportunity Classes', Education Gazette, vol. xliii, no. 1 October, 1949, pp. 386-388, p. 388.

[105] NSWDOE, Provision for..., op. cit., p. 335.

[106] W.C. Radford, Review of Education in Australia 1955-1962, Hawthorn, Australian Council for Educational Research, 1964, p. xiv.

Drummond acknowledged this development as signifying a "...change of attitude towards the children who were 'different'", but he considered the results to be limited to little more than administrative action. In the main, he pointed out, it simply allowed children to attend a school nearer their homes and to save families moving, or the child having to become a residential student at one of the established schools for the deaf.[107]

In addition, it appears that integration was to take place only outside normal classroom activities. For example, the Commonwealth Office of Education noted, in commenting on children in a range of special classes:

> In New South Wales, the view has been taken that some degree of segregation is necessary for the most effective teaching of children who are a-typical, but that, generally speaking, these children need also frequent contacts with children of the normal classes.[108]

At the same time, not all educators appeared to have agreed with the necessity for school integration for deaf students. For example, at a meeting involving the Ewings, as well as others, it was suggested that it was not essential for deaf children to mix with the hearing at school. This view was based on the belief that these children could gain sufficient experience of the hearing at home or in extra-curricular activities, such as by joining the scouts or other clubs.[109]

In the past, social forms of contact outside of the context of the school program had been limited because of communication difficulties between deaf and hearing children. For the oral deaf, however, a technological breakthrough in the late 1940s created new opportunities.

The Calaid

Work on developing a new hearing aid had continued at CAL and, in 1949, led to the first Australian designed and manufactured device, named the Calaid.[110] This was a smaller and lighter hearing aid which could be serviced and repaired without many of

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[107] Norman W Drummond, Special Education in Australia, North Sydney, Torren Printing Pty Ltd, 1978, p. 7.

[108] Commonwealth Office of Education, 'Provision for A-typical Children in New South Wales', Education News, vol. 1, no. 3, December, 1947, pp. 6-9, p. 6.

[109] PPBC, Written account..., op. cit., pp. 4-5.

[110] St Dominic's Centre, Dooley Monograph, op. cit., p. 91; Duncan Gray, op. cit., p. 1; Beatrice Brereton, op. cit., p. 243.

the problems associated with the imported devices. The Commonwealth Government began to distribute hearing aids to deaf children who had sufficient residual hearing to benefit from them.[111] These aids were fitted, supplied with batteries, and maintained free of charge, by CAL.[112] The service later became available to deaf children in both Government and non-government schools.

Number of deaf children in education facilities

There were, undoubtedly, many problems that faced Australia in the aftermath of World War Two. Yet a relatively high level of activity and money, involving Government departments, educators and parents of deaf students in New South Wales, was expended on deaf education during this period. To maintain some sort of relativity, it may be worthwhile to reflect on the numbers of deaf students enrolled in schools in 1949. Census figures indicate that there were between 250[113] to 258[114] at the Sydney school, 70 at the Catholic schools, 30 at the Farrar school and 80 in OD units.[115] The number of oral deaf children integrated into mainstream classrooms is unknown. The numbers of deaf children not attending schools is also unknown.

Non-government schools

Sydney school

The Sydney school had already implemented the practice of introducing most of its new students to the oral mode in the 1930s. Only if they failed to progress were the students switched to a manual mode of communication.[116] However, the option of manual mode training decreased when the school reopened after the Second World War. This was brought about because the period witnessed a reduction in the number of teachers available to teach in the manual mode. Some of the older, manual mode

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[111] House of Representatives, Hansard, 20 November, 1947b, p. 2369; House of Representatives, Hansard, 23 May, 1947a, p. 2850; ML.Q370.78/2, COE Reports, pp. 11-15; Brian B Vercoe, 'A Brief History of Townsend House School for Deaf and for Blind Children', The Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 2, no. 2, October, 1961, pp. 11-15, p. 12.

[112] Beatrice Brereton, op. cit., p. 243.

[113] J.A. Burke, History of Catholic Schools for Deaf and Dumb Children in the Hunter Valley, MA Thesis, University of Newcastle, 1974, p. 281.

[114] North Rocks Central School, Jean Walter (Wal 1), op. cit., p. 76.

[115] J.A. Burke, op. cit., p. 281.

[116] T. Johnston, 'Deaf Sign Language & the Cochlear Implant: Opportunities and Problems Created by a better Understanding of Sign Languages and Advances in the Technology of Hearing Aids', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 30, 1990, pp. 1-17, p. 3.

teachers had retired, along with the Principal, Harold Earlam, and most newly qualified teachers from overseas were now trained in the oral mode.

By 1947, the newly established nursery class at the Sydney school was directed specifically at oral training. This was confirmed by Johnson, who succeeded Earlam as Principal of the school in June, 1946, when he stated that:

> The establishment of nursery classes has enabled us to make use of the formative years and to give the children a natural attitude to the acquirement and use of language. Parents have become aware of their children's immediate problems, and, have been led to a realisation of the normality of outlook that language and speech through lip-reading can bring to the deaf.[117]

The establishment of the nursery section appears to have been influenced by Commonwealth interest in the value of preschool education.[118] Although it is not clear who initiated enrolment of these young deaf children, the intention was to start working with them, in the oral mode, as early as possible. This approach was supported by Watson, an educator of the deaf, when he presented a paper at the 1950 International Congress of educators of the deaf, recommending that parents should start working with the children by saying phrases and words loudly close to the child's ear. He further stated that formal training could start at three years of age.[119]

Work with this age group reflected the more general level of interest being paid to preschool education. The Australian Preschool Association, formed in 1937, was instrumental in starting the preschool of the air during the Second World War.[120] The radio broadcasts had raised interest in preschool education across a far greater range of the Australian community than had existed previously. In terms of deaf education, the idea was preceded by the much earlier assertions of Dalgarno, the seventeenth century Scot, who recommended teaching his manual mode to infants, as mentioned in Chapter One.

In the primary section of the Sydney school, teachers were trying to cope with the new syllabus issued by the New South Wales Education Department in 1941, to replace the

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[117] L.N371.921/AUS, W Johnson, op. cit., p. 12.

[118] Eric Bowker, op. cit., p. 164.

[119] T.J. Watson, op. cit., p. 131.

[120] Patricia Edgar, Don Edgar, Millicent Poole, Tom Roper and Margaret Higgs, Under 5 in Australia, Melbourne, William Heinemann Australia Pty Ltd, 1973, pp. 117-120.

previous one which had been in use since 1925. According to Waddington, of the Australian Council for Educational Research, the new syllabus placed more emphasis on the project method as a means of instruction, and stressed the need to meet the educational needs of the individual child.[121] It also provided for enriched courses in literature, as well as art and craft and was "designed to promote a larger measure of self-activity by pupils in the promotion of their own education".[122]

Despite earlier acknowledgement of the fact by school inspectors, the new syllabus designed for hearing children was imposed on the Sydney school. Teachers of the deaf had clearly indicated, many years before, that deaf students could not learn subject matter at the same rate as hearing students. In particular, the imposition presented two major difficulties for the education of deaf students.[123] First, the enriched course in literature was more difficult for the oral deaf and almost impossible for the non-oral deaf, because of their lack of language development. Second, the increased emphasis on self-directed learning presented additional problems for children with communication difficulties.[124] For instance, as de Courcy stated, an immersion (language) classroom should be teacher-directed.[125]

The greatest area of concern for the school, however, appears to have been matters relating to acquiring appropriately trained staff to teach the deaf students.[126] As Johnson noted:

> The only means of getting teachers trained in deaf work at present is to train them within the schools, at the expense of the children - wasteful from the point of view of both teachers and child - or to send them overseas.[127]

However, as the pupil-teacher method of teacher training had diminished prior to the

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[121] D.M. Waddington et al., op. cit., p. 83; Ernest Lund, The Education of Deaf Children - An Historical Analysis of Thought and Procedure in New South Wales, MA Thesis, Melbourne University, 1939, p. 136.

[122] New South Wales Department of Education, 'Parents and Citizens Associations and Mothers' Clubs', Education Gazette, vol. xxxiv, no. 12, 2 December, 1940, p. 325.

[123] Leo Murphy, op. cit., p. 5.

[124] Special Education Resource Centre for Hearing Impaired Library Archives: Hunter Essay, The Historical Development of Oral Education of the Deaf, Annerley, 1968, p. 7.

[125] Michele de Courcy, 'Will "Unlocking the Curriculum" Achieve Access in Deaf Education', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 31, 1991, pp. 37-51, p. 42.

[126] North Rocks Central School, Jean Walter (Wal 1), op. cit., p. 69.

[127] NL.N371.921/AUS, W Johnson, op. cit., pp. 14-15.

Second World War and, as overseas training for teachers of the deaf now concentrated on the oral mode, the educational opportunities for the non-oral deaf were being further restricted by a lack of suitably skilled teachers.[128]

Catholic schools

Even the Roman Catholic schools for the deaf were slowly beginning to turn away from their long-time adherence to the manual mode. They, too, had introduced oral mode training for some students in the 1930s, but had maintained a mix of fingerspelling and signs as the basic approach to their mode of communication. By the early 1940s, a number of the older teaching sisters had died and by 1942 there had been a significant change in staff.[129] The emphasis in the Catholic schools remained on language teaching. Towards this end, finding the most appropriate mode of communication received considerable attention.

McGrath, who was Principal of the Castle Hill school, states that the oral mode and a combined mode of communication, using signing and speaking simultaneously, was being used in the New South Wales Catholic schools after the war.[130] By 1947, according to Dooley, there were five recognised modes:

1. manual (use of sign, manual alphabet and writing to increase powers of comprehension, mental development and comprehension in use of written language);
2. manual alphabet and writing;
3. oral development - the aim was facility in speech and lipreading and development of mental powers and written expression;
4. auricular which utilised the hearing power of semi-deaf to produce a hard of hearing speaking person;
5. combined made possible every degree of intellect being reached by making use of the method best suited...to the capacity and special needs of the pupil.[131]

A year later, in 1948, some of the Sisters from the Newcastle school and one of the

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[128] Leo Murphy, op. cit., p. 5.

[129] Sister Egan, History of Catholic Deaf Education in Australia 1875-1975, Newcastle, Newey & Beath Printers Pty Ltd, 1975a, p. 24; J.A. Burke, op. cit., pp. 250-253.

[130] Gerry McGrath, 'Application of the Audio Verbal Approach in the Education of Hearing Impaired Children', paper presented at Australian & New Zealand Conference for Educators of the Deaf - 13-20 January, New Zealand, 1988, p. 34.

[131] St Dominic's Centre, Dooley Monograph, op. cit., p. 44.

Brothers from Castle Hill went to New Zealand to be instructed in use of the oral mode. On their return, the Roman Catholic schools for the deaf resolved to modernise their teaching and study methods.

The Catholic schools also considered requiring teachers to undertake the AATD examination.[132] However, the Sisters were said to have chosen the English, National College of Teacher of the Deaf (NCTD) examination, instead of the AATD examination. Both the NCTD and the AATD examinations emphasised the oral mode at the expense of the manual mode, but the Sisters considered that the NCTD had a more comprehensive audiology section. In addition, the NCTD was recognised for its international reputation.[133]

The public image of the shift towards the oral mode of communication was unveiled when, in 1948, the Newcastle school officially changed its name. With Sister Walsh as the new Principal, the non-oral inference of the "Deaf and Dumb Institution", was replaced by the less conclusive "School for Deaf Girls".[134] In the same year, the Fitzgerald Key for development of written language was introduced into the Roman Catholic schools for the deaf.[135] This "modern" teaching tool complemented the Multitone group hearing aid that had been installed at the Newcastle school.[136] This compounded the move away from use of the manual mode and further educationally marginalised the non-oral deaf children. It is probable that enrolled non-oral deaf children remained at the school until they had completed their studies. It is doubtful, however, that any more children who were incapable of speech were accepted. In any event, by 1954 the newly elected Council of Dominican Sisters decided that only the oral mode would be used at the Newcastle school.[137]

During this period, the Newcastle school gained first-hand experience of the New South Wales Government's apparent apathy towards education of the deaf. In 1948,

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[132] ibid., pp. 37-38.

[133] ibid., pp. 47, 49.

[134] St Dominic's Centre, Dooley Monograph, op. cit., p. 34.

[135] ibid., p. 38.

[136] ibid., p. 35; Sister Egan, Pictorial Centenary Souvenir, Newcastle, Newey & Beath Printers Pty Ltd, 1975b, p. 40; Sister Egan, History of..., op. cit., p. 22.

[137] J.A. Burke, op. cit., pp. 257, 263; St Dominic's Centre, Dooley Monograph, op. cit., p. 38.

fire destroyed most of the school building and disrupted the girls' education for much of the year. A great deal of energy was devoted to fundraising for rebuilding. At the same time, considerable time was spent trying to locate building materials and skilled tradesmen to carry out the work during a period of post-war shortages. The problem was similar to that which the Education Department claimed to be facing and using as an excuse for not starting the OD units. Yet, according to Burke, the difficulties of rebuilding the only facility for the deaf outside Sydney:

> ...were compounded by the State Government's restrictions on the erection of buildings of every type. Special Building Permits were required, in order to restore the school for Deaf Girls at Waratah.[138]

Farrar school

In 1947, as a result of rising enrolments, the Farrar school moved to larger premises in Ashfield, and in 1948, Elsie Cole became co-principal. As the number of students increased, the need for larger premises resulted in Burns and Cole buying premises at Liverpool Road, Ashfield in 1949. Due to the need for a trained kindergarten teacher, Judith Henry was employed to help conduct the oral program, which utilised a modified mainstream curriculum.[139]

Summary and Conclusions

The entry of the New South Wales Education Department into the direct provision of educational services for deaf children, was a major shift in Government policy and a significant event for deaf education. Regardless of the reluctance of this entry, it impacted on deaf children in at least three different ways. First, it concentrated resources in favour of the oral mode. Second, it paved the way for the official integration of deaf children into the hearing education system. Third, it imposed the consequences of inadequate teacher preparation on many deaf children.

The concentration of resources in favour of the oral mode effectively imposed educational segregation on the community of deaf children. Those deaf children who could benefit from hearing aids and an oral mode of communication were provided with comparatively local day schools. Their parents were freed from the financial burden of school fees (at Government schools) and with their deaf children, were able to mix with

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[138] J.A. Burke, op. cit., p. 266.

[139] Farrar Public School for the Deaf, Information Booklet, op. cit., pp. 1-2; NL.N371.912/AUS, New South Wales Minister for Education, op. cit., p. 9.

parents of hearing children at school functions. Those deaf children who could not benefit from the use of hearing aids were left with only one of the special schools. Parents were expected to pay fees or seek financial assistance. School social connections were centred on deaf children. This is not to say that one school was any better or worse than the other. It simply illustrates that segregation was implemented educationally, financially and socially, not only for the deaf children, but also their families.

The result of the New South Wales Education Department's intervention during this period was not only to segregate the oral deaf from the non-oral deaf, but to divide the oral deaf into three educational sub-groups. First, there were the children who, with the aid of a hearing aid, could cope with the mainstream class. Second, there were those who could not cope in the mainstream class, but who could progress with the support available in an OD unit. Third, there were those who failed to progress in either. It was this group that were, quite possibly, the most disadvantaged, because they experienced failure. For, perhaps, the first time in the history of deaf education in New South Wales, the deaf could be compared publicly to their hearing counterparts in their ability to receive educational instruction. Their inability could be demonstrated by removal from a mainstream class to a special class, or removal from a mainstream school to a special school.

More important was the issue of inadequate teacher preparation. Problems with hearing aids and errors in the diagnosis of the deaf child's potential to benefit from oral mode instruction undoubtedly contributed to the failure of some children to progress in Departmental classrooms. It appears quite clear, however, that untrained and inexperienced teachers, no matter how unwittingly, played a major role in educational failures.

In the late 1940s, official integration may not have had a great effect on the deaf as a community, as even the oldest rubella-affected children were only nine years old at the end of the 1940s. Once again, however, the introduction of official integration paved the way for greater social and cultural impact on the deaf in the following two decades.

At this point, it is possible to see that a large proportion of the deaf were being negatively affected by the new approach to education. In 1977, Dorothy Shaw, a prominent member of the deaf community and a well-known political activist, looked

back at education of the deaf. She noted that in the early days, the deaf had their language and as a result, could do many things for themselves, such as arranging premises for their meetings and being on the original Board of Management of the Adult Deaf Society.[140] She also noted, however, that:

> ...since the introduction of countless methods of education, the deaf seem to lose their language skills...They would leave school without any confidence in themselves...[141]

The segregation of oral and non-oral deaf must have reinforced, or at least influenced, community opinions about the educability of deaf children. It appeared, from the New South Wales Government's style of intervention, including their stand on not including deaf children in compulsory education legislation, that only the oral deaf warranted the expense and effort of admission to the State school system. As will be seen in the following chapters, these points led to the almost total demise of the manual mode during the 1950s and 1960s. The result of this was severe educational and social disadvantage for non-oral deaf students.

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[140] NL.Np362/42 0994/T737, Dorothy Shaw, op. cit., p. 19.

[141] ibid.

CHAPTER SIX

THE RISE OF THE ORAL MODE

Introduction

The period between 1950 and 1957 saw an increase in the level of academic discussion focused on deaf education. In particular, debate about the potential of the oral mode was promoted at the cost of denigrating the manual mode (See Appendix B). This reached a point where the manual mode was portrayed as being a danger to language acquisition. In addition, as an example of history repeating itself, manual mode users were again portrayed as lacking not only intelligence, but also the ability to think, socialise, or learn. By the end of the period, despite the doubts of some educators, the manual mode had all but been eliminated as an educational mode of communication for deaf children in New South Wales schools.

At the same time, the period witnessed a significant change in the New South Wales Education Department's policy on the provision of deaf education. From a stance of apparent reluctance in implementing temporary arrangements for oral-deaf children in mainstream schools, the Department became the dominant provider of deaf education in the State. This was achieved by an expansion of OD units in primary schools, the introduction of secondary school OD units, the purchase of Farrar school and the take-over of the Sydney school.

Australia's school population

Underpinning all of this activity was the reality that the total number of deaf children represented a very small proportion of the total school population. In terms of general demand for education, there was an estimated 300,000 children attending schools in New South Wales in the late 1940s.[1] During this period Government statistics indicated, however, that in 1949 no more than 450 of these attendees were enrolled in any of the OD units or schools for the deaf.[2] In other words, deaf students represented little more than one tenth of one percent of the total school population. The number of

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[1] Staff Correspondent, 'National survey will help deaf in schools and industry'. Sydney Morning Herald, Wednesday, 8 June, 1949, p. 2; D.M. Waddington, W.C. Radford and J.A. Keats, Review of Education in Australia 1940-1948, Carlton, Melbourne University Press, 1950, p. 14.

[2] ML: Commonwealth Office of Education Reports Q370.78/2, The General Standard of Achievement of Young Partially Deaf Children in Australia - Report No. 1 - September 1948, p. 3.

deaf children enrolled in mainstream classes, together with those not attending school at all as a result of their exclusion from compulsory education legislation, is unknown.[3]

Between 1950 and 1957, the post-war baby boom and high migrant intake[4] saw a rapid increase in the need for places in primary schools, with secondary school enrolments increasing by 45% in the late 1950s.[5] These increases contributed to the teacher and material shortages experienced by the New South Wales Education Department through the period.[6] These problems are likely to have contributed to the Department's continuing failure to include deaf children in compulsory education legislation. To include deaf children would have necessitated the Department providing teachers and facilities to implement special teaching strategies for a small number of children over a wide geographic area. From the comments by Swan[7] it appears that the shortage of staff, materials and money effectively prevented the Department offering such a service. Neither the archives of the Education Department nor records of parliamentary debates relating to this period offer any alternative explanation. At the time it appeared that the limited number of oral mode OD units, and the special schools located in the areas of highest population, were the best offer that the Department could honour. In this context, it appears remarkable that so much academic discussion about deaf education was sustained throughout this period. It also appears remarkable that the New South Wales Education Department still remained opposed to including deaf children in compulsory education legislation.

Parent demands

In 1957, the Commonwealth Office of Education noted that:

> The problem of how best to educate children with impaired hearing is one to which educationalists throughout the world have devoted considerable attention in the past two decades.[8]

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[3] Staff Correspondent, 'Education for Children of a Silent World', Sydney Morning Herald, Tuesday, 22 July, 1947, p. 2.

[4] Don Smart, Federal Aid to Australian Schools, St. Lucia, University of Queensland Press, 1978, p. 26.

[5] ibid., p. 40; Alan Barcan, A History of Australian Education, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1980, p. 296.

[6] ibid.

[7] Private Papers Barbara Crickmore: Interview with Mr D.A. Swan by Jan Burnswood and Jim Fletcher, 1985.

[8] Commonwealth Office of Education, 'The Schooling of Children with Impaired Hearing', Education News, vol. 6, no. 6, December, 1957, pp. 7-10, p. 7.

The problem was not, however, a matter for the educationalists alone. Parents of deaf children and politicians, probably reflecting community attitudes, were playing an increasing role in decision-making about aspects of deaf education. In particular, parent pressure was influencing the choice of mode of communication for their children and the setting in which instruction for deaf children was imparted. For example, in reporting findings from her COE longitudinal study of different educational environments for deaf primary school-aged children, Brereton observed that the "...wish to send deaf children to normal classes for their education comes in the first place from the parents."[9] However, Brereton clearly did not believe that parental preferences were appropriate in all cases, noting that such demands were due, in part, to the refusal of some parents:

> ...to recognise the gravity of the social problem they are set in the task of bringing up a congenitally deaf child as a member of a family, the other members of which have normal hearing.[10]

Gorman, a hearing-impaired academic, echoed Brereton's concerns when he reported that some parents had formed pressure groups to demand oral training for their deaf children, without understanding that their efforts "...in the long term may create additional educational and social difficulties..."[11] for their children. He also noted that:

> Wishful and emotional thinking on the part of these parents, makes it very difficult, at times impossible, for them to achieve an objective approach to the educational problems of their children.[12]

This "wishful and emotional thinking" came about because most hearing parents and a few deaf parents wanted their deaf children to learn to speak.[13] The reasons could probably be found in the level of community misconception about deaf children, particularly in historical links to supposed mental defects and low levels of education.[14]

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[9] Beatrice Brereton, 'The Education of Congenitally Deaf Children in Normal Schools', Conquering Physical Handicaps, 1958, pp. 518-525, p. 518.

[10] ibid.

[11] Pierre Gorman, 'Australia for Children with Speech and/or Hearing Impairments', in (ed.), Some Aspects of the Education of Handicapped Children in Australia, A.H. Massina & Co, Carlton, 1971, p. 57.

[12] ibid.

[13] Laurence F. Barkham, 'Some Factors to be Considered when Admitting New Pupils into School', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 2, no. 1, November, 1960, pp. 19-23, p. 23; Pierre Gorman, op. cit., p. 57.

[14] Denise Edwards, 'Teaching the Deaf to Hear', Catholic Weekly, 28 November, 1968, p. 16.

As Gorman put it at the time, the deaf:

> ...are limited not so much by the deafness itself, but much more so by the attitude and behaviour of the general community towards them....the term "deafness" which has highly negative emotional and social overtones within the general community....In our society, the use of speech as a means of communication, is an unusually high status requirement for general social acceptance. Any variation or imperfection in its presentation, even if very slight, may cause profound and almost invariably negative social responses from society as a whole.[15]

Public image of the deaf

In addition, there was an apparently common belief that to be "dumb" or "mute" was to be stupid,[16] not that this was a new conception or one easily eradicated. As mentioned earlier, the Newcastle school had recognised the connection and removed "Dumb" from its name in 1948. Similarly, the Sydney school deleted the word from its name in 1957.

The relationship between the child's inability to speak and their level of intelligence had been given public credibility by the inappropriate use of intelligence tests in the early part of the century. Throughout the current period, the negative view was boosted by statements from educational experts that appeared to mirror seventeenth century philosophy more closely than twentieth century education. For example, the Ewings considered that "Learning to talk is of incalculable importance to the way in which your child's mind develops".[17] Further, that without "...words in his thinking and in his expression of thought...", the deaf child could not develop a "way of thinking" like other "ordinary" children.[18] Similarly, Cunningham believed that "Without speech the deaf child can neither think nor act socially".[19]

Apart from speech, the connection between a language and cognitive skills was emphasised in relation to deaf children being deprived of many social meanings and

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[15] Pierre Gorman, op. cit., pp. 55-56.

[16] Professor O Oeser, 'Out-of-date methods for teaching the deaf', Melbourne Age, Wednesday, 7 June, 1949, p. 2.

[17] Lady Ewing and Sir Alexander Ewing, Your Child's Hearing, 4th edn, London, National Deaf Children's Society, 1969, p. 4.

[18] ibid., p. 8.

[19] K.S. Cunningham and J.J. Pratt, Review of Education - 1939, Melbourne, Melbourne Press University, 1940, p. 229.

interpretations that are a matter of course for others.[20] More generally, it was voiced that "Because of the deficient audition, deaf children are impaired in the basic ability to learn".[21] Whatever else Government involvement in education of the deaf had done, it appears to have had little impact on the wide variety of meaning that different people attached to deafness.

"Ghettos" of the deaf

Another aspect of community attitudes which emerged at this time appeared to have almost sinister or fearful undertones. This was a concern that the deaf could adopt a group identity or a culture of their own. Evidence for such an attitude came from several quarters, including the press. In 1949, for example, an article by Professor O A Oeser, of the Psychology Department at the University of Melbourne, appeared in the Melbourne Age. Under the heading "Out-of-date methods for teaching the deaf", Oeser stated that "...far too many children are still taught the finger alphabet, so they can feel at home among their own". Then he questioned "...why is this?".[22] Similarly, the Sydney Morning Herald published an article, the following day, citing the Director of CAL as saying that segregated classes or schools for the deaf "...may have the effect of encouraging the partially-deaf child to consider himself socially different".[23] Heffernan was later reported as saying that she did not favour the manual method, and:

> ...saw it as a threat to communication of the deaf with other people because they were being educated for deaf ghettos within a hearing society.[24]

These attitudes did not appear to have the same focus as the eugenics movement, earlier in the century, but it appears there were concerns about the formation of a group that had different values.

On the other hand, negative views of a deaf culture were not shared by all. Johnson had already acknowledged the deaf as a self-supporting community, which he did not

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[20] Kathryn P Meadow-Orlans, 'Social Development: Wings for Hearing Impaired Children - Paper 3', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 27, 1986a, pp. 20-26, p. 20.

[21] David Auxter, 'Learning Disabilities Among Deaf Populations', Exceptional Children, vol. 37, no. 8, April, 1971, pp. 573-578, p. 573.

[22] Professor O Oeser, op. cit., p. 2.

[23] Staff Correspondent, National survey..., op. cit., p. 2.

[24] Gail Jones, 'Teaching in Silence', Newcastle Morning Herald and Miners Advocate, Thursday, 27 April, 1972, p. 13.

portray as a bad thing.[25] Similarly, the President of the Institution for the Deaf and Dumb and the Blind, appeared to have no concerns about ghettos when he declared that "...the deaf, themselves, prefer their own company, their own language and their own social hours".[26] Thus, the "mesh of meanings", relating to deaf education, began to take on a greater degree of complexity, a situation which developed further over the following thirty years.

Educational philosophy

Quite apart from reflecting the negative community concerns, parental wishes for their deaf children's schooling may have been founded in the doctrine of equal opportunity that had begun to emerge in education after the war. Amongst other things, this doctrine expounded an equal chance for all children to display their intelligence.[27] In the 1950s, this appears to have meant access to mainstream education. For many parents of deaf children who were becoming involved in their child's schooling, such access appears to have been interpreted as integration of their children in hearing classes, or enrolment in OD units.

Consulting services

Yet another source of influence on some parents' preference for the oral mode for their deaf child may have been their experience with one of the Government consultative services.[28] For example, the NSW Government created the Division of Research, Guidance and Adjustment in 1946, then split functions to form the Division of Research and Planning and the Division of Guidance and Adjustment in 1957. The Division of Guidance and Adjustment was responsible for the testing and placement of children in schools, as well as providing educational guidance for their parents at both the primary and secondary school levels.[29] In 1962, Radford, of the Australian Council for Educational Research, advised that the Division was staffed by 9 district guidance officers, 88 school counsellors, who "...were assisted by 460 careers advisers on the

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[25] W.E. Johnson, 'Educating the Deaf', Sydney Morning Herald, Friday, 23 May, 1947, p. 2.

[26] F. Minnis, 'Educating the Deaf', Sydney Morning Herald, Thursday, 5 June, 1947, p. 2.

[27] Lawrence Angus, 'Equality, Democracy and Educational Reform, in David Dawkins, (ed.), Power and Politics in Education, London, The Falmer Press, 1991, pp. 233-276, pp. 239-241.

[28] Leo Murphy, 'Three Decades of Education of the Deaf in Australia', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 21, 1980, pp. 5-15, p. 13.

[29] W.C. Radford, Review of Education in Australia 1955-1962, Hawthorn, Australian Council for Educational Research, 1964, pp. 284-285.

staff of schools",[30] but he made no mention of teachers of the deaf.

From the 1950s, clinics were established by the Department of Health, utilising the School Medical Service,[31] the Bureau of Maternal and Child Health[32], and the Royal Alexandra Hospital.[33] Much of the work had been undertaken in conjunction with the CAL and its own guidance clinic.[34] Deaf children were assessed by a team, including a psychologist, speech therapist and medical practitioner, who then provided guidance to parents on education for the child.[35] However, according to Wordley, a member of the Federation of Junior Deaf Education, like the Division of Guidance and Adjustment, the teams did not include a teacher of the deaf.[36]

Movement against the manual mode

At this time, Australian teachers of the deaf were, in the main, following the world-wide trend away from, or even against, the use of the manual mode.[37] According to Johnston, usually non-oral deaf individuals who used the manual mode:

> ...appeared to be badly educated, relatively ignorant of the world, barely literate, increasingly socially "maladjusted" and neither good at nor willing to use speech.[38]

This was taken as proof of the inferiority of sign language and the consequences of its use. In a significant move, the delegates at the 1953 Triennial Conference of the

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[30] ibid., p. 285.

[31] National Library of Australia: New South Wales Minister for Education N371.912/AUS, Minister's Opening Speech at Fifth Australian Conference of Teachers of the Deaf, Sydney, 1953a, pp. 7-11, p. 10; D.M. Waddington et al., op. cit. pp. 63, 65.

[32] Australia: Department of Education and Science, Special Education in Australia: Department of Education and Science, 1972, p. 33.

[33] A.D. Burns, 'Elsie Cora Cole - An Appreciation', The Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 2, no. 2 October, 1961, p. 4.

[34] Laurence F Barkham, op. cit., p.21; Australia, Department of Education and Science, op. cit., p. 33; Dr A.J. Metcalfe, 'School Health Services in Australia', Education News, vol. 5, no. 6, December, 1955, pp. 3-6, p. 4; NL.N371.912/AUS, New South Wales Minister for Education, op. cit., p. 10.

[35] Dr A.J. Metcalfe, op. cit., p. 4; Leo Murphy, op. cit., p. 13; W.C. Radford, op. cit., p. 267.

[36] Mary Wordley, 'Mary Wordley - August 1990', Sound News, December, 1991, pp. 1, 6-7, p. 7.

[37] T. Johnston, 'Deaf Sign Language & the Cochlear Implant: Opportunities and Problems Created by a better Understanding of Sign Languages and Advances in the Technology of Hearing Aids', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 30, 1990, pp. 1-17, p. 3.

[38] ibid., pp. 3-4.

AATD resolved that "...all education of the Deaf in Australia would be oral that sign language was not to be used as a medium of instruction, [and] that 'fingerspelling and gestures' were 'outmoded'."[39] It was believed by some educators, that the visual aspects of manual language could interrupt or distort a proper understanding of the English language.[40] Looking back, Johnston noted that during the 1950s "...the opposition to signing in education had actually hardened and was almost total".[41]

"Eradication" of deafness

Such opposition to manual approaches had been influenced by overseas educators of the deaf who had advocated for the oral mode, with predictions of clear speech for even the profoundly deaf child.[42] These claims undoubtedly had a major impact on parents and some policy makers concerned with the formation of educational services for deaf children. As an example, it was claimed in the New South Wales Parliament that, with the advances in teaching methods and scientific developments "...dumbness can be cured...".[43] Undoubtedly, the Ewings contributed to this enthusiasm with statements like "Nowadays, after training with the right kinds of hearing aids nearly all children who are diagnosed as deaf are found to have some useful hearing."[44]

The value of technological advances in the teaching of oral mode to deaf children was also emphasised by educational authorities in Australia. For example, in 1956, the COE stated that:

> ...considerable development in the use of group and individual hearing aids, and progress in their use had enabled an increasing number of children to make use of residual hearing. Although the potential of these electronic devices had not yet been fully explored, they had been found by many teachers to be of outstanding benefit in the improvement of children's speech.[45]

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[39] Dr Jan Branson and Dr Don Miller, 'Sign Language, Oralism and the Control of Deaf Children', Australian Hearing & Deafness Review, vol. 6, no. 2, December, 1989, pp. 19-23, p. 20.

[40] St Dominic's Centre for Hearing Impaired Children Archives: Dooley Monograph, To Be Fully Alive - A Monograph on Australian Dominican Education of Hearing-Impaired Children, 1989, p. 115.

[41] T. Johnston, op. cit., p. 3.

[42] Lady Ewing and Sir Alexander Ewing, op. cit., p. 8; Wendy Lynas, 'Deaf Children and Integration', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 27, 1986, pp. 35-38, p. 35.

[43] House of Representatives, Hansard, 14 November, 1957, pp. 1779-1782, p. 1781.

[44] Lady Ewing and Sir Alexander Ewing, op. cit., p. 3.

[45] Commonwealth Office of Education, 'School Places for Deaf Children', Education News, vol. 5, no. 8, April, 1956b, pp. 5-6, p. 6.

Doubts about the "oral mode only" movement

Not all Australian educators were convinced that deafness could be overcome with oralism and technology. Burchett was concerned at what he saw as an undue emphasis on the oral mode and the failure of experts to define the level of deafness in the children with whom they were working. In particular he noted that:

> The Ewings' work has lain with the child who, with special care and the careful use by trained workers using instruments science has brought to their aid, can be given quite a measure of useful speech. The emphasis on this type of child has given a wrong perspective of the field, and pure oralism, a possibility with the type of child referred to, has been preached as a gospel for the "deaf" child.[46]

Sister Dooley, a member of the teaching staff at the Newcastle school during this period, was also concerned at the general movement and noted that:

> The task of teaching hearing impaired children is not only a matter of following a prescribed syllabus, but carries with it the onerous burden of selecting the method that promises to be the most effective, intellectually and socially.[47]

At the Sydney school, the Principal was expressing similar concerns, pointing out that "Whatever our beliefs on the advantages of one method over another, we must in fairness to the children be prepared to adapt our methods to individual needs".[48]

Johnson was also expressing a broader view that teachers of the deaf were concerned about all students who could not acquire speech and language in the normal manner. The basis of the problem, as he saw it, was in the classification of these students, a process which he said had become more complex. This was due, in part, to problems associated with the accuracy in audiometric assessment. It was also due to issues arising more clearly at this time associated with children who had an additional disability to deafness and an inability to speak.[49]

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[46] J.H. Burchett, Utmost for the Highest, Melbourne, Hall's Book Store Pty Ltd, 1964, pp. 61-62.

[47] St Dominic's Centre, Dooley Monograph, op. cit., p. 31.

[48] National Library of Australia: W Johnson N371.921/AUS, President's Address at the Fifth Australian Conference of Teachers of Deaf, Sydney, 1953b, pp. 12-15, p. 14.

[49] Paul Arnold, 'Experimental Psychology and the Deaf Child', Journal of Rehabilitation of the Deaf, vol. 19, no. 1-2, July/October, 1985, pp. 4-8, p. 4; Richard G Brill, 'Address to the 12th Triennial Conference of Teachers of the Deaf', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, no. 15, 1974, pp. 51-58, p. 51; K.S. Cunningham and J.J. Pratt, op. cit., pp. 229-230; Pierre Gorman, op. cit., p. 60; NL.N371.921/AUS, W Johnson, op. cit., pp. 13-14.

Johnson warned that difficulties were going to arise because:

> So much has been said on this question of method, and so many people are entering the field of our work, misguided by abundant enthusiasm, that parents primarily and the public generally are led to believe that to the deaf all things are possible.[50]

Academic studies

Apart from matters related to learning to speak, Johnson was concerned about other expectations imposed on the deaf child. In relation to academic studies, he appealed for the need to "...realise what deafness means to these children, and not add to their already heavy burden by calling on them to achieve the impossible".[51] Similarly, McDonnell of the Australian Council for Educational Research, emphasised the importance of examining the educational approach for deaf students, and the need:

> ...to alter the emphasis from the achievement of 'standards' often bearing little relation to average capacity, to the attainment of a standard commensurate with the perceived ability of the child...to expand the provision of special grades for the backward.[52]

Such a radical approach, however, received no official support at this time, although the Commonwealth Office of Education recognised, what it termed, the "obvious" difficulties in teaching normal subjects to deaf students. The COE acknowledged that the language deficiencies of deaf students meant that every lesson, no matter what topic, was a language lesson.[53]

On the subject of language, it was reported that many teachers of the deaf had desired that books be rewritten at a language level to suit the deaf. Not all teachers agreed with the request. For example, Ward, writing in the AATD Journal, claimed that the idea was "...impractical, impossible and unrealistic..." contending that the deaf should be taught to read books as they are written for hearing students because she claimed it was the "means of opening" the world of knowledge.[54]

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[50] ibid., p. 14.

[51] ibid., p. 13.

[52] R.M. McDonnell et al, op. cit., pp. xii-xiii.

[53] Commonwealth Office of Education, 'British Scene: Special Boarding Schools for the Deaf', Education News, vol. 6, no. 7, February, 1958, pp. 16-18, p. 17.

[54] Thelma Ward, 'Reading for the Deaf', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 2, no. 1, November, 1960, pp. 3-4, p. 3.

The New South Wales Education Department

The period from 1950 to 1957 saw a radical change in the New South Wales Education Department's policy related to the education of deaf children. The Labor Party came to power in New South Wales during 1941, and continued in office until 1965. Clive Evatt was the first Minister for Education in the Labor Cabinet and was succeeded by Robert Heffron in 1944. Together they oversaw the introduction and enactment of the 1944 Education Bill, which heralded a more socialist approach to education of children outside the mainstream. Apart from the change in political and social philosophy brought to the Education Department by the change in Government, community values also began to show signs of change.[55]

Heffron remained as Minister for Education from 1944 to1960, when he became Premier. During the first half of the Heffron ministry, the Education Department moved from a position of avoiding issues related to government responsibility for education of the deaf to one of being a direct provider of educational services. By 1957, with the Department's take-over of the Sydney school, the New South Wales Government dominated the provision of deaf education in the State.

Harold Wyndham, who became the New South Wales Director-General of Education in December 1952, may have played an important role in continuing the changes and consolidating the Department's role in deaf education. He had been involved in implementing special classes since 1935. Nevertheless, political or bureaucratic reasons for the policy shift are not clear and it can only be assumed that parent pressure, together with CAL, played a major role.

In an official explanation of the implementation of educational services to the deaf, the Education Department claimed it had followed the British tradition of the special school approach for sensorily-impaired children since the 1950s. Until 1973, the claim continued, "...emphasis was placed on the development of special schools and special classes for sensorily impaired children".[56]

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[55] John Lewis, 'So Much Grit in the Hub of the Educational Machine', in Bob Bessant (ed.), Mother State and Her Little Ones, Centre for Youth and Community Services, Melbourne, 1987, pp. 140-166, p. 161.

[56] New South Wales Department of Education Library Archives: Document 5, Educational Services for Hearing Impaired and Visually Impaired Children (Sensorily Impaired), 1981, pp. 37-43, p. 37.

OD units

In a continuation of the 1948 policy, the New South Wales Education Department's efforts were directed towards the provision of OD units in mainstream schools. The number of units was increased, although the precise number of children they served is difficult to determine. This is because some sources of information counted schools[57] which may have had multiple OD units, some counted classes alone[58] and some counted schools and classes.[59] There was also a problem with the changing deaf population. This resulted in some OD units having to be closed, or temporarily discontinued, through a lack of numbers in specific areas,[60] a situation that still existed in the 1990s.[61]

It is also difficult to determine how many deaf students were enrolled in each of the classes at any one time. Although there could be up to ten, the COE reported that some of the classes had more than the ten students in 1956. This was confirmed by the New South Wales Education Department, when it blamed teacher shortages, and expressed the hope that the situation would be corrected by 1957.[62] Whether this correction was expected as a result of more teachers, or fewer deaf students, is also unclear, particularly as the original intention had been to implement OD units only as a temporary measure.

As events unfolded, the 1948 intention of "temporary" OD classes could not be sustained. In the first place, there were additional rubella outbreaks, which provided a continuation of affected deaf children. Second, the work of CAL, particularly in the area of mass hearing assessments of school children, revealed an increasing number of partially-deaf children, previously undetected in mainstream classes, who needed

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[57] H.S. Wyndham, 'Educational Developments in New South Wales', Education News, vol. 5, no. 5, 1955, pp. 3-5, pp. 3-4.

[58] W.C. Radford, op. cit., p. 267; Mary Wordley, Mary Wordley..., op. cit., p. 1.

[59] Hon Jim Longley, 'Transcript of Minister's Opening Address at PCDE Conference: Orange NSW 7 August 1993', Sound News, vol. 21, no. 3, Spring, 1993, pp. 10-14, p. 11.

[60] Private Papers Barbara Crickmore: M Bryant, Calare Public School - Hostel Facilities for O.D. Children - Report by M Bryant, Staff Inspector, submitted to the NSW Minister for Education - 21 August 1969, p. 3.

[61] Brian Graham, 'Schools Renewal: How Devolution has Affected Deaf Education in NSW', Sound News, vol. 20, no. 4, December, 1992, pp. 26-27, p. 27.

[62] Commonwealth Office of Education, School Places..., op. cit., p. 6.

specialised support.[63]

Secondary schooling

Inevitably, the rubella-affected oral deaf children, born in 1940-1, reached the chronological age by which the New South Wales Education Department judged children ready for secondary school. They were now in a similar position, educationally, to the students of the schools for the deaf. For those children who had not become fully integrated into a mainstream class and who were not performing at the level of hearing students, there were few options for further education.

As Cunningham had pointed out in 1940, in relation to the student population of the schools for the deaf:

> It is difficult to estimate the need for providing facilities for the higher education of the deaf in Australia. Though individuals have completed secondary courses and even secured University degrees, it would appear unwise to make further organised provision for such education until conditions governing primary education are improved sufficiently to permit the schools to raise their general level of attainment.[64]

Although the OD units had provided the potential for a rise in primary educational standards for deaf children, they were apparently still below those of hearing children. Some teachers of the deaf believed that it was all but impossible for the majority of deaf students, oral or non-oral, to gain access to mainstream secondary schooling. Waddington et al, for example, pointed to the fact that, after the entrance examinations were abolished in 1943, access to high school was determined by a combination of three factors: the child's primary school record; recommendation from the school Principal, inspector and school counsellor; and the results of intelligence tests.[65] Even if the deaf child did meet the unspecified requirements, there were no provisions or special considerations available to them at the high school level.[66]

The belief that deaf students in general were unlikely to meet these, or similar requirements, was maintained in 1950. At a meeting of leading educators of deaf

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[63] Staff Correspondent, National survey..., op. cit., p. 2.

[64] K.S. Cunningham and J.J. Pratt, op. cit., p. 238.

[65] D.M. Waddington, W.C. Radford and J.A. Keats, Review of Education in Australia 1940-1948, Carlton, Melbourne University Press, 1950, pp. 114-115, 118-199.

[66] R Cook and V Armbruster, Adapting Early Childhood Curricula, St Louis, CV Mosby Company, 1983, p. 13.

students, which included the Ewings, it was concluded that "...it will only be rarely that a child will reach that standard [secondary education] with the present provisions".[67]

As had been the case in 1946, however, something had to be done. Consequently, in 1954, OD units were established in secondary schools.[68] Although no secondary school teachers were specifically trained to work with the deaf at this time, it was said that children in these classes did have the advantage of access to specialist teachers as required.[69] Apparently, the New South Wales Education Department did not think the requirement would be needed for more than three years of secondary schooling, as the belief was that:

> Normally, partially deaf children do not proceed to the Intermediate Certificate, but rather, the more practical aspects of the secondary course are stressed, for instance, physical training, woodwork, metal work, home economics and crafts, and the basic skills of the primary level are consolidated.[70]

On the other hand, the Department also advised that these children could commence other secondary school subjects, such as English and Social Studies using material from the correspondence school courses, supported with individual tuition from class teachers.[71] It is also possible that the introduction of such a modified secondary school curriculum for deaf students may have been influenced by the Department's introduction in 1951 of an Alternative Curriculum for Secondary Schools for hearing students who were not academically coping.[72]

In 1954, there were reported to be thirteen primary OD units and two secondary OD units.[73] To help make the system work, the New South Wales Education Department provided free transport or subsidies to some groups of children, including the deaf

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[67] Private Papers Barbara Crickmore: Written account of meeting, 31 August, 1950, p. 6: Private Papers Barbara Crickmore: Letter to Caterina from Gerard, Letter addressed to Sr M Caterina, 1970, p. 1.

[68] R.M. McDonnell et al, op. cit., p. 85.

[69] New South Wales Department of Education Library Archives: File 661, Teaching Methods in NSW, 1955, p. 39.

[70] ibid.

[71] ibid., p. 40.

[72] Alan Barcan, 'The Transition in Australian Education 1939-67', in J Cleverley and J Lawry (ed.), Australian Education in the Twentieth Century, Longman Australia Pty Limited, Camberwell, Victoria, 1972, pp. 172-204, p. 184.

[73] R.M. McDonnell et al, op. cit., p. 85.

under ten years of age who resided within twenty-five miles of their school. For children living more than twenty-five miles from the school, however, parents who wanted a classroom education for their deaf child had to bear the cost of either transport to a school or of boarding out their child. Alternatively, the families could move to where the special educational facilities were available.[74]

The purchase of the Farrar school

Perhaps one of the most remarkable policy changes during this period was represented by the New South Wales Education Department's take-over of the Farrar school in 1952.[75] Purchased by the Government at the request of the financially troubled owners,[76] Farrar represented the first specialist school for the deaf operated by the New South Wales Government and was nominated as a School for Specific Purposes (SSP). The move into direct control of such a school for the deaf was one of the outcomes of the 1944 Education Act, which allowed for the proclamation of special purpose schools, although it was probably facilitated by Farrar having offered an oral only mode program. This approach complemented the existing approach to deaf education in the Department's OD units. The Farrar school also had only relatively small enrolments (less than 25 students) due to building restrictions.[77] Both points meant that the Department could be seen to be involved in providing services with minimal additional costs. Nevertheless, the move provided a concrete example of the Department's change in position relating to deaf education.

Government proposal to take over the Sydney school

At this time, the Sydney school was also experiencing ongoing financial difficulties. In the early post-war period, the New South Wales Education Department continued to provide annual grants to the Sydney school, but even with fees and donations, this was not sufficient to meet all the school's costs.[78] In 1952, the New South Wales Education

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[74] PPBC, M Bryant, op. cit., p. 1; Australia, Department of Education and Science, op. cit., p. 33; Norman W Drummond, Special Education in Australia, North Sydney, Torren Printing Pty Ltd, 1978, p. 8.

[75] NSWDOE, Document 5, op. cit., 1981, p. 37; M Thomas, 'Handicapped Children', in F.W. Cheshire (ed.) Each to his full stature, Hawthorn Press, Melbourne, 1965, pp. 122-132, p. 123; NL.N371.912/AUS, New South Wales Minister for Education, op. cit., p. 9.

[76] Farrar Public School for the Deaf, Information Booklet, Ashfield, 1983, p.1.

[77] Farrar Public School Archives: Unbound Documents, Farrar School File, n.d.

[78] New South Wales Department of Education, 'Provision for A-typical Children - General Activities Course', Education Gazette, vol. xlii, no. 1 October, 1948a, pp. 334-335, p. 335.

Department contributed more funds indirectly, by ceasing to accept reimbursements for the eleven Departmental teachers on secondment, paying the salaries instead from the Department's budget.[79]

In 1953, utilizing the same amendment to the 1944 Education Act that had allowed the Education Department to purchase Farrar school, Heffron indicated that his Department was willing to assume responsibility for the whole cost of the teaching at the Sydney school by establishing a Departmental school on the site. This arrangement would have seen the New South Wales Education Department pay for the teachers' salaries and school equipment, with the school's Board still responsible for residential facilities.[80] This proposal was almost identical to the favoured recommendation of the Wallace sub-committee, which had been ignored by the New South Wales Government in 1936. It appears however, that there was some resistance from the Sydney school's directors and that there may have been more than financial issues involved in discussions between the New South Wales Education Department and the Sydney school. This may be ascertained from part of Heffron's address to the AATD Conference in 1953, when he said:

> ...there are people in our midst who, with the best intentions in the world, want to regard the education of a particular group of handicapped children as their own private property. But none of us is sufficiently expert in all the fields of knowledge which are necessary for dealing with the handicapped child. We can only serve the interests of the children when teachers, psychologists, medical men, acoustical engineers, social workers, and all others concerned are prepared to pool their resources and work together for the good of the children...this must be a co-operative enterprise.[81]

This sentiment appears to have been echoed by Johnson when he said:

> ...we need a clear-cut programme to give the deaf, the partially deaf, and the retarded deaf every chance. No personal interests of individual people or schools should stand in the way of such a plan.[82]

The differences between the Sydney school's Board of Directors and the New South Wales Education Department were not resolved. Apart from anything else, it appears that the immediate outcome was that no additional funds were available to advance the

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[79] House of Representatives, Hansard, 14 November, 1957, pp. 1779-1782, p. 1780; Leo Murphy, op. cit., p. 5.

[80] NL.N371.912/AUS, New South Wales Minister for Education, op. cit., pp. 8-9.

[81] ibid., pp. 7-8.

[82] NL.N371.921/AUS, W Johnson, op. cit., p. 14.

education of the non-oral deaf. The situation reflected the report of James Lumsden, an English Inspector of Education who was brought to Australia by Directors-General of Education of several States to investigate and report on educational provisions for children with special needs. While not specifying non-oral deaf children in particular, it was reported by Bill Rose, the Assistant Director of Special Education in New South Wales, that Lumsden believed that "...special education was going nowhere without adequate resources...".[83]

Although talks continued until 1954, arrangements were not concluded because of problems with the Sydney school's trust deeds and deeds of incorporation.[84] The deeds included provisions for the continued receipt of money endowments, which were conditional on the school's independence.[85] It may also have been that the Directors were well aware that the New South Wales Education Department provided only an oral mode approach and they were acting in the best interests of the non-oral deaf children at the school.

Support for this view may be found in Johnson's presentation to the AATD 1955 conference. He is reported to have said that schools, like the Sydney school, were built for the deaf and "...it is for them that our efforts must be made. The children with defective hearing must not be allowed to use up the place of the deaf."[86] It is not clear whether this statement was intended as a public contribution to the negotiation between the Sydney school's Board of Directors and the New South Wales Education Department. Nevertheless, there are similarities with Heffron's paper at the 1953 AATD Conference two years earlier.

By 1957, however, agreement was reached between the school's Board and New South Wales Education Department, and the latter became "responsible" for the establishment and maintenance of the school without the Board's influence.[87] The

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[83] Bill Rose, 'AASE 21st Birthday Celebration', Australian Association of Special Education, N.S.W. Chapter, Newsletter, no. 2, June, 1995, pp. 2-4, p. 3.

[84] House of Representatives, Hansard, 14 November, 1957, pp. 1779-1782, p. 1780; Ernest Lund, The Education of Deaf Children - An Historical Analysis of Thought and Procedure in New South Wales, MA Thesis, Melbourne University, 1939, pp. 40-43.

[85] House of Representatives, Hansard, 14 November, 1957, pp. 1779-1782, p. 1780.

[86] J.H. Burchett, op. cit., p. 62.

[87] RIDBC Annual Report 1959, p. 6.

Board retained responsibility for the residential facilities.[88]

The change of control over the Sydney school required a new Act of Parliament to override the incorporation arrangements of 1905. The Royal New South Wales Institution for Deaf and Blind Children Act of 1957 (No. 38) also changed the name of the Sydney school by withdrawing the word "Dumb",[89] reflecting efforts to improve the public image of the deaf.

Teachers and teacher training

Before 1955, most teachers of the deaf in New South Wales were accorded that title either as a result of working in a deaf school, through accreditation by the AATD, or through formal qualifications from outside Australia. The matter of teacher training was considered by the Ewings in 1950, while reviewing the existing provisions for education of the deaf in Australia at the invitation of a number of State Governments.[90] As a result of the Ewings' recommendations, the New South Wales Education Department initiated plans to establish a formal training course for teachers of the deaf in Sydney.[91]

In 1949, the New South Wales Education Department authorised Walter Parr to undertake the teacher of the deaf training, under the Ewings, at Manchester University. The understanding was that Parr, on his return to New South Wales, would implement a course for teachers of the deaf at the Sydney Teachers' College.[92] Although Parr completed the twelve month Manchester course and returned, the Sydney-based

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[88] House of Representatives, Hansard, 14 November, 1957, pp. 1779-1782, p. 1781.

[89] RIDBC Annual Report 1957, p. 7; House of Representatives, Hansard, 14 November, 1957, pp. 1779-1782, p. 1781.

[90] Private Papers Barbara Crickmore: Ewing and Ewing, General Report to the Commonwealth Office of Education by A. and I. Ewing, 1950, p. 4; R.M. McDonnell et al, op. cit., p. 85; Special Education Resource Centre for Hearing Impaired Library Archives: Hunter Essay, The Historical Development of Oral Education of the Deaf, Annerley, 1968, p. 10; Pierre Gorman, op. cit., p. 56.

[91] NL.N371.912/AUS, New South Wales Minister for Education, op. cit., p. 10.

[92] Private Papers Barbara Crickmore: Heffernan Essay, A History of the Course for Teachers of the Deaf, 1974, pp. 3-4; North Rocks Central School for Deaf Children Library Archives: Jean Walter (Wal 1), The History of the New South Wales Schools for Deaf and for Blind Children 1860-1960, 1961, p. 68; Private Papers Barbara Crickmore: Notes of Discussion with Walter Parr, 1999; Mary Wordley, Mary Wordley..., op. cit., p. 1.

course did not commence until 1955.[93] When it did get underway, the content of the one-year fulltime training course for teachers of the deaf at the Sydney Teachers' College was greatly influenced by the oral approach of the Ewings.[94] Parr conducted the course which was under the administrative responsibility of Dr Ernest Lund, a lecturer in education at the Sydney Teachers College who had gained a PhD in Education of the Deaf from Manchester University.[95]

To qualify for admission to the course, an applicant had to be a government trained certificated teacher with at least two years experience in normal teaching.[96] Underlying these requirements were the long-held and continuing beliefs, that teachers of the deaf had to have special qualities and a wider vision of education.[97] From the start, however, there were few enrolments for the course. Part of the reason may have been due to the fact that at this time teachers were under the control of the Public Service Board. Amongst other things, the Board ruled on the award of qualifications. Initially, those teachers who undertook the teacher of the deaf course were not awarded a certificate, or any increase in pay, on successful completion of the course. According to Heffernan, the Board made this ruling on the grounds that the teachers were receiving full salary while they were studying. Until 1963, the highest enrolment was nine and the lowest was zero when the course did not run in 1957. The average annual enrolment between 1955-1963 was seven.[98]

Teacher training and the Sydney school

The Sydney school maintained the use of both the oral and manual mode, although finding teachers for the latter was a continuing difficulty. Johnson observed that contemporary teacher of the deaf training courses had no manual mode component and as a result, "...newly trained teachers graduated completely ignorant of it".[99] For

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93 Catherine Rumsey, 'Provisions for Professional Training in Fields related to Deafness', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 16, July, 1975, pp. 32-33, p. 33; Private Papers Barbara Crickmore: Parr Paper, Special Education in Australia - Hearing-Impaired Children, 1980, pp. 15-16.

94 NSWDOE, Document 5, op. cit., p. 37; PPBC, Heffernan Essay, op. cit., p. 3.

95 PPBC, Notes of..., op. cit.; PPBC, Heffernan Essay, op. cit., pp. 3-4; Catherine Rumsey, Provisions for..., op. cit., pp. 32-33.

96 Australia, Department of Education and Science, op. cit., p. 67; Catherine Rumsey, Provisions for..., op. cit., pp. 32-33.

97 NL.N371.921/AUS, W Johnson, op. cit., pp. 12-13.

98 PPBC, Heffernan Essay, op. cit., pp. 4-5.

99 T. Johnston, op. cit., p. 3.

existing staff and others, presumably including those seconded from the New South Wales Education Department, the Sydney school provided short inservice courses. The lectures included a range of educational aspects of deafness, including methods of assessments and placement of deaf students in special schools and OD units, as well as matters relating to the medical aspects of deafness.[100]

Teacher training and the Catholic schools for the deaf

During the 1950s, the Roman Catholic schools for the deaf were just as sensitive to the need for more formalised teacher training. In addition to NCTD examinations, both the Sisters and Brothers of the Catholic schools for the deaf appeared to rely on study tours and informal training. In 1955, for example, the Principal of the Newcastle school, Sister Norbert, went to Manchester University to study under the Ewings.[101] In the same year, Brother O'Neill, the Principal and Superior of the Castle Hill school, went on an extended study tour of Europe and the USA to look at various methods of teaching of the deaf.[102]

Services of the schools for the deaf

Sydney school

When OD units were established in Government schools in 1948, the Sydney school found itself enrolling mainly deaf students between the ages of three and sixteen years[103], who could not benefit from using a hearing aid in the OD unit.[104]

Secondary school syllabus

Like the New South Wales Education Department, the Sydney school recognised that there was a need for access to secondary school studies for students who were

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[100] Australian Association of Teachers of the Deaf, 'Inservice Course - New South Wales', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 2, no. 2, October, 1961, p. 7; House of Representatives, Hansard, 14 November, 1957, pp. 1779-1782, p. 1780.

[101] Sister Egan, History of Catholic Deaf Education in Australia 1875-1975, Newcastle, Newey & Beath Printers Pty Ltd, 1975a, p. 26; Rosary Convent, 'News from the Schools', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, September, 1960, pp. 14, 27-28, p. 14.

[102] Sister Egan, History of..., op. cit., pp. 33-34.

[103] House of Representatives, Hansard, 14 November, 1957, pp. 1779-1782, p. 1781; W.C. Radford, op. cit., p. 267.

[104] Jean Walter, 'History of the New South Wales School for Deaf Children', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 2, no. 1, November, 1960, pp. 7-14, p. 13.

"...suited to the more advanced work...".[105] Consequently, a secondary curriculum built on that devised for hearing students in mainstream schools, including social studies and mathematics to the Intermediate Certificate standard was introduced.[106]

Funding

Although the New South Wales Education Department had taken over the operation of the Sydney school, including staffing and materials and equipment, the buildings and residential facilities were still the responsibility of the Board of the Royal New South Wales Institute for Deaf and Blind Children. To finance these facilities and provide extra resources for both the blind and deaf students, fundraising was still required. The main form relied on independently organised events, or general promotions, such as the patronage of visiting celebrities.

Farrar school

Using content based on correspondence courses, academic secondary school studies in English and Social Studies were introduced at the Farrar school in 1955. However, staff at the Farrar school found:

> ...the correspondence school does find it hard to appreciate these pupil's difficulties with simple language construction or even words, and common phrases and similes that others know by hearsay.[107]

At the same time, both girls and boys went to local mainstream secondary schools for subjects involving practical work.[108]

Catholic schools for the deaf

The Newcastle school had been providing courses of instruction in English, General History, Geography, Arithmetic (including bookkeeping), Artwork and Christian Doctrine since 1930. There was also a vocational component including dressmaking and, in addition, the girls were taught some photography as a hobby activity.[109] This was maintained until 1955, when Sister Norbert became Principal of the Newcastle school

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[105] Jean Walter, op. cit., p. 14.

[106] NSWDOE, File 661, op. cit., p. 40.

[107] Farrar Public School Archives: Unbound Documents, Farrar School File, n.d., p. 5.

[108] NSWDOE, File 661, op. cit., p. 40.

[109] J.A. Burke, History of Catholic Schools for Deaf and Dumb Children in the Hunter Valley, MA Thesis, University of Newcastle, 1974, p. 356; St Dominic's Centre, Dooley Monograph, op. cit., p. 23.

and introduced a more academic curriculum.[110] The focus of teaching was shifted to prepare the girls for the Intermediate Certificate of Education and later, the School Certificate of Education.[111]

Mode

By the mid-1950s, the shift to a totally oral mode of teaching was complete and manual forms of communication for teaching deaf students at both the Newcastle and the Castle Hill schools were abandoned.[112] During the same period integration was implemented at the Newcastle school, both in the playground and the classroom.[113] While Norbert was overseas, she spent several weeks at Sint Michelogestel, a Roman Catholic school for the deaf in the Netherlands that had been established in 1840.[114] The program at the Dutch school emphasised the use of music in speech and auditory training and greatly influenced the approach used at the Newcastle school when Norbert returned to Australia.[115]

Funding

It appears that funding difficulties were not restricted to the Sydney school, and the financial situation for the Catholic schools for the deaf deteriorated. Fees were still charged for attendance at the schools, but these were waived if families could not afford them.[116] The schools continued to receive Government grants under conditions of their registration, but donations were still sought.[117] Evidently, the total income did not meet all the ongoing costs, because the need for a scheme of annual subscribers was voiced by the Roman Catholic Church's Hierarchy of Australasia. In addition, the Waratah Social Committee was formed to assist in raising money. The committee's activities included seeking legacies and bequests and soliciting contributions from

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[110] ibid., p. 55.

[111] J.A. Burke, op. cit., pp. 356-357.

[112] Australia, Department of Education and Science, op. cit., p. 34; Sister Egan, History of..., op. cit., p. 33.

[113] St Dominic's Centre, Dooley Monograph, op. cit., p. 54; Elsie May Pettinari, Catholic Education in Newcastle, 1870-1977, Extended Essay in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Bachelor of Educational Studies Thesis, Newcastle, 1979, p. 13.

[114] K.W. Hodgson, The Deaf and Their Problems - A Study in Special Education, London, Watts and Co, 1953, p. 218.

[115] Sister Egan, History of..., op. cit., p. 26; Rosary Convent, op. cit., p. 14.

[116] Australia, Department of Education and Science, op. cit., p. 34.

[117] NSWDOE, Provision for..., op. cit., p. 335.

clubs and organising private functions.[118] By the 1950s, an advisory board was established to coordinate fundraising activities.[119]

Influence of deaf adults

According to Ferris (a hearing welfare officer who worked for the Deaf Society), more oral deaf people became involved in planning programs and activities for the deaf in the 1950s. As an example, in 1956, the Adult Deaf and Dumb Society of New South Wales created an oral division at the request of young deaf people. This specific group of young deaf adults had been educated to communicate by the oral mode and were said to have had an uncommon skill at reading lips and facial expression.[120]

It was reported that not all members of the Deaf Society were happy with this decision, but at the time, following the prevailing optimism about oralism, parents and teachers hoped that young people would be able to move freely into the community and would not need special support services.[121] This did not occur for many oral deaf, and even less for the non-oral deaf. The consequences of the attempt had ramifications for the deaf associations in the 1960s.

The Commonwealth Government

The Commonwealth Government had restricted its involvement in education mainly to the tertiary level. By 1955, the Liberal Party under Menzies had halved the staff and limited the range of work previously undertaken by the COE.[122] Part of the reason may have arisen from a suspicion on the part of State Governments that Commonwealth funding of specific educational projects could dictate policy and thereby interfere with the States' constitutional rights in education.[123] To some extent, the Soviet Union's

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[118] Sister Egan, History of..., op. cit., p. 8.

[119] David Knox, 'School in century of service to the deaf', Newcastle Morning Herald and Miners Advocate, Monday, 11 August, 1975, p. 8.

[120] J.L. Ferris, A Brief History of the Society Celebrating 75 Years - "From Patronage to Partnership", Deaf Society of New South Wales, Annual Report, 1988, pp. 8-11, p. 10.

[121] National Library of Australia: J Flynn Np362/42 0994/T737, Towards the Future - Proceedings of a 1 day seminar - 8 May, 1977, pp. 9-13, p. 10.

[122] Don Smart, op. cit., p. 25; John Keeves, 'Preface', in John Keeves (ed.), Australian Education: Review of Recent Research, Allen & Unwin Pty Ltd, North Sydney, 1987b, pp. viii-xvi, p. x.

[123] Ben Boer and Victor Gleeson, The Law of Education, North Ryde, Butterworths Pty Limited, 1982, pp. 171-172.

successful launch of Sputnik, in October 1957, refocused educational debate with calls for greater Commonwealth involvement in education.[124]

Summary and Conclusions

Despite relative political stability during this period, Government attitudes towards education of the deaf appeared to have changed radically. By 1957, the New South Wales Education Department was responsible for integrated deaf children in mainstream classes, deaf children in primary and secondary school OD units, and two of the four specialised schools for the deaf in the State. It was also apparent that the Department had accepted that this involvement was no longer a temporary one. To further support education of the deaf, the Government introduced a comparatively comprehensive training course to allow experienced teachers of hearing children to become teachers of the deaf. However, recognition of the qualifications was restricted by bureaucratic decisions which effectively limited teacher of the deaf course enrolments.

Probably the most profound educational changes taking place, however, were those related to the rise of the oral mode to a position of almost total dominance. The focus on oral mode resulted from international trends which were adopted by Australian educators of the deaf and influenced guidance services and the programs in OD units. Parental pressure for oral mode was also a major factor in Government decision-making. Additional influence was found in negative community attitudes about the manual mode which historically linked signs and gestures to lower forms of intelligence. One outcome was to greatly increased the complexity of the "mesh of meanings" about the deaf and deaf education in New South Wales.

The overall effect was to diminish the use of the manual mode. There were few manual mode teachers left in the schools for the deaf, there was no training in the manual mode in any official teacher training courses in New South Wales, the AATD had spoken against the use of the manual mode, and it was not available in Government schools. At the same time, some educators opposed the complete loss of the manual mode on the grounds of the needs of the few deaf children who could not

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[124] Bob Bessant and Allyson Holbrook, op. cit., p. 29.

benefit from the oral mode. Apart from this limited support, the manual mode users were, to a large extent, abandoned.

CHAPTER SEVEN

RECOGNISING INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES

Introduction

The relatively short period from 1958 to 1963 was an important one in relation to educational services for deaf children. The children who were deaf as a result of the 1940-41 rubella epidemic had, for the most part, completed the normal period of schooling. While some of the younger deaf children were also rubella-affected from later outbreaks of the disease, there was no longer the same concentration of these students in the total deaf school population. At the same time, contrary to expectations in the 1940s, the school population of deaf schools had not decreased in numbers. Part of this was due to the post-war baby-boom, which had seen a 50% rise over the 1937 birthrate in New South Wales.[1] More accurate forms of audiometric testing and wider use of medical examinations had identified a greater proportion of this expanding school population as being deaf. These factors combined with the wider experiences of deaf education gained in the previous decade to create a period which had great impact on education of the deaf.

First, the period witnessed the turning point in the total dominance of the parent-demanded, hearing educator imposed, oral mode. For the first time, recognition was given, at an academic level at least, to the need to match the mode to the requirements of the individual child. In reaching this point, recognition was also given to the possibilities of some deaf children having other physical or emotional disabilities that had been incorrectly diagnosed as deafness.

Second, there appeared to be an awareness among some educators that curriculum reforms had to accommodate deaf students. In particular, the introduction of new courses of study at the secondary level impacted on the older deaf students. While a few undertook studies at the Intermediate and School Certificate Examination level, the facilities of General Activity courses, as a recognised course of study, were made available for the deaf.

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[1] ML: Commonwealth Office of Education Reports Q370.78/2, The General Standard of Achievement of Young Partially Deaf Children in Australia - Report No. 1 - September 1948, pp. 1, 14; Alan Barcan, A History of Australian Education, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1980, p. 296.

Third, this period provided possibly the first indication that the views of deaf children were being considered in relation to education and, in this case, integration. It also brought integration into the debate and consideration of its wider role in, and implications for, deaf education.

Fourth, the establishment of a new association of adults supporting deaf children in New South Wales marked the emergence of the associations as authorities and role models within the deaf community. The work of these groups, with other factors, combined to start changing negative community attitudes towards the deaf, particularly the use of manual languages.

Fifth, further technological advances in hearing aids, group hearing aids, and induction loops, increased the personalisation of teaching. While it acted as further reinforcement of the deaf child as an individual learner, it also reinforced differences in the allocation of resources between oral and non-oral deaf students.

Sixth, despite few teachers undertaking training as teachers of the deaf, recognition of the special qualities of such teachers was given emphasis. It was also a period that possibly signalled the start of the decline of the AATD as the New South Wales authority in teacher accreditation for teachers of the deaf.

Seventh, this was a period when the Commonwealth Government took what turned out to be a last stand against increasing Federal aid to education. The States were acknowledged to be experiencing financial difficulties in relation to education, and the Catholic schools for the deaf, along with the Sydney school, were still dependent on fundraising to supply many of their services to deaf children.

All of these points combined to contribute to the continued development of the deaf as a distinct, albeit divided group, in the New South Wales education system who were acknowledged as not succeeding academically as well as their hearing peers.

Mode

Both nationally and internationally, the oral mode continued to dominate the teaching of communication to deaf children. At the 1958 International Congress of Deaf Educators, unlike some previous Congresses, no mention was made of the manual mode. The emphasis was on research, audiology, training of residual hearing, hearing

aids, and oral education.[2] The sentiment was similar in Australia. In Queensland, for example, oralism was nominated as the most outstanding development in deaf education throughout the world in recent years.[3]

As already discussed, a large part of the popularity of the oral mode was attributable to the demands of hearing parents of deaf children, the economic appeal it held for Governments, and the support it received from the medical and technical fields. In addition, part of that popularity was also due to the continuation of the social bias against the manual mode. This bias reached its heights in the 1950s, when it was deemed that:

> The use of bodily gestures, particularly the hands, as an additional form of communication, is socially unacceptable in certain cultures, especially in most English speaking communities.[4]

On the other hand, according to an Australian deaf man, Basil Adlem, the deaf were also subjected to pity by many hearing individuals. Born in the early 1930s, Adlem said that the hearing lacked understanding of the deaf, seeing them as all dumb and "...convincing them that they are born to remain like that".[5]

Dawson, who investigated overseas services for the deaf as part of her Travelling Scholarship awarded by the Royal Nursing Federation, appeared to share Adlem's view, saying that the position of the deaf was made more difficult because the general hearing community had "...little concept of the problems which a severe hearing impairment imposes".[6] Additionally, the different meanings attached to deafness, and deaf education, meshed into shifting sets of community attitudes and values which, it

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[2] R.G. Brill, International Congresses on Education of the Deaf - An Analytical History 1878-1980, Washington, D.C., Gallaudet College, 1984, p. 397.

[3] Queensland Department of Education, 'Provision for the Education of Handicapped Children', Information Bulletin, 1959, p. 30.

[4] Pierre Gorman, 'Australia for Children with Speech and/or Hearing Impairments', in (ed.), Some Aspects of the Education of Handicapped Children in Australia, A.H. Massina & Co, Carlton, 1971, pp. 55-63, p. 57.

[5] ML: Basil T Adlem 261.83/6A1, The I.Q. and The Image: The answer and the solution to the much asked question 'what's bugging them?', 1973, p. 13.

[6] National Library of Australia: Shirley Dawson Nq362.42/D272, Let the Accent be on Ability, H.J. Heinz Company Australia Limited, 1973, p. 30.

was believed, directly influenced educators.[7]

Signs of change

In the early 1960s, however, changes in community attitudes and those of some educators, began to appear. These changes were probably initiated by at least three different factors: The occurrence of a greater number of children with disabilities; the New South Wales Education Department policy on integration; and a resurgence of support for the manual mode of communication.

More children with disabilities

First, changes in community attitudes were brought about by increased exposure to children with disabilities and increased involvement in making provisions for them. For example, the continued rubella and poliomyelitis epidemics created more children with disabilities. Exposure to these increased numbers undoubtedly raised awareness of different sensory, physical, neurological and psychological problems and helped create a greater community understanding of the educational implications for children with disabilities.[8] This was reinforced by the policy of the New South Wales Government to decentralise the administration of State education services, which had been underway since 1948.[9] Part of that process was to increase community involvement in decision-making about the provision of schools and educational services, including those for deaf children.[10]

Integration

Second, it was evident that during the 1950s and 1960s, many oral deaf children in New South Wales had been placed in mainstream classes, although they were without

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[7] B.J. Fisher, 'Policies and Practices in the Education of Children with Impaired Hearing in Western Australia', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, July, 1978, pp. 62-64, p. 62; Australian Association of Teachers of the Deaf, 'Visuomotor Skills', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 16, July, 1975, p. 56.

[8] Special Education Resource Centre for Hearing Impaired Library Archives: Cliffe Article, Recent Developments in the Education of Hearing Impaired Children in Queensland, 1978, pp. 38-41, p Australia: Department of Education and Science, Special Education in Australia: Department of Education and Science, 1972, p. 5; New South Wales Department of Education Library Archives: Enrolment of Children with Disabilities, School Manual 12.1.1., 1987.. 39-40.

[9] J Burns-Wood and J Fletcher, Interim Report of the Working Party for the Establishment of an Education Commission, New South Wales Department of Education - Division of Planning, 1979, p. 5.

[10] R Fitzgerald and R Musgrave, 'The ALP Platform', Australian Education Review, vol. 7, no. 4, 1974b, pp. 7-14, p. 8.

any special support.[11] While the educational outcomes that resulted from all these placements were not known, it was believed to have led to "...a significant increase in learning problems among deaf children".[12]

Government policy on integration

Part of the reason for the contribution the policy on integration made to the educational difficulties of the deaf appear to have arisen as a result of a lack of clarity about the purpose of integration. Instead of focussing on specific needs and issues relating to the integration of the deaf, Government policy was generalised to all children with a disability. In addition to sensory disabilities, this included physical, intellectual and emotional disabilities, as well as students with cultural and social disadvantages.[13] The generalisation, which was not restricted to New South Wales, appears to have resulted from continued bureaucratic ambivalence to the special educational needs of each of these groups.

Educators' dissatisfaction

For the deaf, in particular, concern about the processes of integration being employed were raised at the 1962 AATD Conference in Western Australia.[14] Difficulties were also reported in the Association's journal, Australian Teacher of the Deaf. For example, Alexander, a teacher of the deaf in Queensland, reported efforts to integrate two 10 year old deaf children into a mainstream school.

Apart from difficulties with finding a school to cooperate, there were also problems related to the level of language used by the classroom teacher to instruct deaf children. In particular, the use of simple and slowly-spoken communication, eg. teaching tables and spelling, usually prove to be a challenge. For instance, the teacher would normally

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[11] J.A. Burke, History of Catholic Schools for Deaf and Dumb Children in the Hunter Valley, MA Thesis, University of Newcastle, 1974, pp. 275-277; New South Wales Department of Education Library Archives: Document 5, Educational Services for Hearing Impaired and Visually Impaired Children (Sensorily Impaired), 1981, pp. 37-43, p. 37; Juliana Friedlander, 'Deaf Education in Metropolitan West - An Indicator of the State?', Sound News, vol. 20, no. 4, December, 1992b, pp. 14-17, p. 16.

[12] Special Education Resource Centre, Cliffe Article, op. cit., p. 41.

[13] Australia: Department of Education and Science, Special Education in Australia: Department of Education and Science, 1972, p. 5; New South Wales Department of Education Library Archives: Enrolment of Children with Disabilities, School Manual 12.1.1., 1987.

[14] L.J. Murphy, 'Editorial', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 3, no. 1, April, 1962a, pp. 2-4, p. 2.

face the board, which made it impossible for the deaf child to lipread and more difficult to hear the teacher's voice.

Deaf students' concerns

More significantly for the current work, Alexander also mentioned that the deaf students themselves were concerned about their ability to make adequate progress along with the hearing students.[15] The report appears to represent the first time that the thoughts and feelings of the Australian deaf students were entered into the educational debate. It may also represent the first public record of young children representing themselves as deaf students and comparing themselves to their hearing counterparts. As such, it helped illustrate the educational and social problems created by inadequately supported integration of deaf students in a classroom with a curriculum and teaching methods designed for hearing students.

Parent dissatisfaction

The difficulties for deaf students were not restricted just to those integrated into mainstream classrooms. Deaf children in OD units were also perceived by their parents as not receiving appropriate services. As a result some parents of deaf children became more active in making the public aware of deafness and deaf education issues.[16] It is likely that parents may have been influenced by the thoughts and opinions of their deaf children similar to those reported by Alexander. This culminated in a number of parents seeing the need for a State-wide structure to promote political advocacy and gain greater parent support. Consequently, these parents with deaf children attending mainstream classes and OD units in different schools in New South Wales arranged a meeting in the Sydney area in 1961. The meeting resulted in the formation of a central advocacy association for deaf education in New South Wales Government schools, being called the Federation for Junior Deaf Education (FJDE).[17]

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[15] D.V. Alexander, 'Some Observations on the Integration of Deaf Children into the Normal School in Queensland', The Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 2, no. 2, October, 1961, pp. 5-6.

[16] Hon Jim Longley, 'Transcript of Minister's Opening Address at PCDE Conference: Orange NSW 7 August 1993', Sound News, vol. 21, no. 3, Spring, 1993, pp. 10-14, p. 11; Australian Deafness Council, Making Things Easier - A Guide to Services in N.S.W. for Deaf and Hearing Impaired People, 1985, pp. 6-9, 18.

[17] Mary Wordley, 'Mary Wordley - August 1990', Sound News, December, 1991, pp. 1, 6-7, p. 1.

Increased support for the manual mode

The third factor in initiating change related to the role of educators of the deaf. Up to this point, many professionals supporting the oral approach rarely said anything about outcomes related to their own practices, and according to Johnston it:

> ...became a part of the folklore and received wisdom of teachers of the deaf, doctors, audiologists and speech and language therapists that signing interfered with oral training.[18]

As had been noted in the previous chapter, however, not all educators saw the oral mode as the educational answer for all deaf children. In a few of the schools for the deaf across the country, support for a manual approach for some students continued. By 1960, there was increasing debate about how best to identify such students in the future. In particular, it was recognised that there was a need for more accurate classification of deaf children's abilities to match instructional mode to the deaf child's needs. For example, Murphy claimed that, in contrast to the late 1950s approach that had dismissed the manual mode as outmoded, the early 1960s saw conflict among members of the AATD as to the type of schooling that may be most appropriate for deaf children. In addition to remarks about the nature of the communication debate, he believed that every child needed to be individually assessed to determine whether he would benefit from a purely oral system of education.[19]

During the same period, Dooley resurrected some of the concerns about oralism that had been expressed in the 1930s. When schools for the deaf were experimenting with the oral mode, at that time, reference had been made to the intelligence level required of the deaf child, and the amount of effort on the part of teachers for successful oral training. It was also believed by some that pure oralism was suitable for profoundly deaf children only if they were highly intelligent, or had wealthy parents who could afford additional private tutoring.[20]

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[18] T Johnston, 'Deaf Sign Language & the Cochlear Implant: Opportunities and Problems Created by a better Understanding of Sign Languages and Advances in the Technology of Hearing Aids', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 30, 1990, pp. 1-17, p. 4.

[19] Dr. L.J. Murphy, 'Editorial', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 2, no. 1, November, 1960, p. 5.

[20] St Dominic's Centre for Hearing Impaired Children Archives: Dooley Monograph, To Be Fully Alive - A Monograph on Australian Dominican Education of Hearing-Impaired Children, 1989, p. 60; K.W. Hodgson, The Deaf and Their Problems - A Study in Special Education, London, Watts and Co, 1953, p. 85.

By 1963, Silverman noted the increasing amount of overseas literature on manual forms of communication that had begun to appear, and the intense arguments both for and against it. He also noted the movement to study the contribution of manual languages to the academic and social development of the deaf child.[21] For example, at the International Congress of Educators of the Deaf in 1963, there was a call for the return of manual forms of communication in relation to the education of deaf students.[22]

Individual ability

The focus on individual ability started to move the debate away from mode of communication based on social values to one on mode in relation to learning which, in turn, was related to the child's ability. For example, Auxter who investigated perceptual motor abilities amongst the deaf, reported that many deaf children with average, or above average intelligence made accommodation for their disability, and were able to learn at rates comparable to hearing children. It was also noted, however, that some deaf children with above intelligence were slow learners.[23] Taking a different view by shifting the focus onto needs rather than ability, Barrie, an OD class teacher, believed that a deaf child had the same general needs as a hearing child, but required special help to acquire language.[24]

Multiple-disabilities

The debate about matching the mode of communication to the child's needs was fuelled by increasing medical knowledge of deafness and related neurological issues. This was further assisted by technological developments which allowed assessment procedures to discriminate between different types of deafness and multiple disabilities. Initially, however, the idea that deaf children could be suffering a combination of disabilities, resulting in a need to apply different modes of communication for individuals, did not appear to be widely accepted.
For example, regarding the situation in the USA during the 1950s, Brill noted that some

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[21] S Richard Silverman, 'Introductory Address', in R.G. Brill (ed.), International Congresses on Education of the Deaf - An Analytical History 1878-1980, Gallaudet College, Washington, DC, 1984, p. 397.

[22] R.G. Brill, op. cit., p. 397.

[23] David Auxter, 'Learning Disabilities Among Deaf Populations', Exceptional Children, vol. 37, no. 8, April, 1971, pp. 573-578, p. 573.

[24] Private Papers Barbara Crickmore: Barrie Article, The Sounds of Music - Burwood Primary School, 1971, p. 2.

people wanted to think in absolutes: they wanted to classify deaf children as either multi-disabled or not multi-disabled. He felt that insufficient attention had been given to other possible characteristics, such as emotional adjustment problems, hyperactivity, etc.[25] In particular, he contended that:

> ...many children who had been referred to us by certain school programs as being deaf multihandicapped are actually only educationally retarded with certain emotional handicapping conditions resulting from the frustrations of the lack of an appropriate educational program.[26]

The need for more detailed classifications of deafness was acknowledged at the 1963 Congress of Educators of the Deaf. A greater number of speakers than ever before presented papers on deaf children who were emotionally disturbed or had an intellectual disability.[27]

In Australia, meanwhile, Barkham, Principal of a South Australian school for the deaf, talked of the need to identify students who had been considered deaf but were actually able to hear. Specifically, he nominated children who suffered an intellectual disability, emotional disturbance, or aphasia.[28] Similarly, in England, Bloom stated at the 1960 Washington conference of Educators of Deaf Students that there was a group of children who had been assumed to be deaf, as a result of trouble within the mechanism of the ear itself, but who actually had an auditory impairment in the brain stem. Like other complications, this was recognised as impacting on the child's ability to learn, the teaching strategy to be used with them and expectations for outcomes.[29]

The implications of papers from the 1963 International Congress, as well as statements from individuals such as Barkham and Bloom, were that a more thorough assessment procedure and better guidance in relation to teaching programs was needed.

Clinics

In New South Wales, placement of deaf children in special schools or classrooms was

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[25] Richard G Brill, The Education of the Deaf - Administrative and Professional Developments, Washington DC., Gallaudet College, 1974, p. 53.

[26] ibid., p. 55.

[27] R.G. Brill, op. cit., p. 425.

[28] Laurence F Barkham, 'Some Factors to be Considered when Admitting New Pupils into School', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 2, no. 1, November, 1960, pp. 19-23, p. 19.

[29] Mrs Freddy Bloom, 'Washington - 1963', in R.G. Brill (ed.), International Congresses on Education of the Deaf - An Analytical History 1878-1980, Gallaudet College, Washington, DC, 1984, p. 404.

determined by the Division of Guidance and Adjustment, although parents had the right to accept or decline the placement offered.[30] According to the Federation for Junior Deaf Education (FJDE) in 1961, it appears that some parents were not entirely satisfied with the service. Specifically, it saw a need for individual counselling and support for parents.[31] The following year, in 1962, the issue of parent guidance services and other related matters, were raised at the Australian Association of Teachers of the Deaf conference.[32]

One of the issues to evolve from the establishment of these services was related to staffing. The medical and technical model, versus the educational model of assessment, was discussed by Barkham when he reported on the work of the influential National College of Teachers of the Deaf, in England. The function of such clinics was to test hearing and carry out other tests as required, to help the parents make choices in matters of the child's schooling and "...to guide the parents and/or train the child until full-time education is started".[33]

In particular, Barkham advocated for the acceptance of the British recommendations for essential minimum staffing for clinics. These included an otologist, an educational psychologist, a trained audiometician, and a suitably qualified and experienced teacher of the deaf. Murphy placed a different emphasis on who was to decide what was best for the deaf child's education. He asserted that the child's hearing assessment could be determined only by experienced and well-trained teachers of the deaf "whose deliberations" were aided by information obtained from medical officers and educational psychologists.[34] Despite both Barkham's and Murphy's calls, it was claimed that the Division of Guidance and Adjustment still had no staff qualified in deaf education during this period.[35]
While some argued the staffing debate, it was noted that not all parents of deaf children had access to the clinics. The only assessment alternative for these families

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[30] Australia, Department of Education and Science, op. cit., p. 7.

[31] Australian Deafness Council, op. cit., pp. 6-9, 18; Katherine Price, 'Early Detection of Hearing Impairment in Children in NSW', Sound News, vol. 26, no. 3, Spring, 1998a, p. 7; J.R. Stewart, 'Bridging the Gap', Contact, vol. 5, no. 2, 1970, p. 5.

[32] L.J. Murphy, op. cit., p. 2.

[33] Laurence F Barkham, op. cit., p. 20.

[34] Dr. L.J. Murphy, op. cit., p. 5.

[35] Mary Wordley, Mary Wordley..., op. cit., p. 7.

was the local medical practitioner, and many parents felt that doctors were not paying enough attention to them and their concerns that their child had a hearing loss.[36]

The medical model

Other doctors, particularly surgeons, were paying attention. In the early 1960s reconstructive ear operations, such as otoslerotic surgery using stapes fixation, enabled some deaf individuals to have their hearing restored.[37] In relation to deaf children for whom surgery could not provide restoration of normal hearing, Ewing concluded that "...it is probable that the otologist will advise that he be supplied with a hearing aid".[38]

The technological model

The Commonwealth Government continued allocating resources to the oral deaf through funding the CAL, which extended its services for these children from 1950.[39] As Radford noted:

> The Commonwealth Government, through the Commonwealth Acoustic Laboratories in each state, assists the state education departments by providing and maintaining audiometric equipment and by making hearing aids available for partially deaf children.[40]

In New South Wales, the CAL's own clinic also continued working with other State clinics to provide additional diagnostic and guidance assistance for deaf students in Government and non-government schools.[41] At the same time, the CAL continued its free loan service of hearing aids to children who needed them. Batteries and associated services required for maintenance of the devices were also provided free of

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[36] ibid.

[37] Stan Donald, 'We Overcame Deafness', Journal of Better Hearing Australia, March, 1992, pp. 2-5, p. 5; Bryce Gordon, 'A Very Large Part of My Life', Better Hearing Australia, March, 1992, pp. 6-7, p. 6.

[38] Lady Ewing and Sir Alexander Ewing, Your Child's Hearing, 4th edn, London, National Deaf Children's Society, 1969, p. 3.

[39] Dr A.J. Metcalfe, 'School Health Services in Australia', Education News, vol. 5, no. 6, December, 1955, pp. 3-6, p. 4; Jenny Warfe, 'Australian Hearing Services', Sound News, vol. 20, no. 4, December, 1992, p. 20.

[40] W.C. Radford, Review of Education in Australia 1955-1962, Hawthorn, Australian Council for Educational Research, 1964, p. 267.

[41] Australia, Department of Education and Science, op. cit., p. 33; St Dominic's Centre, Dooley Monograph, op. cit., p. 92; Dr A.J. Metcalfe, op. cit., p. 4.

charge during the deaf child's school life.[42]

During the years 1956-1959, the CAL continued development of its own hearing aid. In addition to the standard monaural hearing aid, the laboratory provided transistor-type hearing aids with a coil to enable them to be used with loop induction. This acted in the same way as a radio receiver and allowed students to pick up sounds and speech transmitted through a wire installed around the walls or in the floor of a classroom, hall, or even in public theatres.[43] The wire could be connected to a microphone transmitter used by a teacher, or to a radio, tape recorder, or the like. An additional bonus for the system was that the hearing aids were smaller, at ear level, and cosmetically more appealing.[44]..At the same time, there appeared to be no funding for research into the problems of and development of resources for, the non-oral deaf.

Teachers

Although technology was playing an increasingly large part in the classroom, greater recognition was given to the role that teachers played in the success of any program. In particular, the importance of both the teaching skills and personal qualities of the teacher, were acknowledged.[45] For example, Barkham saw the contribution of the teacher as more important than the intelligence and cooperation of the deaf child and his parents.[46] In 1963, Murphy emphasised the need for superior mental health in teachers of the deaf and for them to be prepared to understand all the educational needs of the child "...rather than be trained merely as a technician".[47] At the same time, Barrie wrote of the need for teachers to understand the social and emotional pressures on deaf children, saying that "The task of the teachers of OD classes, then, is to minimise the handicap of deafness so that deaf children can be received in a

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[42] Laurence F Barkham, op. cit., p. 21.

[43] Bryce Gordon, op. cit., p. 6; Brian B Vercoe, 'A Brief History of Townsend House School for Deaf and for Blind Children', The Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 2, no. 2, October, 1961, pp. 11-15, p. 15.

[44] Bryce Gordon, op. cit., p. 6.

[45] Laurence F Barkham, op. cit., p. 23; National Library of Australia: W Johnson N371.921/AUS, President's Address at the Fifth Australian Conference of Teachers of Deaf, Sydney, 1953b, pp. 12-15, p. 12; Brian B Vercoe, op. cit., p. 15.

[46] Laurence F Barkham, op. cit., p. 23.

[47] Leo J Murphy, 'Stockholm - 1970', in R.G. Brill (ed.) International Congresses on Education of the Deaf - An Analytical History 1878-1980, Gallaudet College, Washington, DC, 1984, p. 430.

hearing community".[48]

The level of apparent success in this role achieved by some teachers of the deaf was recorded in a COE report, which contained the observations that staff used specialised teaching methods "to help children to carry on their struggle against their disability with cheerful acceptance and the saving grace of humour".[49] The report also noted that "a large part of teaching must proceed by way of infinitely patient exposition and discussion".[50]

Teachers' contributions to how deaf students learnt began to attract more positive attention than had previously been the case. For example, Brill commented that, unlike earlier gatherings, the 1963 International Congress of Deaf Educators saw the presentation of many papers related to teaching and student learning.[51]

The central role of teachers was emphasised by Heatley, Supervisor of Deaf Education in Western Australia, who made a request through the AATD journal for teachers to submit articles. Heatley called on teachers to provide fresh ideas for teaching speech, language and arithmetic, or to describe success they may have had using equipment or teaching apparatus that they had designed themselves.[52]

Teacher training

The precise level of qualification of teaching staff in New South Wales is difficult to gauge for this period. Few teachers enrolled in the Sydney Teachers College Course for teachers of the deaf. As previously mentioned, until 1963 the highest annual enrolment was nine and the lowest was zero. In 1962, the requirement for a minimum of two years experience in normal teaching was removed and a small number of newly-trained teachers, straight from college, were allowed to enrol.[53]

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48 PPBC, Barrie Article, op. cit., p. 2.

49 Commonwealth Office of Education, 'British Scene: Special Boarding Schools for the Deaf', Education News, vol. 6, no. 7, February, 1958, pp. 16-18, pp. 16-17.

50 ibid.

51 R.G. Brill, op. cit., p. 403.

52 J.H. Heatley, 'Editorial', The Australian Teacher of the Deaf, September, no. 1, November, 1960, p. 19.

53 Private Papers Barbara Crickmore: Heffernan Essay, A History of the Course for Teachers of the Deaf, 1974, pp. 4-5.

Australian Association of Teachers of the Deaf

The introduction of training courses for teachers of the deaf began to provide specially trained staff for New South Wales schools, even though in small numbers. At the same time, the establishment of the course began to impact on the AATD. In particular, it appears that the authority of the AATD as the sole representation of deaf educators since the 1930s was beginning to be challenged. At the AATD conference in Western Australia in the early 1960s, for example, young teachers of the deaf criticised the sessions as being aimed at those teachers with experience in teaching the deaf and not providing for new teachers.[54] It also appears to have marked the point when the accreditation power of the AATD began to decline, to be replaced by expanding teacher-training courses and greater flexibility in qualification criteria over the next decade.

Secondary school curriculum

Before the changes to the secondary school leaving certificates in 1961, there were four types of curricula available to all schools in New South Wales.[55] These were

1) The five year curriculum prepared by the Board of Secondary School Studies to the Leaving Certificate level;
2) the Departmental Alternative Curriculum which was a three year program of studies to an Intermediate level;
3) the General Activities (GA) Course which was non-examinable and were provided for one to three years as required; or
4) the Pre-apprenticeship Course at fourth year level for boys who had gained the Intermediate Certificate and who had displayed the desire and aptitude for work in skilled trades.[56]

The introduction of a common core curriculum, through adoption of recommendations in the Wyndham Report, was seen to make secondary school studies more difficult for deaf students.[57] These difficulties were compounded by implementation of provisions

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[54] L.J. Murphy, op. cit., p. 2.

[55] New South Wales Department of Education Library Archives: File 661, Teaching Methods in NSW, 1955, p. 29.

[56] ibid.

[57] Robert Cowen and Martin McLean, International Handbook of Education Systems - Asia, Australasia & Latin America, Chichester, John Wiley & Sons, 1985, p. 52.

in the Education Act of 1961. Amongst other things, the Act increased the years of compulsory mainstream secondary schooling, stipulated a four-year course leading to the School Certificate and a further two years for a Higher School Certificate.[58]

These reforms resulted in the general community expectation that all children would be staying on longer at school to undertake secondary education after completing primary school education.[59] Not to be doing so would indicate an academic inability. For deaf students, any new suggestion that they lacked academic ability simply reinforced their poor public image in education. For many deaf students, the classroom alternative was the GA course, designed for slower learning students aged twelve years six months and older. Although the GA courses were planned so that students could transfer to ordinary level courses once they had reached an appropriate standard, this was not expected to occur very often for deaf students.[60]

Curriculum revision continued during the early 1960s, in response to the increased range of abilities and interests of mainstream students.[61] In part, the continued changes were rationalised on the grounds that, since more than 70% of children left secondary school after three years, the aim should be to produce good citizens. An academic-type syllabus leading to the Leaving Examination and matriculation could be left to those who were contemplating tertiary studies.[62]

The attitude was seen as further disadvantaging deaf students, the remedying of which became a goal for parent organisations such as the FJDE. Among other things, they planned to establish scholarships for deaf students undertaking the Higher School Certificate or tertiary studies.[63]

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[58] W.C. Radford, op. cit., p. 7.

[59] New South Wales Department of Education, Education 2000, Document 787, 1992, p. 7; W.C. Radford, op. cit., pp. 5-6.

[60] NSWDOE, File 661, op. cit., p. 39; W.C. Radford, op. cit., pp. 8, 268-269; Private Papers Barbara Crickmore: Written account of meeting, 31 August, 1950, p. 6; J.A. Burke, op. cit., pp. 354-355.

[61] W.C. Radford, op. cit., p. xiv.

[62] Doug White, Education and the state: Federal involvement in educational policy development, Policy development and analysis course at the School of Education at Deakin University's Open Campus Program Deakin, Deakin University Press, 1993, pp. 55-57.

[63] Australian Deafness Council, op. cit., pp. 6-9, 18; J.R. Stewart, op. cit., p. 5.

Educational facilities in New South Wales

The New South Wales Government continued to make places available for deaf children in mainstream classrooms, increased the number of OD primary and secondary units and maintained both the Farrar and Sydney schools for the deaf. At the same time, the Catholic schools for the deaf continued to function at both Newcastle and Castle Hill.

Sydney school

After the New South Wales Education Department took responsibility for the education of deaf students at the Sydney school in 1957, the school reported that a "successful experiment" had commenced, being the provision for secondary education for "senior" students under the management of the Blackfriars Correspondence School.[64]

After three years of secondary school studies, five students sat for the New South Wales Intermediate Certificate Examination in 1961. The school reported that four students were "successful" and one boy "topped" the entire Correspondence Division with Technical Drawing.[65] Apart from heralding the academic successes of four out of five students, the report emphasises the pronounced silences which generally pervade the literature on educational outcomes of the deaf. As mentioned in the last chapter, the school had upwards of 250 students in the 1950s, yet only the above five warrant any comment on academic achievement.

In 1962, the Sydney school was moved from Darlington to the newly-built premises at North Rocks, some 30 kilometres west of the old site. This became the New South Wales Education Department's North Rocks Central School for the Deaf.[66]

Despite Government funding of the teaching functions of the school, major fundraising was still needed to provide extra resources for both the blind and deaf students. These events often took the form of promotions, such as films, publications, or attracting the patronage of visiting celebrities. In 1960, for example, Artransa Film Studios produced

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[64] Darlington School for the Deaf, 'News from the Schools', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 2, no. 1, November, 1960, pp. 26-27.

[65] Darlington School for the Deaf, 'News from the Schools', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 2, no. 2, October, 1961, p. 20.

[66] W.C. Radford, op. cit., p. 267; Australia, Department of Education and Science, op. cit., p. 33.

Birthright, a film based on the education of a deaf student at the Sydney school. Release was timed to coincide with the Sydney school's Centenary Building Appeal.[67] During the same year, movie actors Charlton Heston and Sabrina visited the Sydney school to provide publicity. In addition, students were entertained by the crews of the warships, USS Eldorado and HMAS Canberra, when they visited Sydney for the Coral Sea Anniversary.[68] The highly publicised nature of these events also appeared to be aimed as much at changing public attitudes towards the deaf as they were at fundraising.

Farrar school

At the Farrar school, students commenced English and social studies using the content based on correspondence school courses, assisted by their class teachers.[69] In addition, the secondary school-aged deaf girls left their special school to attend the mainstream Croydon Home Science School one day a week for home economics. At the same time, the deaf boys also left the deaf school to take "suitable subjects" at the mainstream Croydon Park Junior Technical School. [70] In 1962, the Farrar school moved to larger premises in Croydon Park and was officially opened the following year with an enrolment of 40 oral deaf children.[71]

Catholic schools for the deaf

The late 1950s witnessed the start of major changes in the general Catholic education system as a result of debates about the value of their schools and, for many regional catholics, the need for reform. In particular, it was noted that religion was no longer the centre of the curriculum.[72] At this point, however, the debates had little immediate impact on either the Newcastle or Castle Hill schools.

In the meantime, a mood of liberalism spread across the staff of the schools, especially benefiting the Sisters. For example, in the 1960s, the rule of enclosure was relaxed for the Dominican Sisters, which meant for the first time that they could travel, make home

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[67] Darlington School for the Deaf, News from..., 1960, op. cit., pp. 26-27.

[68] ibid.

[69] NSWDOE, File 661, op. cit., p. 40.

[70] ibid.

[71] Farrar Public School for the Deaf, Information Booklet, Ashfield, 1983, p. 1; W.C. Radford, op. cit., p. 267.

[72] Helen Praetz, Public Policy and Catholic Schools, Hawthorn, The Australian Council for Educational Research Limited, 1982, p. 74.

visits and attend conferences. Taking advantage of their new freedom of movement, the Dominican Sisters from the Newcastle school went to Perth in 1962 and presented their first conference paper.[73]

The Catholic schools still adhered to their oral only approach, and no non-oral mode teaching was provided. Other aspects of teaching methods were reviewed and some changes were implemented. In particular, the musical training system, witnessed by Norbert in the Netherlands, and demonstrated at the 1958 International Congress for Educators of the Deaf,[74] was adopted by the Newcastle school. As a result, according to a written history of the Newcastle school, "...music became one of the most important 'tools' in the school...At times, the children just listened to amplified music...".[75] During the late 1950s, more amplification equipment was sought so that the oral deaf children could make more use of their residual hearing. In addition, the school acquired mechanical aids to help develop breath control for speech production. Singing lessons also became a regular part of the curriculum.[76]

A CAL technician visited the school every month and played an important role in providing and maintaining the deaf children's hearing aids.[77] In 1959, the monaural Calaid was still in use, but could be adapted for individual lessons in the binaural mode. This allowed it to be connected to a speech trainer, providing an opportunity for children to receive individual lessons according to their own acoustic measurements.[78] In addition, the Amplivox, a calibrated binaural hearing aid, with a meter to guide the child in judging separate volume for each ear, was also made available.[79]

The group aid, which allowed all students to hear the same lesson at the same time, made group sessions possible and saved the teacher from repeating lessons to individual students. However, the early group aids restricted mobility and were of

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[73] St Dominic's Centre, Dooley Monograph, op. cit., p. 54; J.A. Burke, op. cit., pp. 68-69.

[74] R.G. Brill, op. cit., p. 439.

[75] Sister Egan, History of Catholic Deaf Education in Australia 1875-1975, Newcastle, Newey & Beath Printers Pty Ltd, 1975a, p. 27.

[76] ibid., p. 26.

[77] St Dominic's Centre, Dooley Monograph, op. cit., p. 92.

[78] ibid., p. 96.

[79] ibid., pp. 95, 97.

benefit only for desk work.[80] When a radio broadcast style loop system was installed, it was of the early monaural type, which meant the teacher had to remain with the microphone. It did, however, allow the students to move freely around the room while listening to the teacher's voice. It also overrode other sounds in the room, which was advantageous when installed in the assembly halls and the chapel.[81]

In addition to speech and auditory training the Newcastle school curriculum included religious education, physical development, including training in deportment, and number lessons. Girls also attended a business training college.[82] By the early 1960s, the academic syllabus was elevated to include school certificate examination studies, although dancing and music were still on the curriculum.[83]

By 1964, 75 deaf male students were enrolled at the Castle Hill school. Also, more modern equipment and school buildings were erected to provide the appropriate environment for teaching the oral mode to deaf students.[84] However, for Catholic non-oral deaf children, the only choices were the limited resources of the Sydney school, or staying at home.

Funding

Like the Sydney school, the Newcastle school needed to fundraise to meet the cost of its program. Apart from the support of parents and friends, events needed to be organised to promote the school. For example, concert-style examinations were held to help educate a wider public and augment donations.[85] In 1959, the school received donations of equipment from social clubs, the people of Newcastle and friends of the Dominican Sisters.[86] These included a Phillips group aid, the acoustic treatment and equipping of a large speech room and a Siemen's dual microphone group aid.[87] Some children worked on fund-raising projects themselves. For example, at the Castle Hill

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80 ibid., pp. 95-96.

81 Michael Hammersley, 'A Student's Perspective on University Services', Sound News, vol. 25, no. 4, Summer, 1997, pp. 12-14, p. 13; St Dominic's Centre, Dooley Monograph, op. cit., p. 96.

82 Sister Egan, History of..., op. cit., pp. 26-27.

83 St Dominic's Centre, Dooley Monograph, op. cit., p. 112.

84 Sister Egan, History of..., op. cit., p. 34.

85 St Dominic's Centre, Dooley Monograph, op. cit., p. 112.

86 Sister Egan, History of..., op. cit., p. 26.

87 St Dominic's Centre, Dooley Monograph, op. cit., p. 95.

school, the younger children worked for a year to raise money for the purchase of the latest model of an imported tape-recorder.[88]

In 1960, a magazine called Veritas was produced three times a year and distributed to female ex-students of the Newcastle school and St Mary's school in Victoria. Veritas, the Dominican, motto meaning "truth, focused on what was then described as female issues such as cooking, social news, quizzes, and religion.[89] Importantly, it helped maintain contact with ex-students, who had always played a part in supporting the school.

The Commonwealth Government

Although the Commonwealth Government had maintained funding for the CAL, it had reduced its financial support for the COE. At the same time it had resisted any direct funding of school education, which the Liberal Party saw as a Constitutional responsibility of the States. The events surrounding the launch of Sputnik in 1957, however, raised interest in secondary education levels, particularly in relation to science. Three of Australia's leading physicists made statements to the media about the need for a national effort to train scientists. The Commonwealth Government took notice and implemented several investigations into the outcomes of secondary education which produced reports critical of Australian educational conditions in general.[90]

States' finances

Aggravated by post-war problems of materials and manpower shortages, decades of postponed school construction and the stringency of Commonwealth tax reimbursements, the States in general were in a very difficult financial position.[91] Although the Australian Constitution specified education as a responsibility of the

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[88] St Gabriel's School for Deaf Boys - Castle Hill, 'News from the Schools', The Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 2, no. 1, November, 1960, p. 27.

[89] University of Newcastle Library Archives: Rosary Convent for Deaf Girls A5699, Veritas Magazine, 1963.

[90] Don Smart, Federal Aid to Australian Schools, St. Lucia, University of Queensland Press, 1978, p. 34; Susan Ryan, 'Address to the National Press Club', in Dean Ashenden (ed.), State aid and the division of schooling in Australia, Deakin University Press, Geelong, 1984, pp. 43-47, p. 47; Alan Barcan, 'The Transition in Australian Education 1939-67', in J Cleverley and J Lawry (ed.), Australian Education in the Twentieth Century, Longman Australia Pty Limited, Camberwell, Victoria, 1972, pp. 172-204, pp. 190-192.

[91] Don Smart, op. cit., p. 40.

States, their revenues could not keep pace with the rising costs of education during this period. As a consequence, State Governments, with popular support, lobbied the Commonwealth Government for a greater share of Commonwealth taxation revenue.[92]

Federal parliamentarians in general and Prime Minister Menzies, in particular, were against an increase in Commonwealth funding of State education.[93] Despite considerable political pressure being exerted, including the matter being raised at national education conferences sponsored by State school teacher and parent groups in 1958 and 1960, growing Federal parliament debate (including the first urgency debate on education since Menzies' own debate in 1945), the emergence, in 1958, of education as a major Federal election issue and the Australian Education Council's statement in March 1961, which referred to the States' financial inability to cope with the education problem, Menzies did not change his mind.[94]

In 1961, a national petition of almost a quarter of a million signatures requesting Federal aid for education was organised by parent-teacher organisations, and delivered to the Federal Parliament. Menzies accepted the deputation but nothing came from it at the time.[95] Apart from ideological reasons, aid may have been withheld because of the serious credit squeeze of 1961-1962.[96]

Associations supporting the deaf

As a sign of the growing activism and spheres of influence of the deaf associations, there was a demarcation dispute between two of them in 1961. Up to that time, the Adult Deaf Society of New South Wales had been providing education and welfare services for deaf school leavers. When the Federation for Junior Deaf Education was formed, it did not, originally, include the word "Junior". The Adult Deaf Society wanted the Federation to include the word Junior, in its title, to clarity its role.[97] By all accounts, it was not a major dispute between the associations, but it served to illustrate the

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[92] ibid., p. 26.

[93] Dean Ashenden, State aid and the division of schooling in Australia, Geelong, Deakin University Press, 1989, p. 47.

[94] Don Smart, op. cit., p. 37.

[95] ibid., p. 58.

[96] ibid., p. 40.

[97] Mary Wordley, Mary Wordley..., op. cit., p. 1.

growing identity of the groups and their specific areas of both influence and authority.[98] The Roman Catholic adult deaf could access the services provided by their association, the Catholic Association of Deaf and Hearing Impaired People of Australia.[99]

Australian Association for Better Hearing

Although having little to do with deaf children, the Australian Association for Better Hearing was a major advocate for deaf adults. The Association comprised mainly post-lingual deaf and was concerned with hearing aids and the teaching of lipreading. In 1959, it initiated its own Diploma for teachers of lipreading to adults, run over two years part-time. Applicants were required to have had completed the Association's own assistant teachers course, or to possess appropriate tertiary professional qualifications. The teachers were all voluntary part-time staff.[100] That the Association was concerned with its own training standards, rather than utilising existing teachers of the deaf, serves as an example to illustrate another aspect of fragmentation within the total deaf population.

The Association had a larger membership than most other associations for the deaf at the time because they represented post-lingual deaf adults whose hearing had been damaged in industrial accidents, or war, or by the natural aging process.[101] As most had experienced adult life as a hearing person, they were more politically aware and therefore, a stronger lobbying group compared to other adult deaf associations.[102]

Summary and Conclusions

Between 1957 and 1963 there was a growing movement towards the greater recognition of individual differences in the needs and abilities of deaf children. An increase in children with a broad range of disabilities resulting, particularly, from the

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[98] Private Papers Barbara Crickmore: Ferris Report, 1972 Fellow Report - The Winston Churchill Memorial Trust, 1973, p. 145.

[99] St Dominic's Centre, Dooley Monograph, op. cit., p. 80.

[100] Catherine Rumsey and Christine Miller, 'Directory of Courses of Hearing Impaired Children', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, July, 1978, pp. 40-41.

[101] Neil Hall, 'Self-help for the Deaf', Sydney Morning Herald, Thursday, 27 March, 1947, p. 9.

[102] Dorothy Jackson, 'Help for the Deaf', Sydney Morning Herald, Saturday, 8 May, 1948, p. 2.

rubella and polio epidemics, appears to have led to more public understanding of associated problems. Some of the more extreme negative views about the supposed meaning of deafness, and its implications for intellectual development, were largely replaced by a broadening view of the deaf child as an individual. This in turn led to questioning of some aspects of the Government's educational policy, particularly in relation to integration. It also led to the start of educational debate about secondary curriculum and restarted debate about the use of manual mode communication.

By 1962, there was a growing number of dissenters speaking against the imposition of the oral mode on all deaf children. The objections were no longer based on preferences for traditional practices or, simply on the view that some deaf children did not have an aptitude for it. It was, instead, beginning to be recognised that deafness could be compounded by other disabilities, which made the oral approach inappropriate.

At the same time, recognition of the failure of most deaf students to succeed with the imposed academic curriculum designed for hearing students led to the deaf gaining access to officially modified secondary courses. Although the General Activity course was later discredited, it could be seen to have provided some benefits to some deaf students. Since GA courses were created to provide additional opportunities for non-achieving hearing students, there was a certain degree of social as well as academic equality for the deaf. While they may still have been underachieving, there was, perhaps for the first time, less discrimination between them and their hearing counterparts.

During this period, considerations of the views of deaf children about their integration first appeared, although in a very minor form. The single published example in the 1960s proved to be a forerunner of much wider expressions of opinion by deaf students over the following thirty years.

The views of the students were overshadowed by an increasingly strident approach to advocacy for improvements to special education services by parents of deaf children. In particular, a new and active association comprising parents of deaf children enrolled in mainstream classes and OD units emerged as a strong advocate for deaf education. Although focused on an oral approach, the FJDE also provided parent support and lobbied for better consultancy services. Together with increased activity from the adult

deaf association and the Australian Association for Better Hearing, a variety of issues surrounding deafness was being promoted, and the foundations for greater public and political awareness of deafness were being laid.

In relation to school education, the awareness included a better appreciation of multiple disabilities, which began to pave the way towards more individualised instruction of deaf children. Individualism was further reinforced, for the oral deaf, by technological advances in hearing aids. These advances provided the child with an element of control over the functioning of the aids and therefore, over the reception of instruction and communications. For the non-oral deaf, however, there were fewer benefits from technology or research although, as mentioned above, a resurgence of interest in manual forms of communication suggested some change may be on the way.

Change in the arena of teacher of the deaf training was certainly evident in this period. The body of teachers who comprised teachers of the deaf began to assume a new identity. In the past teachers of the deaf had been bound directly to overseas training traditions, or pupil-teacher training arrangement, or the requirements of the AATD. From the 1960s, younger teachers began to challenge the established teaching traditions and the authority of the AATD.

The period also witnessed the Commonwealth Government being put under considerable pressure to increase education funding to the States. While not directed specifically at education of the deaf, at this time, Commonwealth funding did impact on both Government and non-government schools for the deaf over the next decade.

Overall, the period saw the emergence of a greater awareness of individual differences in the educational needs of deaf children. While it had little immediate impact on the provision of educational services for the deaf, it set the scene for some philosophical and small educational changes in the following decade.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CHANGING PHILOSOPHIES

Introduction

White, writing on educational policy in the 1960s and 1970s in Australia, suggested that curriculum in the immediate post-war period had two aims. First, the preparation of labour for commodity production and second, for mental labour, such as science.[1] By the 1960s, however, the post-war economic boom appeared to create a broader goal, to ensure that education was relevant "...to the life experiences of students", and not the demands of the workplace.[2] Fitzgerald and Musgrave, writing in the Australian Education Review, contended that this approach was brought about by a "...wave of reaction to bureaucracy and paternalism", which now held the individual to be more important than the corporate group.[3]

The broader goal appears to have filtered down to education at all levels. So much so that by the end of the 1960s, according to Barrie, deaf children were not so much being taught, as given an "...encouraging hand to become happy, well-educated and well-adjusted young people".[4] What constituted the "well-educated" part was not made clear. However, Dawson claimed that deaf children's happiness was more closely connected to attainment of a "...standard of education, personal dignity and social maturity...".[5] This was seen to lead them towards becoming well adjusted, equal participating members of the hearing society in which they lived. To assist the deaf, it was stated that "...many programs and services have been developed and are

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[1] Doug White, Education and the state: Federal involvement in educational policy development, Policy development and analysis course at the School of Education at Deakin University's Open Campus Program Deakin, Deakin University Press, 1993, p. 85; J.A. Burke, History of Catholic Schools for Deaf and Dumb Children in the Hunter Valley, MA Thesis, University of Newcastle, 1974, p. 307.

[2] Lawrence Angus, ' Equality, Democracy and Educational Reform, in David Dawkins, (ed.), Power and Politics in Education, London, The Falmer Press, 1991, pp. 233-276, p. 247.

[3] R Fitzgerald and R Musgrave, 'Background', Australian Education Review, vol. 7, no. 4, 1974a, pp. 1-6, p. 5.

[4] Private Papers Barbara Crickmore: Barrie Article, The Sounds of Music - Burwood Primary School, 1971, p. 4.

[5] National Library of Australia: Shirley Dawson Nq362.42/D272, Let the Accent be on Ability, H.J. Heinz Company Australia Limited, 1973, Introduction.

continually being extended and improved as knowledge increases and needs change".[6]

Underpinning these programs was increasing community acceptance of general human rights issues and acknowledgement of the needs of special groups. Part of the background to these changes can be seen in the growth of the post-war migrant population. This not only brought different views to Australian society, but it also raised awareness about the suitability of services such as education being provided for minority groups.[7]

This was accompanied by a shift towards a focus on normalisation for people with perceived disabilities. The disabilities were only "perceived", because of the comments some deaf individuals were beginning to express the view that deafness was a difference, not a disability. For example, as one deaf man was reported to have said, "...to be deaf is my normal condition".[8]

Notwithstanding the enthusiasm for the new philosophy, the move towards more freedom of educational choice for deaf students was seen to have led to either no improvement, or even lower levels of educational outcomes.

Trade training

Certainly, the pre-vocational programs which had been prominent in varying degrees since the nineteenth century were supplanted to a large extent by language, special interest and academic studies.[9] Not everyone within the deaf community agreed with the move away from a trade or vocational emphasis. For example, in a statement to the Industrial Commission concerned with trade training, the Superintendent of the Adult Deaf and Dumb Society of New South Wales, said that teachers at schools for the deaf were now attempting to keep boys at school for longer periods than previously, with a view to lifting their educational level. He voiced the society's concern

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6 ibid.

7 Jean Anderson, 'Implications for the Curriculum', Inside Education, vol. 70, no. 1, 1976, pp. 42-45, p. 42; R Fitzgerald and R Musgrave, 'Tertiary Technical and Further Education', Australian Education Review, vol. 7, no. 4, 1974d, pp. 47-56., p. 52; Australian Committee on Technical and Further Education, TAFE in Australia - Report on the Needs in Technical and Further Education - April 1974 - Volume 1, AGPS, 1975; Australia: Department of Education, Report for 1976, 1977, pp. 24, 26.

8 NL.Nq362.42/D272, Shirley Dawson, op. cit., p. 3.

9 PPBC, Barrie Article, op. cit., pp. 1-2.

that longer schooling might leave the boys too old to be taken on as apprentices.[10]

Academic outcomes

Whatever the reasons for the change in educational philosophy, the new approach still failed to provide deaf children with educational outcomes comparable to those of their hearing peers. As Johnston, a linguist and hearing son of deaf parents (and author of the Auslan Dictionary) reported, by the late 1960s:

> Far too many deaf children were ending their schooling with poor literacy skills, unable to partake meaningfully in conversation using speech, lipreading and whatever aided hearing they had, unable to converse properly in sign, ignorant of much of what they were supposed to have learnt at school and socially isolated if not emotionally disturbed.[11]

The concern was shared by those outside the teaching and academic professions. For example, the educational attainments of deaf students were raised as an issue by Irwin, a Liberal New South Wales Government member, in 1968 and 1970. Among many other things, during his speeches, he stated:

> I say quite deliberately that no subject has been more studiously neglected than the education of profoundly deaf children. For the most part these children have normal intelligence. Their vocal chords are as healthy as yours and mine. Yet they are leaving school at 15 or 16 years of age, unintelligible and well nigh illiterate...Such a situation must border on the criminal.[12]

In the early 1970s, Gorman observed that deaf teenagers had generally poor linguistic skills and low educational attainments. Apart from anything else, it was noted that such deficits usually precluded them from active participation inside the normal high school.[13]

This should not, however, have come as any great surprise to those who were familiar with Oloman's 1963 investigation which noted that the vast majority of deaf students in

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[10] New South Wales Technical and Further Education Library Archives: Beattie Report, The Apprenticeship System in New South Wales (The Beattie Report) - A Report by the Commission to the Minister for Labor and Industry - July, 1968, p. 500.

[11] T. Johnston, 'Deaf Sign Language & the Cochlear Implant: Opportunities and Problems Created by a better Understanding of Sign Languages and Advances in the Technology of Hearing Aids', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 30, 1990, pp. 1-17, p. 3.

[12] House of Representatives, Hansard, 16 April, 1970, p. 1223.

[13] Pierre Gorman, 'Australia for Children with Speech and/or Hearing Impairments', in (ed.), Some Aspects of the Education of Handicapped Children in Australia, A.H. Massina & Co, Carlton, 1971, pp. 55-63, p. 59.

England left school at sixteen years of age with relatively low educational levels.[14] Nor was it a surprise to the adult deaf associations and parent organisations in New South Wales who continually lobbied to improve education for deaf children. Anyone in doubt about the poor educational outcomes for deaf students would probably have been persuaded by additional research carried out in 1966. A survey of 5000 students in UK schools for the deaf, aged between ten and sixteen years, concluded that at the age of sixteen, only 12% of deaf children reached functional literacy.[15] Since the New South Wales Government had indicated that it was following the UK model of educational service provision during this period, no one should have expected outcomes much better than Gorman observed.

Integration

In the main, the New South Wales Government had taken a three-pronged approach to providing education for deaf children. In the first place, it had officially sanctioned the practice of deaf children attending mainstream classes. No statistics on these children appear to have been kept and, as a result, the numbers of fully integrated deaf children placed in normal classes since 1946 is unknown. Similarly, there are no details about the type or degree of their deafness, or their educational outcomes. The common belief is that they were coping, or they would have been transferred to OD units, which was the Education Department's second provision, if one in an appropriate location was available. The third provision was one of the special schools.

Keeves, in reviewing the research at the time, summed up the special schools as being places where deaf children were medically categorised and educationally segregated.[16] While certain advantages of this policy were identified, such as the easier provision of medical staff and specially trained teachers at nominated sites, it was also noted that deaf children encountered great difficulty when they left the insulation of the special

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[14] R Stavers Oloman, 'Washington - 1963', in R.G. Brill (ed.), International Congresses on Education of the Deaf - An Analytical History 1878-1980, Gallaudet College, Washington, DC, 1984, p. 423.

[15] John Race, 'Deaf Children's Comprehension of English Syntax under Two Conditions', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 17, July, 1976, pp. 4-13, p. 5.

[16] John Keeves, 'New perspectives in teaching and learning', in John Keeves (ed.), Australian Education: Review of Recent Research, Allen & Unwin Pty Ltd, North Sydney, 1987a, pp. 147-178, p. 152.

school and moved into an integrated community.[17]

By 1971, the number of OD classes had increased to fifty-eight attached to twenty-five primary schools, and thirteen attached to eight secondary schools.[18] For most children in these classrooms, integration centred on sport, assemblies, playground and non-academic periods such as art and craft, the declared aim being "...so that both the deaf children and the hearing children can learn to live together".[19] On the other hand, it was reported, that "This practice has been found not to promote warm friendships between the two groups of children".[20]

The movement towards less segregation and more integration of deaf children appeared to have been based on three points. First, it was facilitated by the continuing preference for the oral-only mode, particularly in New South Wales Government schools.[21] Second and relatedly, there was a concern that special education environments perpetuated "deafness" and hindered the deaf child's development of oral language.[22] In this respect, the concern reflected the earlier views of Murray, among others, that deaf children tended to converse manually between themselves. Third, and quite different to the other two, the shift appears to have owed something to the more general 1960s human rights movement and increased community awareness of social justice issues.[23]

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[17] Norman W Drummond, Special Education in Australia, North Sydney, Torren Printing Pty Ltd, 1978, p. 6; Catherine Harper, 'A big day for the deaf', Sydney Morning Herald, Saturday, 6 December, 1975, p. 13; National Library of Australia: Bruce Muller Np362/42 0994/T737, Towards the Future - Proceedings of a 1 day seminar - Deaf Peoples Views, 1977, p. 21.

[18] Australia: Department of Education and Science, Special Education in Australia: Department of Education and Science, 1972, p. 33.

[19] PPBC, Barrie Article, op. cit., p. 1.

[20] Farrar Public School Archives: Dale Article, Deaf Education - A New Approach, 1968, pp. 1-4, p. 3.

[21] Juliana Friedlander, 'High School for the Deaf: An option to integration', CHIPS, vol. 12, September, 1987, pp. 18-24, p. 21.

[22] Pierre Gorman, op. cit., p. 58.

[23] Cheryl Carpenter, 'Corporate Restructuring of the Australian Disability Field', in Bob Lingard, John Knight, and Paige Porter (ed.), Schooling Reform in Hard Times, London, The Falmer Press, 1993, pp. 176-191, p. 177; Juliana Friedlander, High School..., op. cit., p. 20; Deslea Konza and John F Paterson, 'The Itinerant Teacher in Isolation', Australian Journal of Education of the Deaf, vol. 2, no. 2, 1996, pp. 42-47, p. 42.

Normalisation

The latter point appeared to have been supported by the work of experimental psychologists, who claimed to have been investigating the deaf and hearing impaired for more than 80 years. According to Arnold, an experimental psychologist, amongst these people "...the feeling grew that the deaf were essentially normal".[24] Some years earlier, the view had been expressed that deaf children were normal children who needed additional help with language. Although for others, such as the staff of the Castle Hill school, normality was equated, specifically, with being able to speak, it was also seen as a prerequisite for the child's future well-being.[25]

Overseas, the idea began to emerge that anyone with a disability, of any type, should be entitled to as much normality as possible. This led to the development of "normalisation" theories, particularly by Nirje and by Wolfensberger towards the end of the 1960s.[26] Although, as Friedlander, a mother of a deaf child and an educational consultant for the deaf pointed out, Wolfensberger's principles were based on his work with individuals with intellectual disabilities, not deaf individuals,[27] the general approach appeared to gain acceptance. Many parents and professionals embraced the concept of normalisation in relation to the education of deaf children.[28] Support for normalisation and opposition to segregation, could be seen in the statement by Bilek, an American educator, that the "...crazy idea persists that to educate children one takes them out of the world they live in and shuts them up in brick boxes".[29] Not everyone agreed with this view. Looking back, Abberley, writing on disabilities and

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[24] Paul Arnold, 'Experimental Psychology and the Deaf Child', Journal of Rehabilitation of the Deaf, vol. 19, no. 1-2, July/October, 1985, pp. 4-8, p. 4.

[25] St Gabriel's School for the Deaf, Golden Jubilee 1922-1972, Parramatta, St Gabriel's School for the Deaf, 1973.

[26] Phil Foreman, 'Disability, integration and inclusion: Introductory concepts', in Phil Foreman (ed.), Inclusion & Integration in Action, Harcourt Brace & Company, Sydney, 1996, pp. 1-25, pp. 9, 11; Cheryl Carpenter, op. cit., pp. 177-178.

[27] Juliana Friedlander, 'McRae Report Submission', Sound News, vol. 25, no. 2, Winter, 1997, pp. 15-18, p. 15.

[28] New South Wales Department of Education Library Archives: Document 5, Educational Services for Hearing Impaired and Visually Impaired Children (Sensorily Impaired), 1981, pp. 37-43, p. 37; Elsie May Pettinari, Catholic Education in Newcastle, 1870-1977, Extended Essay in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Bachelor of Educational Studies Thesis, Newcastle, 1979, p. 14.

[29] Susan Bilek, 'The Integrated Teacher', in Winifred Northcott (ed.), The Hearing Impaired Child in a Regular Classroom, Alexander Graham Bell Association for the Deaf Inc., Washington, DC, 1973, pp. 52-56, p. 54.

society, considered the 1960s and 1970s as a period that witnessed the rise of, what he called a "...damaging 'myth' about disabled people, namely that they are 'normal'".[30]

The full impact may not have been felt in New South Wales until the 1980s, however, when debate appeared in the Australia and New Zealand Journal of Developmental Disabilities.[31] In the meantime, action overseas, such as US Public Law (PL) 94-142, the Education for All Handicapped Children Act, and the United Nations declarations such as the Rights of the Child in 1959 and the Rights of the Disabled in 1975, provided encouragement to those who wanted to change educational provisions for deaf students in Australia. Australia's continued acknowledgement of overseas educational policies and practices, especially from the United Kingdom and since the 1920s from the United States, is often quoted in educational decision-making.[32]

Concerns

Not everyone supported increased integration and the philosophy of normalisation at the time. Even those who appeared to, did so conditionally. As mentioned in the previous chapter there were those who placed importance on meeting the child's individual needs. At the same time, they acknowledged that school logistics and the realities of the classroom also had to be taken into consideration. For example, Drummond pointed out that:

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[30] Paul Abberley, 'Disabled People, Normality and Social Work', in Len Barton (ed.) Disability and Dependency, The Falmer Press, London, 1989, p. 59.

[31] Trevor Parmenter, 'Editorial', Australian and New Zealand Journal of Developmental Disabilities, vol. 11, no. 2, 1985, p. 63.

[32] Allyson Holbrook, 'Models for Vocational Guidance in Australia 1920s-1930s: American Influence in Conflict with British Tradition', Vocational Aspect of Education, vol. 41, no. 109, August, 1989, pp. 43-52, p. 43; New South Wales Department of Public Instruction, The physical condition of children attending public schools in New South Wales (with special reference to height, weight, and vision), Sydney, William Applegate Government Printer, 1908, p. v; Sister Egan, History of Catholic Deaf Education in Australia 1875-1975, Newcastle, Newey & Beath Printers Pty Ltd, 1975a, p. 33; Australia: House of Representatives Select Committee on Specific Learning Difficulties, Learning Difficulties in Children and Adults, 1976, pp. 2-11; New South Wales Higher Education Board: Committee of Inquiry into Learning Difficulties, Report of the Committee of Inquiry into Learning Difficulties, 1979, pp. 4-5; Working Party on a Plan for Special Education in New South Wales, Strategies and Initiatives for Special Education in New South Wales - A Report of the Working Party on a Plan for Special Education in New South Wales - May 1982 (P Doherty, Chairman), Sydney, The Working Party, 1982, p. 4; R.J. Andrews, J Elkins, P.B. Berry, and J.A. Burge, A Survey of Special Education in Australia - provisions, needs and priorities in the education of children with handicaps and learning difficulties, Schonell Educational Research Centre, University of Queensland, 1979, pp. 88-89; Ian Dempsey, 'Principles and policies for integration and inclusion', in Phil Foreman (ed.), Inclusion & Integration in Action, Harcourt Brace & Company, Sydney, 1996, pp. 27-47, p. 35.

> ...social experiences, learning from one's peers in informal learning situations, and so on, should be planned in a way best suited to the child's total needs. There are definite limits to what we can expect a class teacher and school organisation to do for handicapped children in an ordinary class in an ordinary school, even with the back-up of services of resource teachers, and in some cases, paramedical staff in the school or from outside.[33]

Others believed that Governments simply saw normalisation and integration as more efficient and more cost-effective than providing specialist services in large institutions.[34] In essence, for the deaf, it was a return to Murray's 1946 ideal which had failed for so many deaf children in the 1940s and 1950s.

Itinerant teachers of the deaf

There was a difference, however, in that this time more consideration was given to supporting the teacher and deaf child in the classroom. By the early 1970s, the move towards a greater degree of integration and normalisation resulted in the establishment of two positions for itinerant teachers of the deaf (ITDs) within the New South Wales Education Department. Initially, ITDs were support personnel who travelled from school to school to provide resources, ideas and information to mainstream teachers. The appointments led to an increasing number of students being enrolled in mainstream classrooms.[35] By 1973, the New South Wales Education Department stated that its:

> ...continuing policy will be to integrate hearing impaired children...into educational environments with non-handicapped children where appropriate. This will be achieved through expansion of the Itinerant Teacher Service, the Opportunity Deaf Class system...and development of multi-purpose Resource Centres.[36]

Early detection

Another change in educational philosophy was reflected in a growing recognition of the importance of the early detection of deafness and the implementation of remedial

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[33] N.W. Drummond, 'Areas of Major Concern as Observed in a Recent Investigation of the Education of the Handicapped in Australia', paper presented at Seminar on Education of the Disabled, Sydney, 1977, p. 17.

[34] Cheryl Carpenter, op. cit., p.178.

[35] Australia, Department of Education and Science, op. cit., p. 7.

[36] NSWDOE, Document 5, op. cit., p. 39.

techniques at an increasingly earlier age.[37] While the change may have been hastened by the consequences of another rubella outbreak in 1965-1966,[38] the need for early detection may have resulted from a greater acceptance of ideas developed by Bowlby, Piaget, Vygotsky and others, which had emphasised the importance of the first five years of life in the development of social, cognitive and language skills. More specifically, educators of the deaf like Basilier believed that:

> ...parents of deaf preschoolers should be stimulated to make use of all kinds of communication tools in order to stimulate the emotional, the intellectual, and social maturation of their deaf children.[39]

Similarly, Murphy claimed that if deafness was detected in the first six months, a large degree of the deafness should be able to be overcome.[40] In particular, a need was seen for testing the hearing of preschool-aged children and the provision of expert guidance in relation to home training.[41]

Fisher, who was a teacher of the deaf in Western Australia, suggested that formal language training should start from three years of age.[42] Calvert-Jones, mother of a seven year old severely deaf boy and a foundation member of a Victorian parent support group, the Advisory Council for Children with Impaired Hearing, noted that older children who had begun programs before the age of two years had increased capacity for language and better ability to understand amplified speech.[43] Others, while not being quite so specific, emphasised the limiting effects on education of the deaf

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[37] St Dominic's Centre for Hearing Impaired Children Archives: Romuald Article, The Education of the Deaf, Sydney, 1968, p. 1; J.R. Stewart, 'Bridging the Gap', Contact, vol. 5, no. 2, 1970, p. 5.

[38] Sister Egan, History of..., op. cit., p. 41.

[39] P Basilier, 'Stockholm - 1970', in R.G. Brill (ed.), International Congresses on Education of the Deaf - An Analytical History 1878-1980, Gallaudet College, Washington, DC, 1984, p. 397.

[40] Brisbane Courier Mail, 'Teaching deaf "not so hard"' 7 September, 1972, p. 19.

[41] Glendonald School for Deaf Children Library Archives: Cahill, Synopsis of the Background and Development of the Education Centre for Deaf Children (1951-1968), 1969, p. 1.

[42] B.J. Fisher, 'Policies and Practices in the Education of Children with Impaired Hearing in Western Australia', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, July, 1978, pp. 62-64, pp. 62-63.

[43] Mrs John Calvert-Jones, 'Address by Mrs. John Calvert-Jones, representing the Advisory Council for Children with Impaired Hearing, on a parents' panel held by the Australian Association of Teachers of the Deaf on Monday 7th January, 1974.', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 15, 1974, pp. 48-51, p. 49.

when early diagnosis and teaching were not provided.[44] The New South Wales Education Department also acknowledged the critical role for the early identification of language deficits, noting that "Ineffective communication during the first five (5) years of child growth will have very serious consequences for future psychological and educational development".[45]

Preschool services

Despite acknowledging the importance of early intervention, the New South Wales Government played no direct role in providing early intervention programs. According to Egan, there was an "...almost total absence of any pre-school facilities for the deaf at that time in Sydney...".[46] In addition to the effort made by the Kindergarten Union after the War and the Sydney and Farrar schools before their takeover by the Education Department, only two new preschools for deaf children commenced during this period and both were non-government services.

St Dominic's Preschool

Services to the families of deaf preschool-aged children had already been instituted by the Newcastle school with limited, but regular, parent guidance.[47] However, as a result of other rubella epidemics in 1963 and 1964, Roman Catholic parents of children born with deafness approached Cardinal Gilroy to establish a special day kindergarten in Sydney.[48] After more lobbying, St Dominic's preschool was opened on the grounds adjacent to the Santa Maria Del Monte, the Dominican's private primary school, Strathfield, in February, 1969, with nine deaf children, three to four years of age.[49] Under the control of Sister Romuald, a trained teacher of the deaf, the half-day sessional program aimed at helping preschool-aged children develop auditory and

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[44] Australia: Department of Health, Ten Thousand Severely Handicapped Children in New South Wales and the Australian Capital Territory, (Dr. D.J. Dykes) 1978, p. 48; Alison Gregg, 'Helping Children Develop Language: Programming for An Integrated Hearing and Hearing Impaired Pre-School Group', Australian Early Childhood Resource Booklets, no. 5, 1981, pp. 1-16, p. 1.

[45] New South Wales Department of Education Library Archives: Language Acquisition and its Educational Implications to Profoundly Deaf Children, 1974a, pp. 1-7, p. 4.

[46] Sister Egan, History of..., op. cit., p. 41.

[47] St Dominic's Centre for Hearing Impaired Children Archives: Dooley Monograph, To Be Fully Alive - A Monograph on Australian Dominican Education of Hearing-Impaired Children, 1989, p. 54.

[48] ibid., pp. 60-61; Sister Egan, History of..., op. cit., p. 41.

[49] ibid.; St Dominic's Centre, Dooley Monograph, op. cit., p. 61.

verbal skills. In addition, mothers helped out and observed the sessions so that they could reinforce the lessons at home.[50]

In 1970, to foster integration and comply with the Welfare Department's requirements, "reverse integration" was introduced at St Dominic's preschool. The program was based on an American model of enrolling one deaf child to every three hearing children.[51] By 1972, there were eight deaf to twenty hearing children, aged two and a-half to five years of age, attending the early intervention program.[52] The opening of the preschool also marked the beginning of the Catholic Family Support and Early Intervention Program for deaf children.[53]

Shepherd Centre

1970 saw the establishment of the first specialist preschool for deaf children outside the Catholic and Government education systems. The Shepherd Centre was established by a surgeon, Dr Bruce Shepherd and his wife Annette, who were the parents of two deaf children.[54] The Shepherds and other parents of deaf children established the Council for Integrated Deaf Education as a charitable organisation to administer the Shepherd Centre.[55] The Shepherds and other parents in their group wanted their children to be able to speak, and had contacted the John Tracy Clinic in Los Angeles, which was dedicated to the oral mode. After participating in an intensive course at the Tracy Clinic, the Shepherds returned to Australia and, along with four other families with young deaf children, they established a similar facility in Sydney.[56] The aim of the pre-school was "...to give children basic skills so that they can ultimately further their education in normal schools". This included parent education to enable a continuation of teaching at home.[57]

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50 ibid.

51 Sister Egan, History of..., op. cit., p. 41.

52 Australia, Department of Education and Science, op. cit., p. 34.

53 ibid.; St Dominic's Centre, Dooley Monograph, op. cit., p. 61.

54 Shepherd Centre, Who We Are, http: / www.shepherd-centre.com / whowe.htm, 1999.

55 J.K. Campbell, 'Letters to the Editor - Shepherd Centre Response', Sound News, vol. 10, no. 2, May, 1981, pp. 9-10, p. 9; Working Party on a Plan for Special Education in New South Wales, op. cit., p. 11; Heather Conolly, 'The Shepherd Centre', Australian Pre-School Quarterly, vol. 12, no. 4, May, 1972, pp. 16-20, p. 16.

56 Shepherd Centre, Who we..., op.. cit.; Heather Conolly, op. cit., p. 16.

57 Federation for Junior Deaf Education, 'Shepherds Gather Flock', Sound News, vol. 13, no. 2, September, 1984, p. 103.

The service was associated with the Sydney University Union's Child Care Centre near the University at Darlington.[58] According to Campbell, the Chairman of the Shepherd Centre, parents had to sign an agreement to attend weekly meetings and to be involved in their child's integration into a hearing world.[59] The centre enrolled eight deaf children, together with hearing children. The Centre also operated a mother-baby program with home visits.[60] In 1972, under the title, Project NEED (Normal Education Environment for the Deaf), the Centre also started keeping an annual progress record of the students from when they commenced until early adulthood.[61]

The Centre also offered a teacher training program conducted by a graduate of the Tracy Clinic. Teachers who qualified were appointed to the Shepherd Centre or to a mainstream kindergarten where a deaf child was enrolled. In 1971, however, the Shepherd Centre began negotiations with the Sydney Teachers College to take responsibility for training its teachers.[62]

The Shepherd Centre received a Government subsidy but relied on donations, fundraising and honorary workers. It was also able to register as a charitable organisation, which provided taxation benefits for donors.[63]

Assessment services

Diagnosis of the type and degree of hearing impairment, together with a judgement about the amount of educational handicap it would create, had been increasing in importance from the 1950s.[64] Many educational assessments took place in the Education Department's guidance clinics.

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[58] Australia, Department of Education and Science, op. cit., p. 34; J.K. Campbell, op. cit., p. 9.

[59] ibid.

[60] Australia, Department of Education and Science, op. cit., p. 34.

[61] Val Moseley and Tess Page, 'Progress of Deaf Children using the Oral Method', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 17, July, 1976, p. 99.

[62] Private Papers Barbara Crickmore: Heffernan Essay, A History of the Course for Teachers of the Deaf, 1974, pp. 6-7; Heather Conolly, op. cit., p. 16.

[63] J.K. Campbell, op. cit., p. 10; Mary Wordley, 'Mary Wordley - August 1990', Sound News, December, 1991, pp. 1, 6-7, p. 6.

[64] Beatrice Brereton, The Schooling of Children with Impaired Hearing, Commonwealth Office of Education, 1957, p. 245.

Clinics

In August 1972, the Division of Guidance and Adjustment amalgamated with the Special Education section. The Division of Guidance and Adjustment was still responsible for the "...testing and placement of atypical children..." and "...providing guidance for parents and teachers".[65] This reorganisation was said to have led the way for improvements to the services.[66] Both the Assistant Director (Guidance) and the first Assistant Director (Special Education) were responsible to the Director of Guidance and Special Education for the development of services.[67] Wordley claimed that these changes were brought about by pressure from the FJDE, culminating in a deputation by the Federation to the Minister for Education in the early 1970s. In addition, she noted that the Division's creation also included the establishment of a position for a consultant for the deaf.[68]

Following earlier international debate between educators of the deaf, greater significance began to be attached to assessment of the deaf child's progress, socially and emotionally.[69] Similarly, multiple disabilities were still being investigated, with reports emerging of a high proportion of dysphasic deaf children.[70] Yet, in 1968, some educators were still talking only in terms of students being "totally deaf" and "students with some residual hearing".[71]

Reflecting the concerns about frustration of deaf children in the school situation, raised by Adlem in the 1950s, Dawson said that there was a need to know "...whether the

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[65] W.C. Radford, op. cit., p. 285.

[66] Dr A.J. Metcalfe, 'School Health Services in Australia', Education News, vol. 5, no. 6, December, 1955, pp. 3-6, p. 4.

[67] New South Wales Department of Education, 'Education for Special Children - What is being done for Atypical Children?', Inside Education, vol. lxviii, no. 3, Spring, 1974, pp. 12-24, p. 15; New South Wales Department of Education, Annual Report of the Minister for Education for 1973, 1974c, pp. 25-26.

[68] Mary Wordley, Mary Wordley..., op. cit., p. 7.

[69] Leo Murphy, 'Three Decades of Education of the Deaf in Australia', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 21, 1980, pp. 5-15, p. 11.

[70] R.G. Brill, International Congresses on Education of the Deaf - An Analytical History 1878-1980, Washington, D.C., Gallaudet College, 1984, pp. 425-426.

[71] Denise Edwards, 'Teaching the Deaf to Hear', Catholic Weekly, 28 November, 1968, p. 16; Lady Ewing and Sir Alexander Ewing, Your Child's Hearing, 4th edn, London, National Deaf Children's Society, 1969, p. 3.

child is 'competing' or merely 'coping' in the situation".[72] Dawson also believed that the early prevention of emotional disturbances was an important issue for a deaf child's family. Apart from inappropriate schooling and negative social attitudes in general, she was concerned about the damage that could be done by "...those professionals with whom the parents come into contact at the time of diagnosis and during subsequent assessment and placement".[73]

This concern was shared by others at the time. For example, Calvert-Jones stated:

> It is vital that this help [information to parents] is given by a person trained not only in the audiological, psychological and educational aspects of deafness but also trained to handle the relevant age group of the child under consideration.[74]

In addition, there were calls for recognition of the psychological difficulties of hearing parents trying to cope with the reality of having a deaf child.[75] Both Brereton and Gorman had earlier warned about the pressures that parents of deaf children would have to face. It appears that, up to this point, the consequences of those pressures had been ignored by the authorities. The FJDE and other parents groups were among the few organisations openly advocating parent support,[76] although the desperation of some parents must have been widely known among all those associated with services for the deaf. For example, Wilson who had been awarded a Fellowship from the Royal New South Wales Institute for Deaf and Blind Children in the early 1970s to research communication problems of the deaf,[77] claimed that many parents deny that their child is deaf and "...search for second, third, and fourth medical opinions, in fact go shopping for cures".[78] To illustrate the point she related the story of a father took his deaf son on a jet flight under the mistaken impression that the changed air pressure would cure him.[79]

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[72] NL.Nq362.42/D272, Shirley Dawson, op. cit., p. 23.

[73] ibid., p. 3.

[74] Mrs John Calvert-Jones, op. cit., p. 50.

[75] St Gabriel's School for the Deaf, op. cit.

[76] J.R. Stewart, 'Bridging the Gap', Contact, vol. 5, no. 2, 1970, p. 5; Federation for Junior Deaf Education, Annual Report 1986/7, 1987., p. 1.

[77] Royal New South Wales Institute for Deaf and Blind Children, 'Brilliant Teacher to Research Deaf Education', Lantern Light, December, 1974b, p. 16.

[78] Ann Wilson, 'Parental Responses to the Birth of a Hearing Impaired Child: What Should the Teacher Know?', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 23, 1982, pp. 20-24, p. 20.

[79] ibid.

At the same time, there was also concern about the apparent lack of sensitivity to deafness amongst the medical profession, from general practitioners to paediatricians. It was claimed that this deficiency had seen deaf children go undiagnosed for a number of years.[80] Part of this problem was, undoubtedly, the world-wide recognised difficulties of early detection.[81] Calvert-Jones laid some of the blame on technology, indicating that parents received "...confusing and often conflicting advice, based largely on that blunt instrument, the audiometer...".[82] Shaw, a consultant for the deaf with the New South Wales Education Department, agreed in part, stating that hearing parents of deaf children were often given conflicting assessments by different agencies, indicating that "...tremendous anxiety is generated and also a dilemma in deciding programs to be followed".[83]

While some parents and educators were concerned about the quality of services, others involved in the field were concerned with basic access to services. According to Ferris, many parents of deaf children in the early 1970s were not aware of the resources available to help them.[84] Taylor, a mother of two deaf boys, exemplified the lack of awareness and described the effects of having no support in this period:

> I felt very isolated and didn't know where to turn for advice and help and even felt ashamed to admit I needed help - it would show me up as a "bad mother". When I did try to get help later on, it was rarely available.[85]

To help overcome this problem, Ferris called for a closer liaison between educational authorities and the support organisations.[86] In Dawson's view, the problem had been created because both Commonwealth and State Government departments were involved in assessment. The dual provision had led to gaps and overlaps in the

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[80] National Library of Australia: R McL Shaw Np362/42 0994/T737, Towards the Future - Proceedings of a 1 day seminar - 8 May 1977, 1977b, pp. 1-8, p. 3; Katherine Price, 'Early Detection of Hearing Impairment in Children in NSW', Sound News, vol. 26, no. 3, Spring, 1998a, p. 7.

[81] R.G. Brill, op. cit., p. 415; Ruth Seth Funderburg, 'Learning Disabilities and Deafness', Sound News, vol. 11, 2, September, 1982, pp. 15-18, p. 17.

[82] Mrs John Calvert-Jones, op. cit., p. 50; Simon Andersson, 'Report on Cochlear Implant Symposium', AAD Outlook, vol. 4, no. 4, Summer, 1994, pp. 12-17, p. 17.

[83] NL.Np362/42 0994/T737, R McL Shaw, op. cit., p. 4.

[84] Private Papers Barbara Crickmore: Ferris Report, 1972 Fellow Report - The Winston Churchill Memorial Trust, 1973, pp. 143-144.

[85] Private Papers Barbara Crickmore: Gail Taylor, A Parent's Report Concerning Deaf Children with Other Special Needs, 1985, pp. 1-2, p. 2.

[86] PPBC, Ferris Report, op. cit., pp. 143-144.

services. It was also claimed that service staff lacked both a knowledge of deafness and an ability to communicate with the patient.[87]

Cures

It is possible that the New South Wales Government's efforts were also restrained by continuation of the belief that a cure for deafness could be found at any time. For example, in the early 1970s, interest was aroused in the use of acupuncture treatment for deaf children and the Commonwealth Government sent a medical team to China to investigate.[88] Nothing appears to have come from this visit, but, in the USA, many acupuncture clinics were established and claims were made that deafness could be cured. According to Brill, however, no evidence was found to support these claims.[89]

Mode

As mentioned in previous chapters, from the 1930s community attitudes in Australia had played a major role in discouraging the use of manual languages by the deaf. In 1972, however, a report in the Brisbane Courier Mail could be said to have indicated that a change in public acceptance of manual modes of communication for the deaf was taking place. The paper described the use of signs, by the deaf, as "...one way of helping them to express themselves...", and was compared to the use of dance and mime. While mentioning the controversy about oral and manual modes, the article suggested the debate had been "...blown up out of all proportion", acknowledging there was no best method, only that which was most suitable for the child.[90]

The report came at the end of a period that had seen the totally oral approach give way to the support of manual supplements and the return of teaching in the manual mode. More importantly, these changes took place in recognition that self-expression by the deaf was more important than which mode was used. It was a time when competence in any language was seen as more beneficial to the child's development than no language, or poor command of an inappropriate mode. For example, some manual mode educators were able to recommend the earliest possible use of the manual

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[87] NL.Nq362.42/D272, Shirley Dawson, op. cit., p. 4.

[88] RIDBC Annual Report 1973, p. 14; Royal Institute for Deaf and Blind Children, 'Lady Mayoress Opens Annual Conference of Lantern Clubs', Lantern Light, December, 1974a, p. 24.

[89] R.G. Brill, op. cit., p. 400.

[90] Brisbane Courier Mail, op. cit., p. 17.

alphabet and sign language, to ensure that "...the child can develop as rapidly as possible into a thinking, communicating being".[91]

Failure of oral-only mode

The demise of the strict oral mode only approach occurred when teachers acknowledged that it simply was not working for all deaf children. The Newcastle and Castle Hill schools, which had been strong advocates for the oral mode since 1954, had proven it to be unsatisfactory, admitting that its use had created a "...pedagogical and therapeutical problem".[92] A search for a solution to the problem and a means of ensuring better educational outcomes signalled the start of a more varied approach to mode use in the Catholic schools. There were similar concerns at the Sydney school. Although the New South Wales Education Department had taken over control of the school's teaching operation, the Board of Directors expressed concern about the standard of speech, communication and language comprehension of the deaf students.[93]

In the main, though, the oral mode still dominated and opponents were more specific about what they considered by some to be inappropriate teaching techniques and outcomes. For example, referring to the early 1970s, Taylor, mother of two deaf sons, spoke of oral communication as "...the fashion then...", and went on to describe the mode and its consequences:

> We had to sit on our hands and the deaf children were expected to Lipread and speak. Unfortunately, this did not work with all children, including one of my sons.[94]

Similarly, Meadow-Orlans, an academic, related the story of a hearing mother of a deaf boy who was told by professionals that any deaf person could learn to lipread. When her son failed to master it, she thought it was his inability to learn, but later found out that "...lipreading is an art form and not everybody can learn it".[95] Even in the 1990s,

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[91] Gail Jones, 'Teaching in Silence', Newcastle Morning Herald and Miners Advocate, Thursday, 27 April, 1972, p. 13.

[92] St Dominic's Centre, Dooley Monograph, op. cit., p. 117.

[93] RIDBC Annual Report 1972, p. 13.

[94] PPBC, Gail Taylor, op. cit., p. 2.

[95] Kathryn P Meadow-Orlans, 'Personality and Psychological Development: Roots for Hearing Impaired Children - Paper 2', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 27, 1986b, pp. 12-19, p. 17.

lipreading is considered to be only approximately 30-40% accurate, because it is easy to be confused when trying to decipher words such as sheep and cheap.[96] The point was reinforced by McGrath who, in 1970 echoed the view of Holder some three hundred years earlier, observed that "...on the lips alone we know there is ambiguity".[97]

Yet others, such as the Ewings, had advocated continually for the oral mode, including lipreading, without mentioning such learning difficulties.[98] In Australia, the movement was so strong that in 1969 the Literary Trust pioneered the publication of lipreading text books.[99] There were also strong supporters of the oral mode within the schools for the deaf. For example, Heffernan, who became responsible for the education of deaf female secondary students in the Catholic system during 1969,[100] believed that speech and lipreading were the best ways to develop abstract thought and ideas.

Nevertheless, Calvert-Jones, who described herself as "...a convinced oralist..." conceded that "...the climate for a true oral education for a deaf child is still a very rare thing in this country".[101] This was illustrated by the programs for deaf children attending the Newcastle and Castle Hill schools, as well as St Dominic's preschool for deaf children. They received individual tuition in oral language, speech development and auditory training.[102] From the 1970s, however, cued speech was introduced, although not fully employed in the preschool until 1973.[103]

Manual supplements

Cued speech, a manual supplement to the oral mode, had been developed by Dr Orin Cornett in the USA, as an alternative method for teaching and communicating with deaf

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96 Laisarn Leong, 'Deaf Student: Easy Going?', AAD Outlook, vol. 5, no. 1, Autumn, 1995, pp. 10-12, p. 12.

97 Farrar Public School Archives: McGrath Article, Cued Speech, 1970, pp. 1-5, p. 4.

98 Lady Ewing and Sir Alexander Ewing, op. cit., p. 6.

99 Stan Donald, 'We Overcame Deafness', Journal of Better Hearing Australia, March, 1992, pp. 2-7, pp. 3, 7.

100 Sister Egan, History of..., op. cit., p. 27.

101 Mrs John Calvert-Jones, op. cit., p. 51.

102 Australia, Department of Education and Science, op. cit., p. 34.

103 Sister Egan, History of..., op. cit., pp. 22, 28, 41; J.A. Burke, op. cit., pp. 317-319; Elsie May Pettinari, op. cit., p. 13.

children.[104] A demonstration was seen by McGrath while on a study tour of the USA, and Cornett was invited to Australia.[105] As a result of this visit, cued speech was introduced into the New South Wales Catholic schools for the deaf in 1970.[106]

Manual supplements to the oral mode were not a new idea. For example, the Rochester Method, which required the simultaneous fingerspelling of the spoken word, had been used in the USA since the mid-1800s, and in the Soviet Union during the 1950s and 1960s. However, it had been rejected by some oral mode supporters in the West on the familiar grounds that fingerspelling would inhibit preschooler's oral development.[107] Cued speech did not require fingerspelling of every word, employing, instead, a limited number of hand and finger positions (ie. eight handshapes to represent consonant and four positions to represent vowels) to phonemically clarify the identity of lip movements.[108]

At the Sydney school, by the early 1970s, the oral mode and cued speech were used up to grade two. From grade three, a combined mode (oral and fingerspelling) was used.[109] However, before this, some teachers would use the manual mode only for students who were not progressing with the oral mode. Teaching in the manual mode could only be undertaken unofficially and when it could not be observed by outsiders, even if this meant closing the classroom curtains.[110]

Concern about manual supplements

Some commentators highlighted difficulties in the use of manual supplements and sign

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[104] Kathryn P Meadow-Orlans, 'Looking Ahead to the Year 2000: Priorities for Teachers of Hearing Impaired Children - Paper 1 (The first of three papers read by invitation at the 16th Triennial Conference of the Australian Association of Teachers of the Deaf, Melbourne, January 1986)', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 27, 1986a, pp. 4-11, p. 10; J.A. Burke, op. cit., p. 317; Elsie May Pettinari, op. cit., p. 13.

[105] St Gabriel's School for the Deaf, op. cit.; St Dominic's Centre, Dooley Monograph, op. cit., pp. 116-117.

[106] Sister Egan, History of..., op. cit., pp. 28, 34; David Knox, 'School in century of service to the deaf', Newcastle Morning Herald and Miners Advocate, Monday, 11 August, 1975, p. 8.

[107] Donald Moores, Educating the Deaf - Psychology, Principles, and Practices, 2nd edn, Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1982, pp. 240-245.

[108] Farrar Public School for the Deaf, Information Booklet, March, 1992b, p. 21.

[109] Australia, Department of Education and Science, op. cit., p. 33.

[110] Private Papers Barbara Crickmore: Judith Cowley, Experience of a teacher of the deaf in the 1970s in NSW, 1997.

language. Flynn, an experienced social worker for the deaf, for example, observed that it took many years to master manual language skills.[111] Similarly, Johnston pointed out that both in Australia and overseas "...there were problems with contrived sign systems, and few teachers were able to sign them well or consistently".[112]

Gorman claimed that the introduction of cued speech "...does create serious learning problems for teachers and parents attempting to use it".[113] In contrast, however, a report in the Newcastle Morning Herald and Miners Advocate said that it was very popular when the Newcastle school introduced it because parents and teachers could learn to use it after twelve hours of instruction.[114]

Increasing variations of modes

Far from being opposed to manual supplements, Gorman, amongst others, argued for such help with speech and lipreading. More pertinent to his view of cued speech, however, may have been the fact that he, with Paget, had been devising the Paget-Gorman sign system to enhance the language attainment of deaf students.[115] In 1976, a national conference on the Paget-Gorman Sign System for Language Development was held at Monash University, in Victoria. The system was demonstrated by teachers from the UK, and resulted in delegates calling for the establishment of training facilities in Australia.[116]

Notwithstanding, the oral mode supporters maintained strong opposition to manual supplements, even though teachers of the system claimed that "...the children spontaneously discontinue the use of the signs when they are no longer necessary".[117] In 1970, as if in response to the oralists, Harboe, an educator of the deaf from Denmark, asserted that deaf people would always use manual communication. With

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[111] National Library of Australia: J Flynn Np362/42 0994/T737, Towards the Future - Proceedings of a 1 day seminar - 8 May 1977, 1977, pp. 9-13, p. 11.

[112] T. Johnston, op. cit., pp. 4-5.

[113] Pierre Gorman, op. cit., p. 57.

[114] Gail Jones, op. cit., p. 13.

[115] Royal Institute for Deaf and Blind Children, 'Compares Favourably with World's Best', Lantern Light, December, 1974c, pp. 8-9, p. 8.

[116] Australian Association of Teachers of the Deaf, 'Paget Gorman System for Language Development', Newsletter, 73, 3, 1976a, p. 2.

[117] NL.Nq362.42/D272, Shirley Dawson, op. cit., p. 24.

this in mind, she proposed an increase in the use of sign language interpreters.[118]

Of importance to Harboe's proposal was debate concerned with the increasing number of manual supplements and a need to standardise the mode of communication. For instance, while Burke referred to five distinct variations of modes, Gorman referred to four. However, neither of them referred to the existence of the one-handed and two-handed manual alphabet that had been used in Australian schools for the deaf since the latter half of the 1800s.[119] It appears that in the early 1970s at least eight variations of mode could have been used to educate deaf students in Australia:

1. manual mode using sign language and the one-handed manual alphabet;
2. manual mode using sign language and the two-handed manual alphabet;
3. one-handed manual alphabet and writing;
4. two-handed manual alphabet and writing;
5. oral using speech, lipreading and writing
6. aural-oral using deaf individual's hearing, speech and writing, ie. without using lipreading cues, eg. the teacher would place a piece of paper or her hand over her lips to prevent the child from observing her lip movements;
7. aural and (aural-cued),[120] being the use of the child's residual hearing and ability to speak;
8. combined, being a combination of any of the above-mentioned.[121]

According to Gorman, however, not one of these modes "...enabled a substantial majority of the pupils... to achieve educational attainments comparable to the average attainments of their hearing peers".[122] In reality, each of the modes was attempting to equip the deaf child with sufficient language for them to undertake a curriculum that had been designed for hearing students.

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[118] Annelese Harboe, 'Stockholm - 1970', in R.G. Brill (ed.), International Congresses on Education of the Deaf - An Analytical History 1878-1980, Gallaudet College, Washington, DC, 1984, p. 397.

[119] Pierre Gorman, op. cit., p. 57; J.A. Burke, op. cit., pp. 74-76.

[120] Federation for Junior Deaf Education, Where Do We Go From Here?, Stanmore, Federation for Junior Deaf Education, 1982, pp. 11-13.

[121] Pierre Gorman, op. cit., p. 57; Federation for Junior Deaf Education, Where do..., op. cit., pp. 11-12.

[122] Pierre Gorman, op. cit., p. 58.

Language use

To some, the variety of approaches to language mode appeared to have created a greater number of conflicts, to the detriment of deaf education generally.[123] As Muller put it:

> Educators of the deaf seem to be overconcerned with the merits or otherwise of manualism, oralism, or some other method rather than with the standard reached in subjects undertaken by the deaf student - especially English.[124]

The Castle Hill school had been using oral drill and specific teaching methods to try to overcome problems with English. Up to the early 1970s, the school had been using the "Barry Five Slate" and "Fitzgerald Key to the Pattern", which had been devised in the USA.[125] In addition, McGrath introduced another overseas innovation, called the conversation method. This had been promoted by Father van Uden of St Michelogestel, in the Netherlands, being the same school that had developed the music approach used at the Newcastle school.[126] Basically, the conversation method was an auditory approach that focused on the student's residual hearing and was styled on language used by the parents of the deaf student.[127]

There were some difficulties with the natural language approach, however, because of limits on the time available for the deaf student to learn language naturally. The deaf students also had limited exposure to the everyday living environments of the hearing. In addition, the Castle Hill school's Principal said that while not disagreeing with the theory of natural language, the "...standard of language teaching would need to improve vastly before most teachers could teach hearing impaired children the English language by the Natural Method".[128]

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[123] R.G. Brill, op. cit., pp. 398-399; National Library of Australia: Flynn Survey Npf362.420994/A938, Australian Federation of Adult Deaf Societies - Survey of the Year 1960 Australian Deaf School Leavers`, 1973, pp. 1-4, p. 3; J Fiona Savage, 'Classroom Communication in Profoundly Deaf Children', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 23, 1982, pp. 25-28, p. 25; NL.Np362/42 0994/T737, R McL Shaw, op. cit., p. 5.

[124] NL.Np362/42 0994/T737, Bruce Muller, op. cit., p. 21.

[125] Gerry McGrath, 'Teaching Language to Hearing-Impaired Children of School Age', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 18, July, 1977, pp. 14-21, p. 21.

[126] St Gabriel's School for the Deaf, op. cit.,

[127] Sister Egan, History of..., op. cit., pp. 26-27.

[128] Gerry McGrath, Teaching Language..., op. cit., p. 14.

Curriculum

For many years the language ability of deaf students had been recognised as the main factor in implementing an educational curriculum for them. The situation had not changed in the late 1960s. For example, Cahill claimed that the "...limitations imposed by deafness make it imperative to constantly bear in mind modifications in curricula planning to allow for the language retardation of the deaf".[129]

This was illustrated by the approaches in the OD units and the Catholic schools for the deaf. For OD units, Barrie made it clear that a major problem for "...teachers-in-charge of these hearing-handicapped children", was to arrange a language curriculum within the child's learning capacity. She also noted that where possible the deaf children were "...assisted to attain a level of learning where they can transfer to a normally-hearing class and follow a normal curriculum".[130] However, she also conceded that "In some cases this is not possible...".[131]

In Barrie's experience, the deaf students did not follow a normal curriculum. Although a range of subjects was taught, she stated that "...the main emphasis in OD classes is put on the learning of speech and language".[132] Similarly, a Commonwealth Department of Education and Science's survey reported that in the early 1970s at least, the Castle Hill school did not follow the mainstream school curriculum, but aimed mainly at the development of language and the use of auditory training.[133] Undertaking only a modified primary curriculum inevitably created problems for the deaf student's transition to secondary school studies. Even by the late 1960s, in a statement to the Industrial Commission concerned with trade training, the Principal of the Sydney school broke the pronounced silence when stating that only about 10% of primary children proceeded to a modified secondary course.[134]

The silences were still evident in accounts from the Newcastle school where an attempt was made to introduce a full secondary course in 1965. By 1968, three girls

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129 Glendonald School, Cahill, op. cit., p. 10.

130 PPBC, Barrie Article, op. cit., p. 1.

131 ibid.

132 ibid., p. 2.

133 Australia, Department of Education and Science, op. cit., p. 34.

134 NSWTAFE Library: Beattie Report, op. cit., p. 500.

were able to sit for and pass the School Certificate Examination, with one girl taking it at the normal age.[135] No indication was given about the number of girls who were not able to sit the examination. In 1969, there was a change in policy relating to the School Certificate Examinations.[136] Heffernan, who had the responsibility of educating the secondary school aged deaf girls, concentrated on preparing them for State and Commonwealth Public Service Examinations. The hope was that this would lead the girls to finding employment in banks and the public service.[137] There appears to be no indication as to whether these hopes were realised.

Technology

In the United States, by the late 1960s, there was a greater use of visual and audio-visual equipment such as projectors, videotaping equipment, closed circuit TV, strip films and cartridge films. These could be adapted with captions to make material available to deaf children who had insufficient residual hearing.[138] However, according to a newspaper report, captioning remained a costly resource, with a one hour long film taking twenty hours to caption.[139] As if to underline the movement towards a broader use of technology, the International Congress on Education of the Deaf in 1970, for the first time, focused on technology and its educational applications in educating deaf students.[140]

Devices readily available at many schools for the deaf in Australia included hearing aids, group amplifiers, speech-training units, radiograms, tape recorders, film projector, pianos and other musical instruments, TV and radio with stereophonic sound.[141] By the late 1960s, an electric organ with built-in microphones and highly amplified sound, which assisted deaf children to learn to sing, was also available.[142] Other devices

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135 Sister Egan, History of..., op. cit., p. 27.

136 St Dominic's Centre, Dooley Monograph, op. cit., p. 57; J.A. Burke, op. cit., pp. 355, 366.

137 Sister Egan, History of..., op. cit., p. 27; Australia, Department of Education and Science, op. cit., p. 34.

138 St Dominic's Centre for Hearing Impaired Children Archives: Romuald Article, The Education of the Deaf, Sydney, 1968, p. 1.

139 Amanda Meade, 'Nicola's job is to bring television to deaf people', Sydney Morning Herald, Saturday, 22 June, 1991, p. 73.

140 R.G. Brill, op. cit., p. 404.

141 Laurence F Barkham, 'Some Factors to be Considered when Admitting New Pupils into School', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 2, no. 1, November, 1960, pp. 19-23, p. 21.

142 Denise Edwards, op. cit., p. 16.

included machines designed for teaching speech in individual speech sessions, such as Dutch wind instruments.[143]

Commonwealth Government involvement

Although there was a growing movement for Federal aid to schools and increased political pressures over deteriorating educational conditions, the Menzies Government had maintained its opposition to Federal aid for education until 1963. Then, during the Federal election campaign, Menzies promised a common Secondary Science Facilities Scheme for Government and non-government secondary schools, which was introduced in 1964.[144]

In addition, from 1964, students enrolled at denominational schools providing secondary and tertiary courses were eligible to apply for a Commonwealth Scholarship. The schools who had bursary students would receive a per capita grant, thus relieving some of their financial burden.[145] Both Catholic schools for the deaf had provided secondary courses and would have benefited to some extent from this scheme.

Schools for the deaf

The Sydney school

The Sydney school had a wide range of aids and amplification equipment to support the oral approach, eg. captioned slide films were used in reading. Production of these captioned slides by teaching staff took a considerable amount of time, because it required each scene to be described in relatively simple language.[146]

Funding

In 1964, fundraising became more organised with the formation of the first Lantern

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[143] PPBC, Barrie Article, op. cit., p. 3; J.A. Burke, op.cit., pp. 307-308.

[144] Phillip Hughes, 'Reorganization in Education in a Climate of Changing Social Expectations: A Commentary', in William Lowe Boyd, and Don Smart (ed.), Educational Policy in Australia and America - Comparative Perspectives, The Falmer Press, Lewes, 1987, pp. 295-309, pp. 299-300; Des Keegan, 'Freedom of choice essential in education', in Dean Ashenden (ed.), State aid and the division of schooling in Australia, Deakin University Press, Geelong, 1989, pp. 52-54, p. 52; Don Smart, Federal Aid to Australian Schools, St. Lucia, University of Queensland Press, 1978, p. 33; Eric Bowker, op. cit., pp. 165-167.

[145] Elsie May Pettinari, op. cit., pp. 48-49; Ronald Fogarty, Catholic Education in Australia - 1806-1950, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1959, p. 333.

[146] PPBC, Judith Cowley, op. cit.

Light Club at the RIDBC.[147] Other branches were established to carry out a wide variety of fundraising activities exclusively for the Sydney school.[148] According to the Lantern Club's information pamphlet, the Clubs:

> ...offer members the chance to be enterprising in a fun, social setting, and to enjoy the reward of knowing that their efforts are helping deaf and blind children.[149]

The Sydney school also received donations, including sound and echo equipment no longer required by the airforce after the war.[150] Additionally, the Sydney school benefited when the Commonwealth Government became involved in secondary education, with science and library grants for schools with children with disabilities.[151] Demand for places at the school continued to increase and by 1971, there were 186 students in 27 classes at the Sydney school, with half the students being boarders.[152]

Farrar school

The records for the Farrar school do not show any significant changes in the practices established during the early 1960s. The school continued to expand and by the start of the 1970s, there were nearly fifty deaf students enrolled.[153]

Newcastle school

The relaxation of the rule of enclosure in the early 1960s was extended in 1970, when permission was granted by the General Chapter of Renewal of the Congregation of the Dominican Sisters (Article 127) for these sisters to travel alone.[154] The further relaxation meant that the sisters were better able to gather information and exchange ideas about services to deaf children and their families. One means of sharing

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147 Royal Institute for Deaf and Blind Children, Lantern Clubs, n.d. (Brochure).

148 RIDBC, Lady Mayoress..., op. cit., p. 24.

149 RIDBC, Lantern Clubs, op. cit.

150 PPBC, Judith Cowley, op. cit.

151 Australia, Department of Education and Science, op. cit., p. 16; Eric Bowker, 'The Commonwealth and Education 1901-69', in J Cleverley and J Lawry (ed.), Australian Education in the Twentieth Century, Longman Australia Pty Limited, Camberwell, Victoria, 1972, p. 166; Trevor Parmenter, 'Factors Influencing the Development of Special Education Facilities in Australia for Children with Learning Disabilities/Learning Difficulties', Australian Journal of Special Education, vol. 3, no. 1, May, 1979, pp. 11-17, p. 12.

152 Australia, Department of Education and Science, op. cit., p. 33.

153 ibid.

154 St Dominic's Centre, Dooley Monograph, op. cit., p. 64.

information with other Catholic schools for the deaf was in meetings of Sisters drawn from the Newcastle, Strathfield and Portsea (Victoria) schools for the deaf.[155]

In terms of the curriculum, the Commonwealth Department of Education and Science noted that, at the Newcastle school, "Emphasis is placed on speech, language and music, and the girls join with hearing children for art, sewing, gym and sport".[156] The former place of music in the curriculum as an important part of language training was maintained and extended when the Kodaly method was adopted.[157]

It also appears that ballet training was a major area of interest for some of the girls.[158] When the Royal Academy of Dancing (in England) announced, in 1965, that children with disabilities could not enter the dancing examinations in the normal way, the Dominicans corresponded with the President of the Royal Academy, Dame Margot Fonteyn. As a result, the ruling was reversed for the deaf children.[159]

Integration policy was enhanced when the Catholic Education Office approved the use of facilities on the grounds of Santa Sabina in Strathfield, a suburb of Sydney, for secondary level deaf girls from the Newcastle school.[160] In the mid-1960s, twelve senior deaf girls transferred from the Newcastle school to Strathfield, and were integrated in the mainstream secondary school for practical science, art, needlework, craft, physical training, sport and meals. Residential quarters were also made available in the grounds of the Strathfield school.[161] By the 1970s, most senior deaf girls completed their schooling at Strathfield, with nine students aged thirteen to sixteen years of age enrolled in 1971.[162] At that time, the Newcastle school had sixty deaf female students.[163]

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155 J.A. Burke, op. cit., pp. 323-324.

156 Australia, Department of Education and Science, op. cit., p. 34.

157 St Dominic's Centre, Dooley Monograph, op. cit., pp. 110-111.

158 Rosary Convent, 'News from the Schools', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, September, 1960, pp. 14, 27-28, pp. 27-28; Elsie May Pettinari, op. cit., p. 13.

159 St Dominic's Centre, Dooley Monograph, op. cit., pp. 106-107.

160 Sister Egan, History of..., op. cit., p. 27.

161 ibid.; St Dominic's Centre, Dooley Monograph, op. cit., pp. 55, 57.

162 Australia, Department of Education and Science, op. cit., p. 34.

163 ibid.

As part of the reforms taking place, however, the Catholic Education Office decided to phase out the residential facilities at the schools for deaf students and focus on day schools. Consideration was also given to establishing special units in other regions, if parents requested them.[164]

Castle Hill school

Meanwhile, in 1965, the Castle Hill school hosted the State Conference of teachers of the deaf and during this period, the school's teachers were said to be studying for "...higher qualifications as teachers of the deaf".[165] By the early 1970s, the decline in the number of men and women entering the Religious life required increased employment of lay staff in the Catholic schools for the deaf.[166] In particular, there was a need for experienced teachers for early intervention work.[167] In 1971, at the first International Conference on the Religious Education of the Deaf, held in Dublin, Ireland, it was recommended that married deaf men who were "...well-educated and suitably trained" would be able to enter the Deaconate, as a prelude to becoming teachers of the deaf.[168]

That religion had ceased to be the centre of the curriculum had been noted in the late 1950s. At the Dublin conference, however, McGrath presented a paper, entitled "Making the liturgy meaningful to the deaf". The importance of a religious component in the education of the deaf was also reiterated in the statement that "...language development and catechetical instruction go hand-in-hand".[169] It was suggested, furthermore, that there was a need for research to be conducted concerning "...authentic Christian attitudes of deaf children".[170]

At that time, the declared focus of the curriculum at the Castle Hill school was to develop the deaf student's ability for "...leadership, community living and service",

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164 Sister Diana Santleben, 'The Gabriel Hogan Catholic Deaf Education Project', Sound News, vol. 23, no. 3, Spring, 1995, pp. 23-24, p. 23.

165 Sister Egan, History of..., op. cit., p. 34.

166 Elsie May Pettinari, op. cit., pp. 11, 62.

167 St Dominic's Centre, Dooley Monograph, op. cit., p. 69.

168 St Gabriel's School for the Deaf, op. cit.

169 ibid.

170 ibid.

within the hearing community.[171] To help accomplish this, deaf students at the Castle Hill school were given:

> ...repeated opportunity to make value judgements, to choose between alternate courses of action, to practise the voluntary acceptance of a difficult duty, and to learn the difference between a private advantage and the public interest.[172]

By 1971, the Castle Hill school had thirty-seven deaf male students, from kindergarten to sixteen years of age.[173]

Funding

Some of these reforms were motivated by a need to reduce costs. In the past, the church had used sisters and brothers as teachers, which represented a considerable saving in salaries. The need to employ lay staff adversely affected the budget of the Catholic Education Office. The financial difficulties were increased when, in 1970, the Independent Teachers Association won an industrial pay claim guaranteeing the same salary levels and working conditions for all teachers in non-government schools. The pay award included teachers of the deaf and had a profound effect on the budgets of Catholic schools when salaries had to be increased.[174]

Attempts to secure additional Government funding had not ensured the schools' financial future. Nor were their efforts helped by the considerable national debate which had started both over Commonwealth funding of education, generally, and State aid to church schools, in particular. In 1968, the New South Wales Education Department grant took the form of a per capita allowance for each primary and secondary school student.[175] As indirect support, there were also tax allowances for transporting younger students between their homes and school. However, the per capita grant was insufficient to support the schools and no other State funding was forthcoming. In the late 1960s, the Roman Catholic schools in general sought financial assistance from the Federal Government as a disadvantaged group.[176]

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[171] ibid.

[172] ibid.

[173] Australia, Department of Education and Science, op. cit., p. 34.

[174] Helen Praetz, Public Policy and Catholic Schools, Hawthorn, The Australian Council for Educational Research Limited, 1982, p. 71.

[175] Denise Edwards, op. cit., p. 16.

[176] Derrick Tomlinson, 'The Liberal Party', in Dean Ashenden (ed.), State aid and the division of schooling in Australia, Deakin University Press, Geelong, 1989, pp. 64-74, pp. 70-71.

Although the application did not meet with any immediate success under the disabilities program, the Commonwealth Department of Education and Science reported that the States Grants (Independent Schools) Act 1969, assisted with recurrent costs of independent schools with full-time children with disabilities. Provided they were in an educational program and not just being minded, per capita payments were made for preschool as well as primary and secondary aged children.[177] It is probable that the Catholic schools for the deaf were able to benefit, from preschool to secondary levels. A little later, they were also able to take advantage of additional Commonwealth grants for science facilities and libraries for schools with children with disabilities.[178]

Teacher training

With the changes in social attitudes, towards people with a disability and increasing development of special education facilities, including OD units and ITDs, there was a continued focus on teachers. One particular view of the teacher's role in integration was put by Bilek when she said:

> To speak only of the "integrated hearing impaired child' seems to beg the issue, to avoid the realities of the situation and to place the full burden for success on the child...it really lets everyone else off the hook...perhaps a more proper subject for discussion is the integrated teacher...[with] tolerance, patience, and capacity for welcoming all children are critical to her effectiveness.[179]

Up to this point, the only specialist teacher of the deaf training courses had been available at the State Government-funded Sydney Teachers' College.[180] Since its inception in 1954, enrolments of trained teaches of the deaf had not been high and in 1966 the intake was still only nine.[181] The result was that insufficient numbers of properly trained teachers were available to staff the New South Wales Education Department's OD units and special schools.

To try and improve the situation, the Teaching Service Act was proclaimed in 1970. This established an education advisory commission and removed teachers from the

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[177] Australia, Department of Education and Science, op. cit., pp. 15-16.

[178] ibid., p. 16.

[179] Susan Bilek, op. cit., p. 55.

[180] Ben Boer and Victor Gleeson, The Law of Education, North Ryde, Butterworths Pty Limited, 1982, p. 103.

[181] PPBC, Heffernan Essay, op. cit., pp. 4-5.

control of the Public Service Board.[182] The New South Wales Education Department also decided that teachers who successfully completed the course would be awarded the Diploma of Teaching of the Deaf. Teachers were also granted a salary increase.[183]

Australian Association of Teachers of the Deaf

The Australian Association of Teachers of the Deaf (AATD) had been formed in 1935 with great expectations of becoming the authority for certificating all professionals working in education of the deaf in Australia. With the advent of the New South Wales Education Department course at the Sydney Teachers' College, however, the AATD appeared to lose some of its status in this area. That loss was accentuated after the New South Wales Education Department awarded Diplomas from 1970.[184]

Federation for Junior Deaf Education

In the early 1970s, the Federation for Junior Deaf Education (FJDE) changed its name to the Parent Council for Deaf Education (PCDE) and became the recognised peak body representing deaf children in New South Wales State schools. In 1972, the PCDE began producing Sound News, a periodical for parents and teachers of deaf children published four times a year.[185] Thus parents of deaf children had gained a focus for advocacy and organised source of information, which saw their influence begin to spread.

Australian Federation of Adult Deaf Societies

On the national scene, the Australian Federation of Adult Deaf Societies was formed in 1965 by State groups from New South Wales, Queensland, South Australia, Tasmania, Victoria and Western Australia. Of particular value was their annual conference which enabled deaf adults from various States of Australia to meet and discuss issues, using a common non-oral language.[186]

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[182] J Burns-Wood and J Fletcher, Interim Report of the Working Party for the Establishment of an Education Commission, New South Wales Department of Education - Division of Planning, 1979, p. 4.

[183] PPBC, Heffernan Essay, op. cit., p. 9; Catherine Rumsey, 'Provisions for Professional Training in Fields related to Deafness', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 16, July, 1975, pp. 32-33.

[184] Pierre Gorman, op. cit., p. 61.

[185] Parent Council for Deaf Education, 'Untitled', Sound News, March, 1990, p. 1.

[186] NL.Npf362.420994/A938, Flynn Survey, op. cit., p. 1.

Summary and Conclusions

The latter part of the 1960s witnessed changing philosophies about the aims of education in general. These affected the education of the deaf in a number of areas. First, there was a move away from education for the workplace and towards education for self-development. Second, there was a questioning of segregation and compounding of moves towards greater integration, aided by European-based beliefs about normalisation. These were further influenced by American-based movements towards civil rights and individual freedom. Third, there was an increasing acceptance of the benefits of the early detection of deafness and the implementation of early intervention programs. Fourth, under influence of the above three, deaf education continued to become more individualised, which, for the oral deaf, was assisted by further refinements in technological aids.

The continued focus on individualisation also helped create the setting for questioning the dominant application of the oral-only approach to work with the deaf. This questioning was supported by findings from overseas research which reported the low literacy levels and generally poor academic achievement of deaf students. These results confirmed what many New South Wales educators of the deaf already knew, and led to further questioning of methods of language teaching, modified curricula, and the value of integration.

By the end of this period, the New South Wales Education Department had introduced ITD support for students in mainstream classes. The Catholic system had established a preschool and parent support services, a new private preschool had been opened in Sydney and additional Commonwealth funding of States' secondary school education was being introduced. This latter point set the scene for significant changes in deaf education in the following three years.

CHAPTER NINE

COMMONWEALTH GOVERNMENT INVOLVEMENT

Introduction

From 1972, the Commonwealth Government made considerable impact on deaf education in New South Wales through the provision of higher levels of funding in three main areas: first, to the State Government for special education programs; second, by expanding teacher training courses in Colleges of Advanced Education (CAEs); and third, by making grants to individuals and groups for research and implementation of innovative programs. In addition, there was a greater degree of community input into some of the decision-making processes, particularly through submissions to committees of investigation. This provided the adult deaf associations with opportunities to directly influence policies at various levels. These factors combined to increase existing services and to introduce new approaches to education of the deaf.

At the same time, findings from Australian research and greater dissemination of ideas through specialist associations of educators broadened the scope of discussion about educational approaches. The general failure of deaf students to reach the same academic level as hearing students began to be acknowledged as a failure of education rather than just a characteristic of the deaf child. Factionalism over mode continued, with a greater number of variations in teaching methods being introduced. Increasingly, the role of language acquisition in child learning was recognised, as were the influences of the family, as well as the child, teachers and schooling, on successful outcomes.

It was also a period that began to see the former dominant position in deaf education of the schools for the deaf being taken over by the New South Wales Government integrated mainstream and OD units. In particular, the Catholic system underwent reconstruction, with the Newcastle school substantially changing its role in deaf education

The Commonwealth Government

In 1972, the Australian Labor Party (ALP) was elected as the Commonwealth Government. As a result, the following three years saw the introduction of new policies and policy-making methods in relation to education. The period also emerged as the

culminating point for changes in attitudes which had been taking place within Australian society since the end of Second World War. In particular, both social and official attitudes towards people with disabilities in general and their education in particular, altered markedly and quite rapidly from this point.[1]

The ALP's education policy stated that every child entering secondary school was to have as much chance as any other child of entering higher education and obtaining high-status employment.[2] Once it was recognised that some students were cognitively disadvantaged, compensatory and special education was given considerable attention.[3] In the period 1973-1974, in particular, the findings of Commonwealth Government committees contributed to the development of a national policy on special education. For example, in 1974, the House of Representatives appointed the Select Committee for Specific Learning Difficulties (Cadman Committee) to investigate provisions for the education of children classified in this category.[4]

Among other points, educational policies in New South Wales were directed at the integrated education of children with disabilities in mainstream schools. Such integration was, however, subject to the provision of support services to schools and class teachers to enable them to cope with the anticipated difficulties. The policies also supported the continuation of special schools and OD units attached to

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[1] R Fitzgerald, 'Conclusion', Australian Education Review, vol. 7, no. 4, 1974f, pp. 65-66, p. 65; J Burns-Wood and J Fletcher, Interim Report of the Working Party for the Establishment of an Education Commission, New South Wales Department of Education - Division of Planning, 1979, p. 5; St Dominic's Centre for Hearing Impaired Children Archives: Dooley Monograph, To Be Fully Alive - A Monograph on Australian Dominican Education of Hearing-Impaired Children, 1989, p. 66; Norman W Drummond, Special Education in Australia, North Sydney, Torren Printing Pty Ltd, 1978, p. 74; Farrar Public School for the Deaf, Information Booklet, Ashfield, 1983, p. 4; St Dominic's Centre for Hearing Impaired Children Archives: Chris Maddock, Deaf school reborn with a revolution, 1977, p. 1.

[2] Bob Bessant and Allyson Holbrook, op. cit., p. 21; R Fitzgerald and R Musgrave, 'The Karmel Report', Australian Education Review, vol. 7, no. 4, 1974c, pp. 26-40, p. 30.

[3] ibid., pp. 30-33; Ben Boer and Victor Gleeson, The Law of Education, North Ryde, Butterworths Pty Limited, 1982, p. 47; Peter W Musgrave, 'Curricular research and development', in John P Keeves (ed.), Australian Education - Review of Recent Research, Allen & Unwin Australia Pty Ltd, North Sydney, 1987, pp. 90-116, p. 99.

[4] Ben Boer and Victor Gleeson, op. cit., pp. 64-66; John Keeves, 'New perspectives in teaching and learning', in John Keeves (ed.), Australian Education: Review of Recent Research, Allen & Unwin Pty Ltd, North Sydney, 1987a, pp. 147-178, p. 152; Trevor Parmenter, 'Factors Influencing the Development of Special Education Facilities in Australia for Children with Learning Disabilities/Learning Difficulties', Australian Journal of Special Education, vol. 3, no. 1, May, 1979, pp. 11-17, p. 13.

mainstream schools. In addition, the development of associated paramedical services for children in need of them was included in the national policy on special education.[5]

Of more immediate impact on education of the deaf were changes in Commonwealth Government approaches to funding.[6] For example, one of the recommendations from the Report of the Interim Committee for the Australian Schools Commission (Karmel Report) in 1973, was that Commonwealth funds be provided to the States for special education purposes.[7] The idea was accepted by the Commonwealth Labor Government and the money made available for 1974-1975.[8]

The ALP also used the Schools Commission Act, in 1973, to extend Commonwealth Government influence in tertiary education. In particular, increased funding to CAEs led to an expansion of teacher education courses, including those for training teachers of the deaf.[9]

Funding was also made available for a variety of research projects through the Commonwealth Schools Commission and the Australian Council for Educational Research's Australian Advisory Committee on Research and Development in Education.[10] The opportunity was taken up by a wide variety of people and organisations concerned about educational outcomes for students with disabilities. As well as leading to new policies, the wider use of the committee system by the Commonwealth Government led to greater contact with professional and community-based associations. The effect was said to be profound. In 1974, the Australian Education Review indicated that it was public opinion that impacted on Government decision-making, by influencing the findings of various committees appointed at that time. In particular, it was stated that:

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[5] Ben Boer and Victor Gleeson, op. cit., p. 65.

[6] New South Wales Department of Education, Education 2000, Document 787, 1992, p. 7.

[7] New South Wales Department of Education, 'Education for Special Children - What is being done for Atypical Children?', Inside Education, vol. lxviii, no. 3, Spring, 1974, pp. 12-24, p. 14; Australia: Schools Commission, Australian students and their schools (McKinnon Report), 1979, p. v; Trevor Parmenter, Factors Influencing..., op. cit., p. 13.

[8] R Fitzgerald and R Musgrave, The Karmel..., op. cit., p. 27; NSWDOE, Education for..., op. cit., p. 14.

[9] Ben Boer and Victor Gleeson, op. cit., p. 103.

[10] John Keeves, 'Preface', in John Keeves (ed.), Australian Education: Review of Recent Research, Allen & Unwin Pty Ltd, North Sydney, 1987b, pp. viii-xvi, pp. xi-xii.

> Rather than the committees causing major changes in the outlook of the party or vice versa, both have been most strongly influenced by changing attitudes and opinions in the broader world of education.[11]

Community input into decision-making

The New South Wales adult deaf were well placed to take advantage of the opportunity to provide input. While parents and professionals in some areas of specific learning difficulties were only just starting to form groups,[12] the deaf already had a number of organisations in place. These included the Adult Deaf and Dumb Society, the Association for Better Hearing, the Oral Catholic Deaf Association, the Catholic Deaf Association, the FJDE and a number of other locality-based parent-of-deaf-children associations such as the North Shore Deaf Children's Association (NSDCA).

These associations also had a history of political activism. For example, the FJDE collected statistics and information on and surveyed different aspects of the education of deaf children to support their own submissions to Governments and commissions, including the Royal Commission on Human Relationships.[13] The general Secretary of the FJDE claimed that these efforts had been successful in persuading Governments to meet the educational needs of deaf children.[14] Similarly, the NSDCA's efforts included "constant correspondence and challenge with the Department of Education and Government policy makers".[15]

One of the off-shoots of this general movement was that, after 1973, deaf adults, as a community group, started to be included in decision-making relating to the education of deaf students at the Sydney school.[16]

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[11] R Fitzgerald and R Musgrave, 'Administration and Decision Making', Australian Education Review, vol. 7, no. 4, 1974e, pp. 57-64, p. 64.

[12] Peter O'Connor, 'Planning for Special Education Needs', Australian Journal of Special Education, vol. 8, no. 1, May, 1984, pp. 5-8, p. 8; Trevor Parmenter, Factors Influencing..., op. cit., p. 13.

[13] Mary Wordley, 'Statistics on Hearing Impaired Children in NSW and A.C.T.', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 17, July, 1976, p. 98.

[14] Fiona Hollier, 'Editorial - Deafness and Learning Disabilities', Sound News, vol. 11, no. 2, September, 1982, p. 3.

[15] North Shore Deaf Children's Association Parent Support Group, 'The North Shore Deaf Children's Association Parent Support Group', Sound News, vol. 25, no. 1, Autumn, 1997, p. 14.

[16] Private Papers Barbara Crickmore: Judith Cowley, Experience of a teacher of the deaf in the 1970s in NSW, 1997.

Australian research

Up to this point, much reliance had been placed on overseas research pertaining to a wide range of issues concerning the deaf. With provision of Commonwealth funding, however, a number of projects specific to education of the deaf were undertaken. For example, in 1975, Brereton commenced a study with seventy children, aged four to five years, into the part played by visuomotor skills in the development of readiness for formal education.[17]

In July 1976, the AATD Journal contained a summary of twelve Australian research projects that were then underway.[18] These included:

* an investigation into the long-term effects of applying the oral mode to deaf preschool children;[19]
* the use of deaf signs as a first language;[20]
* the development of verbal intelligence in deaf children;[21]
* the syntax of deaf children;[22]
* the teaching of language to older deaf students;[23]
* reflective methods in developing language in young deaf children;[24]
* linguistic analysis of the language of deaf children;[25]
* an investigation in the organisational strategies in encoding for memory;[26] and
* a study of family needs being implemented in New Zealand.[27]

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[17] Australian Association of Teachers of the Deaf, 'Visuomotor Skills', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 16, July, 1975, p. 56.

[18] Australian Association of Teachers of the Deaf, 'Current Research', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 17, July, 1976e, pp. 99-106.

[19] Val Moseley and Tess Page, 'Progress of Deaf Children using the Oral Method', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 17, July, 1976, p. 99.

[20] Charles V Taylor, 'Deaf Sign as a First Language', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 17, July, 1976, pp. 99-100.

[21] Joan Hart, 'The Development of Verbal Intelligence in Children', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 17, July, 1976, p. 100.

[22] Judith Cowley, 'Factors Affecting the Syntax of Profoundly Deaf Children', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 17, July, 1976, p. 101.

[23] Burwood State College, 'Current Research in Education of the Deaf', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 17, July, 1976, pp. 101-102.

[24] ibid.

[25] ibid.

[26] ibid.

There were also many other research projects, undertaken during this period by educators of the deaf, which covered a wide range of issues.[28]

Research at the Sydney school had confirmed some previous findings that some deaf people may encode material differently to hearing people. Reporting the findings of her longitudinal study on deaf children's comprehension of English syntax in 1977, Cowley found that profoundly deaf children "...understand language at a significantly higher level...when the oral stimulus is supported by some form of manual supplement".[29]

The mode of instruction received further attention, with the University of Sydney carrying out studies of manual language sequencing with both Japanese and Australian deaf students.[30] Other research investigated the difficulties faced by lipreaders in the visual recognition of different consonants, vowels and diphthongs of Australian English.[31] Cued speech also received attention when a study of its relationship to audition and lipreading in the effective reception of spoken language was conducted.[32]

The enthusiasm for the oral mode was, undoubtedly, maintained by the continued development of hearing aids, which some still believed would render the deaf child able to learn as hearing children.[33] It appeared, however, that some educators did not have as much confidence in devices, which initiated studies into the efficiency and use of different types of hearing aids. As a summary, in 1977, Shaw reported differing conclusions from several research projects relating to their use. These studies had

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[27] M Parsons and C Wright, 'Social Competency and Guidance - A study of family needs (N.Z.)', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 17, July, 1976, p. 103.

[28] Lynette M Walker and Field W Rickards, 'Reading Comprehension Levels of Profoundly, Prelingually Deaf Students in Victoria', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 32, 1992, pp. 32-47, pp. 34-35; Elizabeth Slinn, 'Deaf Reading Development Project (DRDP)', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 17, July, 1976, p. 106.

[29] Judith Cowley, 'Deaf Childrens' Comprehension of English Syntax: A Longitudinal Study', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 18, July, 1977, pp. 22-29, p. 25.

[30] Charles V Taylor, op. cit. p. 99.

[31] Geoff Plant, 'Lipreading', Better Hearing, vol. 45, no. 2, June, 1991, p. 8.

[32] Australian Association of Teachers of the Deaf, 'Work in Progress', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 23, 1982b, p. 74.

[33] John Race, 'Deaf Children's Comprehension of English Syntax under Two Conditions', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 17, July, 1976, pp. 4-13, p. 4; National Library of Australia: R McL Shaw Np362/42 0994/T737, Towards the Future - Proceedings of a 1 day seminar - 8 May 1977, 1977b, pp. 1-8, p. 1.

investigated a number of issues, including the benefits of using bilateral hearing aids, and the use of body aids, or other types and amplification levels. In particular, there was concern as to whether high amplification would destroy residual hearing. Investigators were also concerned with both cognitive and auditory processing of sound, and the difficulties in discriminating voice from background noise.[34]

Others involved with the use of hearing aids had already warned of the need to provide a proper acoustic environment, including measures to reduce distracting background noise in the classroom, if the full advantages of hearing aid use were to be realised.[35] These measures were, generally, not available in OD units or mainstream classes where deaf children with hearing aids were integrated. As Barrand, of Paxton Barrand Hearing Aids Ltd, later pointed out:

> Hearing aids alone cannot cope with all listening conditions. Classrooms, by nature, are not very good acoustical environments for hearing impaired students.[36]

Barrand noted that problems included difficulties in the wearer discriminating between background noise and the teacher's voice. Another difficulty was created by reverberation of sound echoing back and forth from one surface to another.[37] He also noted the problems associated with volume control, a point made earlier by staff at the Heatley Secondary Special Education Unit for Hearing Impaired Students, when attempting to describe what it is like have a hearing loss they suggested to:

> ...think of a radio...By turning the volume [control] we can simulate what it is like to have a hearing loss...A common complaint of many aid wearers is that they can hear but not understand...The hearing aid can make sounds louder but often the message is broken or distorted. It can't make it clearer.[38]

Advances in technological aids were explored in a doctoral research study of the speech of the deaf by Adams at Macquarie University, in Sydney. This led to the

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[34] ibid., p. 4.

[35] Mrs John Calvert-Jones, 'Address by Mrs. John Calvert-Jones, representing the Advisory Council for Children with Impaired Hearing, on a parents' panel held by the Australian Association of Teachers of the Deaf on Monday 7th January, 1974.', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 15, 1974, pp. 48-51, p. 51; Gallaudet College, Educating the Hearing Impaired Child: A Legal Perspective, 1981, p. 1.

[36] Kevin Barrand, 'The Benefits of the Phonic Ear System', Sound News, vol. 11, no. 2, September, 1982, pp. 35-37, p. 35.

[37] ibid., pp. 35-36.

[38] Heatley Secondary Special Education Unit for Hearing Impaired Students, Information for Teachers of Integrated Students, 1980, p. 11.

development and construction of a computer-based aid to facilitate the hearing impaired child's control of stress, rhythm and intonation of his speech.[39]

Possibly reflecting the earlier concerns of parents of deaf children, like Calvert-Jones and educators of the deaf, like Sumi from Japan, a wide study of maternal attitudes towards young deaf children was undertaken in 1977. Involving English-speaking mothers of pre-lingually deaf children, aged between eighteen months and six years, the study also focused on the deaf child's early school adjustment.[40]

Several surveys were also conducted in the second half of the 1970s which included the gathering of statistics on school facilities available for deaf children, the numbers of children enrolled in those facilities and the number of children diagnosed with hearing loss over the previous ten years.[41] For example, a New South Wales and Australian Capital Territory Government project surveyed different disabilities amongst sixteen year old children over a two year period. The wide range of data collected enabled not only deafness, but "abnormalities" associated with deafness to be tabulated. The findings provided a relatively comprehensive list of multi-disability conditions, such as intellectual disability, blindness, epilepsy and behaviour disorders, that accompanied deafness in some children.[42]

In 1978, the Schonell Educational Research Centre at the University of Queensland undertook an Australia-wide survey on behalf of the Schools Commission to examine wide-ranging issues relating to special education. These included a review of the numbers and types of disabilities and the provisions made for disabled and learning disabled children, and to provide a description of the existing special educational provisions.[43]

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[39] Corinne Adams, 'A Computer Based Aid for the Teaching of Prosodic Features to the Hearing Impaired', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 23, 1982, pp. 61-62, p. 61.

[40] Catherine Rumsey, 'Maternal Concerns for Young Prelingually Deaf Children', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 18, July, 1977, pp. 30-40, pp. 30-31.

[41] Australian Association of Teachers of the Deaf, 'Statistics on Hearing Impaired Children in NSW and ACT', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 17. July, 1976d, p. 98.

[42] Australia: Department of Health, Ten Thousand Severely Handicapped Children in New South Wales and the Australian Capital Territory, (Dr D.J. Dykes) 1978, pp. ix, 50.

[43] Australia, Schools Commission, op. cit., p. 189; Trevor Parmenter, Factors Influencing..., op. cit., pp. 12-13.

While each of these surveys produced considerable data, they often proceeded from different starting points and used different categories in which to pool data. Looking back, it is now a little difficult to establish numbers of teaching staff or deaf students because of conflicts in totals between studies.

As the Schools Commission had discovered earlier, the statistics were confounded not only by the various categorisations of students, but also by the difficulty in obtaining accurate data.[44] For example, the number of hearing impaired children enrolled in OD units during the period 1976-1979 was said to have been between 580-585.[45] However, Dykes listed 37 multiply-disabled deaf children in Opportunity F (OF) classes,[46] and Drummond included special classes for deaf-blind, deaf-intellectual and emotionally disturbed students in his summary of special classes available to multi-disabled children.[47] Similarly, the Sydney school listed deaf-blind students amongst its enrolments.[48] Such students do not appear to have been included by the New South Wales Education Department's statisticians.[49]

The story is repeated for teachers. For example, the New South Wales Education Department appears to have counted only those qualified as teachers of the deaf,[50] while both the Farrar and the Sydney schools employed teachers who were not qualified in that capacity, as did the Catholic schools for the deaf.[51]

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[44] Australia, Schools Commission, op. cit. p. 177; Bernie Thorley, Greg Hotchkis and Meredith Martin, 'Clearing the Way for Inclusion', Special Education Perspectives, vol. 4, no. 2, 1995, pp. 71-80, p. 73; Ian Dempsey and Phil Foreman, 'Trends in the Educational Placement of Students with Disabilities in New South Wales', International Journal of Disability, Development and Education, vol. 44, no. 3, September, 1997, pp. 207-216, p. 210.

[45] Norman W Drummond, op. cit., p. 9; Australia, Department of Health, Ten Thousand..., op. cit., p. 51; New South Wales Department of Education Library Archives: Document 5, Educational Services for Hearing Impaired and Visually Impaired Children (Sensorily Impaired), 1981, pp. 37-43, p. 43; Sir Eric Willis, Address at the 114th AGM, Lantern Light, April, 1976, pp. 2-3, p. 3.

[46] Australia, Department of Health, Ten Thousand..., op. cit., p. 51.

[47] Norman W Drummond, op. cit., pp. 7-8.

[48] RIDBC Annual Report 1976, p. 6.

[49] NSWDOE, Document 5, op. cit., pp. 42-43.

[50] ibid., p. 42; K.W. Watkins, 'Extension of Services to Include Integration of the Handicapped into General Education Services', paper presented at Seminar on Education of the Disabled, Sydney, 1977, p. 35.

[51] Christine Miller and Catherine Rumsey, 'Directory of Schools for the Hearing-Impaired Children in Australia and New Zealand,', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 18, July, 1977, pp. 59-62, p. 59.

Teacher training

Recommendations contained in the 1973 Report of the Interim Committee for the Australian Schools Commission included the establishment of specialist courses for teachers of students with disabilities in several Commonwealth Government funded CAEs.[52] Within a year, funds were made available for, amongst other things, a one-year course at CAEs for experienced teachers wanting to upgrade their special education skills. In New South Wales, during 1974, participating CAEs included Alexander Mackie, Nepean, and Kuringai Colleges in Sydney, one at Newcastle, and one in the country town of Bathurst. The course for teachers of the deaf, which had started at the Sydney Teachers' College in 1955, continued and was augmented by a similar course at the Nepean CAE in second semester 1974.[53]

By 1978, Nepean CAE offered two courses, being the Diploma in Special Education (Hearing Impairment) and Graduate Diploma in Education Studies (Hearing Impairment) over one year full-time. The Diploma was available to two year trained teachers with experience. The prerequisite for the Graduate Diploma was to be a three year-trained certificated teacher with two years experience in mainstream teaching.[54] However, mature-aged students without these prerequisites were sometimes accepted.[55] The audiology component of the course was at the training section in the central offices of the National Acoustics Laboratory (NAL), formerly the CAL.[56] Also by 1975, St Dominic's Catholic preschool at Strathfield was a practice-teaching centre for individuals preparing for enrolment as teachers of the deaf at the Sydney Teachers College.[57]

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[52] NSWDOE, Education for..., op. cit., p. 14; Ben Boer and Victor Gleeson, op. cit., pp. 11, 103; L.J. Murphy, 'Editorial', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 14, no. 1, 1973b, p. 3; Jean Anderson, 'Implications for the Curriculum', Inside Education, vol. 70, no. 1, 1976, pp. 42-45, p. 42.

[53] NSWDOE, Education for..., op. cit., p. 14; Leo Murphy, 'Three Decades of Education of the Deaf in Australia', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 21, 1980, pp. 5-15, p. 13.

[54] Australian Association of Teachers of the Deaf, 'Directory of Courses of Training for Professionals Working with Hearing Impaired People', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 27, 1986, pp. 65-67, p. 66; Catherine Rumsey and Christine Miller, 'Directory of Courses of Hearing Impaired Children', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, July, 1978, pp. 40-41.

[55] Catherine Rumsey, 'Teacher Education in Australia', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 21, 1980, pp. 199-200, p. 199.

[56] ibid.

[57] Sister Egan, History of Catholic Deaf Education in Australia 1875-1975, Newcastle, Newey & Beath Printers Pty Ltd, 1975a, p. 42.

At the same time, the AATD continued to function and to invite applications for the status of Fellow. To be a Fellow of the AATD required the candidate to be 30 years of age or more, to have been actively engaged in education of the deaf for at least ten years, and to "...submit an original thesis on any branch of the education of the deaf, or a subject approved by the Board of Examiners".[58] In 1975, three candidates were made Fellows.[59]

Teachers' associations

With the increase in the numbers of teachers being trained for teaching a widening range of children with disabilities in special classes, came an increase in the formation of larger, multi-interest, professional, special education associations. For example, in 1974, the Australian Association of Special Education was established.[60]

AASE and other associations began publication of their own journals in 1976. These included the Teachers' Journal of Special Education, Association of Special Education Teachers Journal, and the Australian Journal of Special Education. They joined the established Australian special education publications which included The Exceptional Child, the Australian Journal of Mental Retardation, and the Australian Teacher of the Deaf.[61]

New South Wales Government provisions for the deaf

The 1970s was a time of increasing recognition of the wide range of educational needs of deaf children.[62] Within the general understanding, there was a diversity of opinions among parents, teachers and others, as to how these needs should be met. It prompted the Coordinator of the Department of Education in Western Australia to comment that "For these needs to be met and views legitimately catered for a range of

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[58] Pat Pengilley, 'Australian Aural Rehabilitation...A Possible Model', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 17, July, 1976, pp. 90-97, p. 90.

[59] Australian Association of Teachers of the Deaf, 'Australian Teachers of the Deaf', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 17, July, 1976b, p. 33.

[60] Bill Rose, 'AASE 21st Birthday Celebration', Australian Association of Special Education, N.S.W. Chapter, Newsletter, no. 2, June, 1995, pp. 2-4, pp. 2-3.

[61] Norman W Drummond, op. cit., p. 74; Australian Association of Teachers of the Deaf, 'Coming Events - International Course in the Education of Deaf Children of Normal Intelligence by Means of the Maternal Reflective Method', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 23, 1982a, p. 79.

[62] R.G. Brill, International Congresses on Education of the Deaf - An Analytical History 1878-1980, Washington, D.C., Gallaudet College, 1984, p. 406.

educational facilities is required".[63]

The New South Wales Education Department had recognised the need in 1973, when it acknowledged that: "Parental pressure was increasingly directed to retaining children in local schools to promote normalisation and prevent them being `institutionalised'."[64] Since 1946 at least, the New South Wales Education Department, whether under a Labor or Liberal State Government, had been seen to be susceptible to parent pressure. Following an established pattern of response to parent pressure, the New South Wales Government carried out an investigation of parental preferences for the schooling of children with sensory impairments. As a result, the Education Department reported that it was clear that the consulted group of parents wanted:

1. a flexible system to meet the individual needs of deaf children as far as possible;

2. emphasis on provisions in local community schools; and

3. provision of appropriate services to support such a system, particularly a skilled teaching force.[65]

OD units

The New South Wales Education Department expanded its services for deaf children in four areas. First, there was an increase in provisions for children aged 0-5 years.[66] Second, the Education Department increased the number of OD units by 12 in 1973,[67] and third, they reduced the OD unit student:teacher ratio from 10:1 to an average of 6:1.[68] Finally, they increased the number of itinerant teachers. The ITDs were particularly needed to service the greater number of deaf children being enrolled in mainstream classrooms. These points were in accord with the New South Wales Education Department's policy that provisions for integration should be made close to

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[63] B.J. Fisher, 'Policies and Practices in the Education of Children with Impaired Hearing in Western Australia', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, July, 1978, pp. 62-64, p. 62.

[64] NSWDOE, Document 5, op. cit., p. 37.

[65] ibid., p. 37.

[66] ibid., p. 41.

[67] ibid., p. 40.

[68] ibid., pp. 41-42.

the child's home or, at least, in their local community.[69] While acknowledging the advantages of mainstream integration and OD units, others saw technical disadvantages, for example, difficulties in the provision of adequate acoustic facilities and equipment to many different mainstream schools across the State.[70]

Preschool-aged children

The 1974 Coleman Report emphasised the need for an inter-disciplinary approach between Departments of Health, Education and Social Security in regard to young disabled children. Coleman also stated the need for after-school care for preschoolers with disabilities in an integrated setting where possible.[71] With the change of Federal Government in 1975 and a resumption of power of the Liberal-Country Party coalition, there was a drop in the number of new programs being funded by the Commonwealth.[72] At that time, however, the New South Wales Education Department offered a service to deaf preschool-aged children and their parents, by operating:

> ...special nursery classes in the two schools for the deaf and at three other centres, by regular appointments with O.D. teachers at several schools and by appointment with experienced teachers of the deaf at the National Acoustic Laboratories.[73]

Itinerant Teachers of the Deaf

Earlier, in 1973, one of the newly-elected Labor Commonwealth Government's policies was to provide special educational funding to States. As a result, the New South Wales Government was able to expand many of its support services, including the number of ITDs, who were increased from three to fourteen in the following year.[74] By

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[69] New South Wales Department of Education, Division of Guidance and Special Education, Services for Children (Book 2), Sensory Disability - Physical Disability - Language Disability, 1983, p. 1; NSWDOE, Document 5, op. cit., p. 41; New South Wales Department of Education, Policy Statement on Hearing Impaired Education in New South Wales, 1975, p. 1; New South Wales Department of Education, 'N.S.W. Department's Policy on Educating Your Child', Sound News, vol. 13, no. 2, September, 1984, p. 75.

[70] National Library of Australia: Shirley Dawson Nq362.42/D272, Let the Accent be on Ability, H.J. Heinz Company Australia Limited, 1973, p. 23.

[71] Australia: Social Welfare Commission, Project Care: children, parents and community (Marie Coleman, Chairman), 1974, p. 19.

[72] Norman W Drummond, op. cit., p. 79.

[73] NSWDOE, Education for..., op. cit., p. 13.

[74] NSWDOE, Document 5, op. cit., p. 40; R Fitzgerald, 'Conclusion', Australian Education Review, vol. 7, no. 4, 1974f, pp. 65-66; K.W. Watkins, op. cit., p. 35; NSWDOE, Education for..., op. cit., p. 13; Private Papers Barbara Crickmore: New South Wales Department of Education, Education for Special Children, 1975, p. 9; New South Wales Department of Education, Annual Report of the Minister for Education for 1973, 1974c, p. 26.

1979, there were 54 ITDs supporting approximately 650 students in New South Wales.[75] In addition, the role of the ITD had expanded to include individual teaching, assisting regular teachers with advice and team teaching, advising on auditory training techniques and equipment,[76] and educating parents and providing follow-up programs for them.[77]

Dissatisfaction with services of itinerant teachers of the deaf

In many cases ITDs supported both deaf and visually impaired children and the caseload could be spread over a large geographic area of New South Wales. This caused difficulties for some ITDs, who saw the problem as one of poor administration which, ultimately, disadvantaged the children. For example, one ITD had been allocated to a country region, but complained that she was given visually impaired children on her caseload. Also, she had to travel 280kms one way to reach one of her deaf students (requiring her to stay overnight in a motel two nights a week). She felt that many itinerant teachers were "...physically 'burnt out' and mentally 'dulled'".[78]

On the other hand, some parents complained that their integrated deaf child had not received the itinerant teacher support to which they were entitled.[79] Despite these complaints, the State system of education for deaf children placed great reliance on ITDs as an integral part of the New South Wales Government's deaf education services.

The Sydney school

In addition to the non-oral deaf, the Sydney school had, for some time, enrolled deaf students for whom mainstream integration or OD units had proven inappropriate.[80] The

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[75] NSWDOE, Education for..., op. cit., p. 13; NSWDOE, Document 5, op. cit., p. 42.

[76] Leo Murphy, op. cit., p. 8.

[77] NSWDOE, Document 5, op. cit., pp. 38-39.

[78] Itinerant Teacher of the Deaf, 'Itinerant Teacher of the "Deaf"?', Sound News, vol. 10, no. 2, May, 1981, p. 5.

[79] Marie Glenday, 'Letters to the Editor - Parents Unite!', Sound News, vol. 10, no. 2, May, 1981, p. 4; Private Papers Barbara Crickmore: Gail Taylor, A Parent's Report Concerning Deaf Children with Other Special Needs, 1985, p. 4.

[80] Brian Graham, 'Schools Renewal: How Devolution has Affected Deaf Education in NSW', Sound News, vol. 20, no. 4, December, 1992, pp. 26-27, p. 27; New South Wales Department of Education, Who's Going to Teach My Child? - A Guide for Parents of Children with Special Needs, 1991, p. 24.

success of the school was suggested, in 1974, when the Premier of New South Wales, Sir Eric Willis, claimed in his address to the 114th AGM of the Sydney school, that at the Institute "...the overall teaching arrangements for deaf, deaf/blind and blind departments are as good as anything in the world" and "...the methods employed and the standards reached by the Institute as being among the most advanced in the world".[81] Three years earlier, however, a concerned Board of the Sydney school had launched a longitudinal program to investigate strategies for improving the standard of language comprehension and language usage of deaf children.[82] The move into research may also have been prompted by public perceptions that education of the deaf was not succeeding.[83]

Public perceptions may also have played a part in 1974, when the "Royal New South Wales Institution for Deaf and Blind Children" became the "Royal New South Wales Institute for Deaf and Blind Children", changing "institution" (because it suggested regimentation and institutionalisation), to "institute".[84] In the same year, part of the education policy of the Sydney school was changed when the combined method replaced the former consecutive presentation of speech and fingerspelt patterns. According to Cowley, the introduction of the:

> ...combined method permits grammatical communication simultaneously presented through an auditory and visual system: auditorily through speech and residual hearing and visually through lipreading and the use of grammatical signing and fingerspelling.[85]

The Sydney school also practiced partial integration of some students into mainstream schools. For example, the Premier referred to one deaf secondary-level boy who was successfully integrated and continued on to get all first levels in the Higher School Certificate.[86]

In the meantime, communication difficulties between non-oral deaf children and child

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[81] Sir Eric Willis, op. cit., pp. 2-3.

[82] RIDBC Annual Report 1973, p. 6.

[83] House of Representatives, Hansard, 14 November, 1968, pp. 2858-2859, p. 2859; House of Representatives, Hansard, 16 April, 1970, p. 1223; Private Papers Barbara Crickmore: Ferris Report, 1972 Fellow Report - The Winston Churchill Memorial Trust, 1973, p. 143.

[84] RIDBC Annual Report 1974, p. 6.

[85] Judith Cowley, Deaf Childrens'..., op. cit., p. 22.

[86] Sir Eric Willis, op. cit., p. 3.

care workers untrained in manual modes were noted by parents. To help remedy the situation, the production of a manual language dictionary, the New South Wales Dictionary of Finger Spelling and Signs - Let's Talk With Our Hands, was undertaken at the Sydney school.[87]

New South Wales Education Department's policies for the deaf

Despite the move towards generalised policies for all children with a disability, the New South Wales Education Department produced a range of new policies aimed specifically at the deaf. Of particular importance was that the Department acknowledged for the first time a need for a flexible approach to facilitating language development. In 1975, the New South Wales Education Department implemented a policy of continuous programs for deaf preschool-aged children and their parents. These programs were to start as soon as possible after deafness had been diagnosed. At an appropriate age, the choice was made between enrolment in a mainstream preschool with ITD support, or placement in an OD unit.[88]

In 1975, the New South Wales Education Department also issued a new policy on the education of primary and secondary oral-deaf students which stated as basic principles that:

1. hearing impaired children should be in the immediate company of hearing peers;
2. educational provision should be based on the child's continuing demonstrated need expressed as potential for language development, irrespective of degrees of hearing loss;
3. programs should lead towards the goal of ease of communication adapted to the child's competence and level of development.[89]

The 1975 policy document also provided four classifications of deaf students and recommended the educational environment for each category, being:

1. students with potential for language development to be placed in regular classes;

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87 RIDBC Annual Report 1976, p. 5.

88 NSWDOE, Policy Statement..., op. cit., p. 1.

89 NSWDOE, Document 5, op. cit., p. 40.

2. students with some language problems to be placed in OD units, in regular schools;
3. students with severe problems in communication to be placed in special schools;
4. students with additional severe problems to have provisions made appropriate to the manifested problems.[90]

Adding to these and other policies, the Premier of New South Wales, Sir Eric Willis, stated, that the:

> ...Department of Education believes that, except where children are under major difficulties, they should be integrated as far as possible into the classroom life of normal departmental schools.[91]

Curriculum

Notwithstanding increased support for integrated students and improvements in student:teacher ratios in OD units, there was still concern about the suitability of the imposed hearing child curriculum for deaf students. The issue was not restricted to New South Wales or Australia for that matter. Bilek stated that for many Canadian children "...the conventional curriculum is inappropriate and undesirable".[92] Part of this conclusion was drawn from the fact that a large proportion of classroom time had to be allotted each day to language learning, at the expense of subject matter. It was also partly due to additional time needed for subject learning because of the deaf child's lack of understanding of common concepts and issues learned naturally by mainstream hearing children in everyday conversations with adults and peers. Although the additional time factor varied, Dawson reported staff in a Swedish training college as claiming that "...deaf students require three to four times as much consultative time as the hearing students".[93]

Amongst the specific issues of concern were those raised at the 1975 International Congress of Deaf Educators, which included concept formation, telecommunications,

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[90] ibid.

[91] Sir Eric Willis, op. cit., p. 2.

[92] Susan Bilek, 'The Integrated Teacher', in Winifred Northcott (ed.), The Hearing Impaired Child in a Regular Classroom, Alexander Graham Bell Association for the Deaf Inc., Washington, DC, 1973, pp. 52-56, p. 54.

[93] NL.Nq362.42/D272, Shirley Dawson, op. cit., p. 26.

and the place of the arts.[94] The emotional component of learning, recognised a few years previously, was also considered in lesson planning for deaf students. For example, some teachers of the deaf saw value in non-verbal exercises, such as clay-work, sketching and movement, as a means of helping deaf students to develop communication skills involving emotions rather than just words.[95] The idea was supported in the Catholic schools for the deaf, particularly in relation to the Kodaly music program, "...because of the sheer enjoyment it provides, with a balance of physical and mental activity and of individual and group participation".[96]

Other educators were concerned with the teaching of basic living skills, particularly those related to money, health and safety, government and law, social behaviour, housing, employment and trade union membership.[97] The latter two topics were more necessary in the 1970s than before World War Two, because there had been a move away from trade training as part of the normal secondary school curriculum.[98] As a consequence, most deaf secondary school students gained very little experience of work or working conditions.

Life-long learning

The shift from a philosophy of education-for-work, towards education-for-life or as learning as a life-long experience, continued from the 1960s.[99] The considered appropriateness of the philosophy at the time was reflected by the Australian Committee on Technical and Further Education's 1974 report, which stated:

> It is unrealistic to divide life into two parts - formal education during youth, and employment during adulthood. Formal schooling alone to the age of 15 or 16 is unlikely to educate a person for a lifetime, especially as the pace of technological and social change appears to be increasing....[100]

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[94] R.G. Brill, op. cit., pp. 404-405.

[95] Pat Pengilley, op. cit., p. 96.

[96] Private Papers Barbara Crickmore: Heffernan Essay, A History of the Course for Teachers of the Deaf, 1974, p. 60.

[97] Australian Association of Teachers of the Deaf, 'Social Education Text', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 17, July, 1976c, p. 104.

[98] PPBC, Heffernan Essay, op. cit., p. 137.

[99] Lawrence Angus, 'Equality, Democracy and Educational Reform, in David Dawkins, (ed.), Power and Politics in Education, London, The Falmer Press, 1991, pp. 233-276, p. 247; Norman W Drummond, op. cit., p. 80; Australia: Interim Schools Committee, Report of the Interim Committee of the Australian Schools Commission (Chairman, Karmel), 1973, p. 23.

[100] Australian Committee on Technical and Further Education, TAFE in Australia - Report on the Needs in Technical and Further Education - April 1974 - Volume 1, AGPS, 1975, p. 22.

While this philosophical shift affected the organisation and curriculum of all schools, it had particular impact on those serving the deaf.[101] On the one hand there was a general recognition of the concept of life-long learning, while, on the other, an equally general recognition that the deaf would have little opportunity to participate in formal post-secondary education. Certainly, some deaf students had been encouraged to leave school and go into colleges of technical and further education for trade and pre-apprenticeship training since the late 1800s. However, the practice was little more than an extension of or alternative to school which was aimed at achieving the relatively short-term goal of employment. It was not the same as preparation for life-long learning. For the first time, perhaps, the issue of preparing deaf students for life-long education was raised.

The most rapid response to this new approach to adult education was made not by the tertiary education sector, the State education system, or the Catholic schools, but by the deaf themselves. In 1975, the Deaf Society of New South Wales commenced further education programs "...with a single teacher and four students, expanding to 2 qualified teachers assisted by 17 volunteers catering for up to 40 students."[102] As the service developed, courses offered included driver education, creative expression through drama, and language improvement.[103]

Failure of outcomes

Despite the occasional story of success, there was ongoing concern for the provision of educational services appropriate for the deaf student's needs. In particular, there was a growing realisation that most deaf students were still not achieving the same level of educational success as their hearing peers, and rarely studied beyond the School

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[101] Caroline Dobson and Kerry O'Connor, 'Schools Step Out', Sound News, vol. 10, no. 2, May, 1981, p. 27.

[102] J.L. Ferris, A Brief History of the Society Celebrating 75 Years - "From Patronage to Partnership", Deaf Society of New South Wales, Annual Report, 1988, pp. 8-11, p. 11.

[103] Australian Deafness Council, Making Things Easier - A Guide to Services in N.S.W. for Deaf and Hearing Impaired People, 1985, p. 19.

Certificate level.[104]

Language acquisition

Perhaps, for the first time, the New South Wales State education system appeared to acknowledge that a distinction should be made between the deaf child's ability to produce speech and the acquisition of language. Archival material of the New South Wales Education Department suggests that educators were being advised to draw a clear distinction between speech and language "...as the former is subsumed by the latter".[105]

This major concession, which further challenged the oral approach, had support from overseas deaf educators. For example in 1975, Sumi is reported as saying that "...speech and speech reading are not principal, but peripheral abilities in language".[106] While the importance of language had been accepted for many years, it now appeared that educators were beginning to accept that language could be expressed in different ways. However, it by no means signalled a return to Sister Hogan's position, decades before, when she declared that the manual mode was the natural language of the deaf.

A failure to master language was identified as the deaf student's main barrier to education success.[107] Up to this time, the mastery of basic language acquisition was being seen mainly as an essential prerequisite to the development of proficiency in oral communication. In this context, the major hindrances to the deaf child's ability to

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[104] New South Wales Department of Education Library Archives: Language Acquisition and its Educational Implications to Profoundly Deaf Children, 1974a, pp. 1-7, p. 2; National Library of Australia: Brian Bernal Np362/42 0994/T737, Towards the Future - Proceedings of a 1 day seminary - 8 May 1977 - Deaf Peoples View, 1977, pp. 22-23, p. 22; House of Representatives, Hansard, 14 November, 1968, p. 2859; House of Representatives, Hansard, 16 April, 1970, p. 1223; PPBC, Ferris Report, op. cit., p. 143; B.J. Fisher, op. cit., p. 64; Neil Johnson, 'Words on Work', Sound News, vol. 10, no. 2, May, 1981, pp. 32-34, p. 33; Catherine Harper, 'A big day for the deaf', Sydney Morning Herald, Saturday, 6 December, 1975, p. 13.

[105] New South Wales Department of Education Library Archives: Language Acquisition and its Educational Implications to Profoundly Deaf Children, 1974a, pp. 1-7, p. 3.

[106] R.G. Brill, op. cit., p. 398.

[107] Richard G Brill, The Education of the Deaf - Administrative and Professional Developments, Washington DC., Gallaudet College, 1974, pp. 55-56; Alison Gregg, 'Helping Children Develop Language: Programming for An Integrated Hearing and Hearing Impaired Pre-School Group', Australian Early Childhood Resource Booklets, no. 5, 1981, pp. 1-16, p. 1; PPBC, Heffernan Essay, op. cit., p. 59; J Fiona Savage, 'Classroom Communication in Profoundly Deaf Children', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 23, 1982, pp. 25-28, p. 25; Wilma Vialle and John Paterson, 'A Sign of the Future: Recognising the Intellectual Strengths of the Deaf', Australian Journal of Education of the Deaf, vol. 2, no. 2, 1996, pp. 31-36, p. 32.

communicate effectively included:

1. a lack of a range of vocabulary;[108]
2. inadequate knowledge of the grammatical structure of English;[109]
3. a lack of knowledge of intonation and cadences;[110] and
4. a lack of coordination between the tongue, lips and jaw, and breath-voice control.[111]

Without effective communication skills, which were still deemed to be oral by many educators, the deaf child was acknowledged as having great difficulty in learning subject content.[112] For example, McGrath, who became Principal of the Castle Hill school in 1973,[113] summed up the situation which had been recognised by deaf educators for many years, when he said:

> We can't really say that we send deaf children to start school. Everyone else starts school work from the first day. But the deaf child can't do that. First he has to learn the language, learn the code - and this might take him till he's fifteen years old. But only then can he start school work in the sense that everyone else does. That's why language teaching is so important.[114]

It was also acknowledged that the deaf child without a broad range of oral language skills would be disadvantaged in any efforts at social integration, particularly with hearing peers. For example, he or she needed to master the abbreviated and colloquial language of the playground and everyday situations.[115] In addition, it was acknowledged that teaching some aspects of language to the deaf, such as idioms,

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[108] National Library of Australia: Flynn Survey Npf362.420994/A938, Australian Federation of Adult Deaf Societies - Survey of the Year 1960 Australian Deaf School Leavers`, 1973, pp. 1-4, p. 3; Catherine Harper, op. cit., p. 13; NL.Np362/42 0994/T737, R McL Shaw, op cit., p. 6.

[109] NL.Np362/42 0994/T737, Brian Bernal, op. cit., p. 22; PPBC, Heffernan Essay, op. cit., p. 60; National Library of Australia: Bruce Muller Np362/42 0994/T737, Towards the Future - Proceedings of a 1 day seminar - Deaf Peoples Views, 1977, p. 21; John Race, Deaf Children's..., op. cit., p. 4.

[110] Corinne Adams, op. cit., p. 61; Jack Ashley, 'Foreword', in Winifred Brinson (ed.), Deafness in the Adult, Thorsons Publishing Company, New York, 1986, pp. 7-8; Alison Gregg, op. cit., p. 4.

[111] PPBC, Heffernan Essay, op. cit., pp. 57-58.

[112] John Race, Deaf Children's..., op. cit., p. 4.

[113] Sister Egan, History of..., op. cit., p. 34.

[114] Alison Gregg, op. cit., p. 1.

[115] ibid.

metaphors, similes, and ironies, was very difficult.[116] The failure of these efforts was highlighted in a survey conducted by the Adult Deaf Society when it was pointed out that the deaf person's English language "...is rarely colloquial, often stilted".[117]

Other factors

Among a number of factors which compounded the problems of deaf education was that many deaf children did not start to learn language until they came into contact with the formal education system. The difficulties and complexity of late language acquisition for deaf children had been acknowledged by educators and researchers for many years, and the deaf child's subsequent poor language development could not be seen entirely as a failure of the schools. Other factors were identified, such as "differing learning capabilities" and "differing home support".[118]

Differing learning capabilities

The issues of learning capabilities and home support were also noted by an English report which concluded that, to succeed academically, a deaf child must have the intelligence and determination to succeed as well as "...strength of character to withstand the loneliness...".[119] Personal qualities of the child were seen as additional to professional guidance and the cooperation of teachers and parents because the deaf were seen to have so much more to learn.[120] Anderson, a Senior Lecturer in English at Goulburn Teachers College, likened the situation to that of ethnic minorities being taught a second language where the child was always struggling to keep up, having started a long way behind everyone.[121]

Differing home support

In 1973, findings from other research in the UK centred on early mother-child interactions. It was claimed that the amount of verbal stimulation directed toward the

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[116] Heatley Secondary Unit, Information for Teachers, op. cit. p. 13; Leo Jacobs, A Deaf Adult Speaks Out, Washington, DC, Gallaudet College Press, 1982, p. 83.

[117] National Library of Australia: J Flynn Np362/42 0994/T737, Towards the Future - Proceedings of a 1 day seminar - 8 May 1977, 1977, pp. 9-13, p. 3.

[118] ibid., p. 10.

[119] R.G. Brill, op. cit., p. 405.

[120] Catherine Harper, op. cit., p. 13.

[121] Jean Anderson, 'Implications for the Curriculum', Inside Education, vol. 70, no. 1, 1976, pp. 42-45, p. 42.

child significantly influenced the child's intellectual development.[122] The following year, Calvert-Jones, addressing an AATD conference contended that:

> It is up to the parents (who are recognized as providing the most important single element in the development of their children) to support the teachers and to bring about improvements where possible in the education of our deaf children...No matter what method is used, few children can hope to succeed without interested and dedicated parents....[123]

This view was later supported by Dykes who saw the mother's role as crucial from the time the child was first diagnosed as being deaf.[124]

Viewing the issue from a different perspective, some educators saw the home as the starting place for communication problems. For example, Sumi believed that many hearing parents did not have sufficient linguistic contact with their deaf children at an early stage. He also noted, in contrast, that deaf parents of deaf children did have such contact through manual communication.[125] For the deaf child of hearing parents, however, the deaf child had to be taught everything that a hearing child may pick up naturally, such as during dinner conversations or as a result of watching television.[126] Even with non-verbal communication between parent and child, the deaf child of hearing parents was seen to have been at a disadvantage. For example, it was claimed at the 1975 International Congress of Deaf Educators, in Tokyo, that:

> ...every hearing parent used body language and gestures with their hearing children, but as soon as they found out their child could not hear, they stopped doing it altogether.[127]

Acceptance of the importance of the child and family, along with the school, was seen to render education for the deaf child as different to that of hearing children.[128] For some educators, this led to an emphasis on trying to find ways to provide effective

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[122] K. Alison Clarke-Stewart, 'Interactions between Mothers and Their Young Children: Characteristics and Consequences', Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development, vol. 38, no. 6-7, Serial No. 153, 1973, pp. 1-93, p. 36.

[123] Mrs John Calvert-Jones, op. cit., p. 51.

[124] Australia: Department of Health, Ten Thousand Severely Handicapped Children in New South Wales and the Australian Capital Territory, (Dr D.J. Dykes) 1978, p. 48.

[125] Kohei Sumi, 'Tokyo - 1975', in R.G. Brill (ed.), International Congresses on Education of the Deaf - An Analytical History 1878-1980, Gallaudet College, Washington, DC, 1984, p. 398.

[126] Catherine Harper, op. cit., p. 13.

[127] R.G. Brill, op. cit., p. 398.

[128] Richard G Brill, The Education..., op. cit., p. 56.

learning opportunities for deaf students.[129] At the same time, other educators still retained the belief that the deaf child was a normal child with a hearing problem.[130]

Teachers

A large portion of the blame for these failures had, in the past, been attributed to the qualities of the teacher. In 1975, Wilson still claimed that:

> It is the behaviour of teachers in classrooms that will finally determine whether or not our schools and units for deaf children meet or fail to meet the challenge of our times.[131]

The special qualities of teachers of the deaf[132] were also addressed by Bernal, a deaf presenter at a New South Wales seminar on deaf issues. On the one hand, he acknowledged the success of the Education Department's ITD supported integration program, for those deaf children with sufficient language. On the other hand, he contended that those deaf children "...whose speech and vocabulary is limited should be taught only by deaf teachers".[133]

Of course, this was not a new concept for Australia. Pattison and Hogan, who were the first teachers of the deaf in New South Wales, and Rose, who was the first teacher in Victoria, had all been deaf. Their respective replacements had all been hearing teachers and the practice of appointing hearing teachers remained, apart from a few deaf ex-students who had qualified under the pupil-teacher training system. To support his call, Bernal cited practices in the USA that provided many deaf children with deaf teachers.[134] The matter had also been raised at the 1971 Catholic Conference in Dublin, as reported earlier.[135] Nevertheless, it appears that no deaf teachers were appointed in New South Wales at that time.

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[129] B.J. Fisher, op. cit., p. 64.

[130] NSWDOE, Language Acquisition..., op. cit., p. 2; Merrill Jackson, 'Stimulating reading acquisition behaviour in some Deaf Children exhibiting severe reading problems', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 15, 1974, pp. 59-62, p. 59.

[131] Angela Wilson, 'Try it--you'll like it', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 16, July, 1975c, pp. 36-42, p. 36.

[132] NL.Np362/42 0994/T737, Brian Bernal, op. cit., pp. 22-23; R.G. Brill, op. cit., p. 434; PPBC, Ferris Report, op. cit., p. 145.

[133] NL.Np362/42 0994/T737, Brian Bernal, op. cit., pp. 22-23.

[134] ibid., p. 23.

[135] St Gabriel's School for the Deaf, Golden Jubilee 1922-1972, Parramatta, St Gabriel's School for the Deaf, 1973.

Part of the difficulties of certifying deaf teachers was probably related to the qualifications for deaf teachers. It had long been recognised that few deaf students experienced academic success in the New South Wales education system. Therefore, there was little chance of any deaf individual progressing to a CAE course. Even if they did achieve the necessary entry requirements, few support provisions were available at the tertiary level to help them cope with lectures and other forms of instruction designed for hearing students.

Debate about mode

Although the need for manual supplements was being recognised, debate about the most appropriate mode continued. To a large extent, this debate continued to be fed by intuition and ideology rather than being based on validated research findings.

Limitation and doubt about oral mode

Reflecting on the growing recognition of the role of language acquisition, Hart, who was Head of Division of Child Studies at Mount Gravatt Teachers College in Queensland, observed that the:

> ...oral approach was bound to fail for some children as a communicative method because of the lack of knowledge of the sort of language used by typical children at different stages of their development.[136]

On the other hand, Daniel Ling, Professor of Aural Rehabilitation at McGill University, in Canada, asserted that this problem could be overcome if the teaching of speech to deaf children followed a developmental path. Towards this end, he created the Ling system of teaching language. In 1976, he told teachers of the deaf that the most efficient way to develop speech was through the use of the deaf child's residual hearing, and the most efficient way to develop auditory discrimination skills was through the teaching of speech.[137]

Although the oral mode still dominated, there was continued concern about the value of lipreading for some deaf children. Supporting claims made in the 1960s and early 1970s, some educators contended that lipreading still allowed little more than about

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[136] Norman Hart, 'Children's Language Development', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 18, July, 1977, pp. 4-13, p. 4.

[137] St Dominic's Centre, Dooley Monograph, op. cit., p. 118.

one-third of words to be recognised.[138] Similarly, Haspiel, an American audiologist, considered the successful use of lipreading to be location or event specific: "...lipreading is so limited - there are so many situations that you can't lipread".[139] It also appeared that little could be done to remedy the situation. In 1975, Perry, an Australian who was involved in psycholinguistics and in the language development of deaf children, said that although a number of tests had been designed to measure a person's ability to lipread or speechread, there were few that attempted to be diagnostic.[140]

An investigation of the combined mode

Following the change in policy in 1974 regarding the mode to be used at the Sydney school, a three-year investigation was undertaken to determine the effectiveness of the combined mode as an instructional technique for the education of profoundly deaf children.[141] The first testing sections of this investigation were conducted by the Division of Guidance and Special Education of the New South Wales Department of Education.[142]

Catholic schools for the deaf

In the mid-1970s, the Catholic schools for the deaf were taking a predominantly auditory and verbal approach but with greater appreciation of the difficulties this created for deaf children. For instance, in 1974, the Tate Oral English Program, developed by Gloria Tate in New Zealand as a means of teaching English as a second language, was adopted by St Gabriel's.[143]

The programs for deaf Catholic students in the first half of the 1970s also appeared to

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[138] Catherine Harper, op. cit., p. 13.

[139] Margaret Haspiel, 'Australian Aural Rehabilitation...A Possible Model - Pat Pengilley and her Dialogue with Margaret Haspiel', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 17, July, 1976, pp. 95-96, p. 96.

[140] Frederick Perry, 'Tokyo - 1975', in R.G. Brill (ed.), International Congresses on Education of the Deaf - An Analytical History 1878-1980, Gallaudet College, Washington, DC, 1984, p. 409.

[141] J Race, 'Factors Affecting the Syntax of Profoundly Deaf Children', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 16, July, 1975, p. 53; Judith Cowley, Deaf Childrens'..., op. cit., p. 22.

[142] J Race, op. cit., p. 53.

[143] G Pitman, 'Second Language Learning and the Teaching of English to Deaf Children', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 21, 1980, pp. 67-69, p. 69; G. McGrath, 'Teaching Speech Rhythm', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 16, July, 1975, pp. 43-45.

have been greatly affected by the Remobilisation Plans formed by the Fifth Provincial Chapter of the Holy Name Province. Formulated from 1973, the twin tasks of the plan were the "...renewal of religious life..." and the "...retrenchment of some of the Provinces apostolic commitments...[including] special schools".[144] The latter part of the Plan had a profound impact on the Newcastle school in particular, and altered the balance of deaf education provision in New South Wales generally.

Newcastle school

Since 1875, an important factor in the operation of the Newcastle school had been the complete autonomy of the program. This autonomy was, however, severely limited by the Remobilisation Plan.[145] The most immediate outcome was the closure of the secondary school facilities for deaf girls at the Santa Sabina College, at Strathfield, in 1974.[146] With some concern expressed by the staff of the Newcastle school, thirteen secondary day students enrolled at mainstream Catholic schools in Newcastle and Maitland.[147] Full-time secondary level integration was not a new idea, but for the Catholic system, the process was accelerated by the Remobilisation Plan, as well as changes in social attitudes towards the disabled.[148] In particular, increased integration, and broader community interaction, such as inclusive education, was seen as more desirable than the comparative isolation of the Newcastle boarding school for deaf students.[149]

In 1975, the City's newspaper reported suggestions in Catholic education circles that the Newcastle school be moved to concentrate resources in a more heavily populated area, such as Sydney.[150] Part of the reason given for this suggestion was the difficulties the Newcastle school was having in attracting trained staff. On the other

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[144] St Dominic's Centre, Dooley Monograph, op. cit., p. 73.

[145] J.A. Burke, History of Catholic Schools for Deaf and Dumb Children in the Hunter Valley, MA Thesis, University of Newcastle, 1974, p. 362.

[146] St Dominic's Centre, Dooley Monograph, op. cit., p. 71.

[147] J.A. Burke, op. cit., p. 358.

[148] St Dominic's Centre, Dooley Monograph, op. cit., p. 66.

[149] ibid.; St Dominic's Centre for Hearing Impaired Children Archives: Chris Maddock, Deaf school reborn with a revolution, 1977, p. 1; Phil Foreman, 'Disability, integration and inclusion: Introductory concepts', in Phil Foreman (ed.), Inclusion & Integration in Action, Harcourt Brace & Company, Sydney, 1996, pp. 1-25, p. 12.

[150] St Dominic's Centre for Hearing Impaired Children Archives: Matt Hayes, School May Shut, 1975b.

hand, Dooley wrote that the reasons for moving were because the "...boarding school was no longer serving the needs of the majority of Catholic children".[151] An alternative reason was provided in a newspaper report that the school was scheduled to close in 1977 due to lack of sufficient funds. The report further indicated that the deaf students were to be "...absorbed into State schools".[152]

Funding

There appears to have been some credibility in the newspaper's version of events. The funding base of the Catholic schools had begun to change for the better during the 1960s with the input of Commonwealth Government grants. Since 1970, the Commonwealth Government had subsidised the capital costs of buildings and equipment for schools that were conducted by church or voluntary organisations for children with disabilities, on a $2 for $1 basis.[153] These grants helped meet the cost of school extensions which provided additional places for new enrolments. From 1973, the Schools Commission provided additional funding to disadvantaged Catholic schools in general.[154] Although the amounts were not equivalent to those received by non-government schools, they did assist with the costs of salaries for lay teachers.[155]

In 1974, specific Commonwealth Government grants to the States made it financially possible for the New South Wales Education Department to assume full responsibility for the education of all children with disabilities. The accompanying shift in New South Wales Government education policy included taking over special schools that were run by voluntary groups or other associations. Subsequently, an offer was made to absorb the Newcastle school into the State education system, but Heffernan, who was deputy-Principal at the time, was quoted as saying that the proposal was not even considered. The school declined the offer because, it was claimed that the school's independence

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151 St Dominic's Centre, Dooley Monograph, op. cit., p. 73.

152 David Knox, 'School in century of service to the deaf', Newcastle Morning Herald and Miners Advocate, Monday, 11 August, 1975, p. 8.

153 NSWDOE, Education for..., op. cit., p. 14.

154 Helen Praetz, Public Policy and Catholic Schools, Hawthorn, The Australian Council for Educational Research Limited, 1982, p. 44.

155 ibid., p. 47; Elsie May Pettinari, Catholic Education in Newcastle, 1870-1977, Extended Essay in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Bachelor of Educational Studies Thesis, Newcastle, 1979, pp. 62-66.

enabled it to introduce new methods and progress with complete freedom.[156]

By the next year, the Newcastle school was reported as facing severe financial difficulties because of rising costs. These were said to have resulted mainly from a rise in the proportion of lay teaching staff and the unmet increased salary costs this incurred.[157] In the mid-1960s, there had been ten religious teachers, but this number had declined because of the drop in the number of religious vocations.[158] By 1975, according to Knox, the Newcastle school had eight teachers, comprising four sisters and four lay staff, for its 43 students which included 27 boarders.[159] Despite the increased level of Commonwealth grants to the Catholic education system, Knox reported in 1975 that the Newcastle school and the Castle Hill school still depended on the support of service clubs and charity organisations to keep up the supply of funds.[160]

Associations for the deaf

The associations for the deaf were also going through a period of change. For example, Ferris questioned the ultimate value of the support organisations by asking if they were perpetuating the dependence of deaf people:

> ...rather than encouraging the development of resources within the community at large that will bring about a greater awareness and acceptance of deaf people generally?[161]

It was also suggested that such community-support associations indirectly perpetuated particular philosophies or approaches to working with deaf people. During the 1970s, for instance, it was claimed that invited guest speakers for the FJDE were all oralists.[162] The deliberate focus on the promotion of oral mode was despite a general acknowledgement of the need for some deaf children to have access to manual supplements or sign language.

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156 St Dominic's Centre for Hearing Impaired Children Archives: Ann Wharton, Schools Opposed to Government Takeover, 1975, p. 1.

157 St Dominic's Centre, Matt Hayes, School may..., op. cit.; Elsie May Pettinari, op. cit., pp. 62-66.

158 St Dominic's Centre, Matt Hayes, School may..., op. cit.

159 David Knox, op. cit., p. 8.

160 ibid.; St Gabriel's School for the Deaf, op. cit.

161 PPBC, Ferris Report, op. cit., p. 146.

162 Mary Wordley, 'Mary Wordley - August 1990', Sound News, December, 1991, pp. 1, 6-7, p. 6.

From the mid-1970s there was a noticeable increase in the public participation of deaf adults in issues related to deafness.[163] Commenting on events in the United States during the same period, Ferris observed that this increased participation had created a power-base for the deaf in that country. As such, "deaf power" (which originated in the United States) was impacting on the public image of deafness, shifting it from a social stigma to one of "...new 'respectability' in the eyes of not only deaf people, but the hearing population also".[164] As a result and using the American experience as an example, the deaf community in Australia began to portray themselves as a minority community group, similar to Aborigines and American Indians, rather than as a minority disability group. To reduce the public perception of deafness as a disability, the Deaf and Dumb Society deleted "Dumb" from its title in 1975.[165]

Summary and Conclusions

The election of the ALP to govern Australia in 1972 was both a result of and a catalyst for changing social values in a range of areas, including education. In general, community attitudes towards people with disabilities, which in this period included the deaf, had been evolving since the 1930s from varying degrees of rejection, through ambivalence, to acceptance of their equal rights. Although the ALP was in Government for only three years, the impact of Commonwealth involvement in special education during that period was substantial. By the mid-1970s, the Commonwealth Government's approach to special education programs including those for the deaf had been expanded. New teacher training courses, research findings and results of innovative programs, together with input from members of associations for the deaf, had contributed a broader approach to the education of deaf children by the New South Wales Government.

The mid-1970s was also a period that witnessed consolidation of the New South Wales Education Department as the dominant provider of deaf education in the State. The elevation was assisted by substantial remodelling of services provided by the Newcastle school, which further reduced the influence of the Catholic Church in deaf education in New South Wales. The dominance of the State was accompanied by

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[163] NL.Np362/42 0994/T737, R McL Shaw, op cit., p. 19.

[164] PPBC, Ferris Report, op. cit., p. 135.

[165] Leo Jacobs, op. cit., p. 19; Tim Phillippe and Dwight Auvenshine, 'Career Development Among Deaf Persons', Journal of Rehabilitation of the Deaf, vol. 19, no. 1-2, July/October, 1985, pp. 9-17, p. 9; J.L. Ferris, op. cit., p. 10.

increased emphasis on integration of deaf students into mainstream classrooms.

The policy of integration, as well as the oral approach, was opposed by sections of the deaf community as inappropriate for some deaf students. The opportunities for involvement in the debates about deaf education provided the adult deaf with a new degree of power and a new perception of their identity within the general hearing community. The experiences were to form an important foundation for increased participation of deaf associations in policy-making over the following two decades.

At the same time, there was an increase in the availability of information about deaf education resulting from Australian research. More than ever before, considerable discussion of a wider range of issues was afforded by the formation of new professional associations and their publications. In particular, there was increasing recognition that the central barrier to a successful academic education of deaf students was poor language acquisition. The reason for poor language acquisition was seen not only as a result of the failure of teaching strategies, or the deaf child's lack of ability, but was also related to the role of the child's family. More importantly for teachers of the deaf, however, the latter half of the 1970s set the scene for resurrection of the manual mode of educational instruction and a rekindling of debate between the manualists and oralists.

CHAPTER TEN

THE CONTINUING DEBATE

Introduction

The change of Commonwealth Government in 1976, which invested executive powers in the Liberal Coalition, preceded a period of severe cuts in Government spending. Federal funding for innovative programs and research into deaf education issues all but disappeared by the end of the 1970s.

At the same time, the financially troubled Catholic schools for the deaf underwent significant changes to their operations. The Newcastle school was totally restructured, the Castle Hill school converted to co-education and ITDs introduced to help support a growing number of deaf students integrated into Catholic mainstream schools. The New South Wales Education Department maintained integration as a priority, which saw increases in enrolments of deaf students in mainstream schools and significant declines in enrolments at the Sydney school and, to a lesser extent, the Farrar school. Additionally, much of the New South Wales Education Department's past focus on deaf education was eclipsed by broader approaches to services for all students with special needs.

The only innovations in school-based deaf education were those developed by the Royal Institute for Deaf and Blind Children. From the late 1980s, they created new facilities for secondary-, primary- and preschool-aged deaf children.
Within the Education Department, however, the general educational approach remained much the same as the 1970s, and was characterised as a period of relative stagnation in the development of new services and educational approaches for the deaf.

The one exception was the introduction of signed English as part of Total Communication (TC).[1] TC replaced the oral-only approach and heralded the return of the manual mode for educational instruction. It also heralded the return of the old

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[1] Raymond Jeanes and Brian Reynolds, (ed.), Dictionary of Australasian Signs for Communicating with the Deaf, Melbourne, Victorian School for Deaf Children, 1982, pp. vii-viii, x; Greg Leigh and Merv Hyde, 'Teachers' Use of Fingerspelling in Simultaneous Communication with Deaf Students', Australian Journal of Education of the Deaf, vol. 2, no. 1, 1996, pp. 24-29, p. 27.

manual versus oral debate, but did little to improve educational outcomes for deaf students. If nothing else, signed English appeared to pave the way for the acceptance of Australian Sign Language, which became known as Auslan and the natural language of the deaf, as an official community language.

The official acceptance of Auslan was the culminating point for recognition of the non-oral deaf as a cultural entity in their own right. It also prompted calls from the non-oral deaf community for Auslan's introduction as a mode of instruction in deaf education.[2]

By the 1990s, there was a growing realisation that deaf students were still not attaining levels of academic success comparable to their hearing peers. In the pursuit of improved educational services for the deaf, parents of deaf students and other adult groups working for the deaf expressed concern about a number of old and familiar but unresolved issues, as well as some new ones. For example, the provision of adequate, unbiased information and support for parents of deaf children, concerns about the skills and motivation of bureaucrats, educators and medical professionals, as well as questioning the practice of integration. In addition were matters associated with resourcing deaf education, relating not only to the supply of appropriately trained teachers, but now also relating to the availability of interpreters.

All these matters combined to create a convoluted picture of deaf education in New South Wales. The debate was further complicated by a number of educational reviews and reports, as well as legislative changes at both Commonwealth and State levels relating to the provision of equal opportunity and aimed at curbing anti-discriminatory practices. In 1995, it led one of Australia's peak bodies of deaf organisations to state that while education had been on their agenda for a number of years they had "...been unable to give it any attention...due to the complexity of the problem".[3] Not all educators and advocates avoided the issues, however, and the mid-1990s was characterised by much discussion about deaf education.

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[2] Parent Council for Deaf Education, 'PCDE Auslan Submission', Sound News, vol. 25, no. 3, Spring, 1997, pp. 8-12, p. 9; Joe Lo Bianco, 'Language of the Deaf', Weekend Australian, Saturday, 28-29 April, 1990, p. 18; Private Papers Barbara Crickmore: Australian Association of the Deaf, Guidelines for the Portrayal of Deaf People in the Media, 1991, pp. 2-4; Carol-lee Aquiline, National Deaf Youth Conference 1994, Australian Association of the Deaf, 1995b, pp. 9-10.

[3] Liz Binet, 'Deafness Forum Update', Sound News, vol. 23, no. 1, Autumn, 1995, p. 15.

Outcomes of deaf education in the 1990s

At the start of the 1990s, the Deaf Society of New South Wales's chief executive, Anne MacRae, was reported as saying that few deaf children progressed through formal education to the Higher School Certificate or tertiary studies.[4] Her claim was supported by a 1998 report which found that few deaf students enrolled at TAFE colleges or university.[5] The Deaf Society's own publication stated that for prelingually deaf individuals their "...chances of gaining appropriate education and training and of finding rewarding employment are very slim".[6] Similarly, it was claimed in a newspaper report that many deaf individuals "...will never achieve a high standard of education and few have any real chance of a professional career".[7] On the other hand, representing the views of the New South Wales Education Department, Graham claimed that many students with severe to profound hearing loss who were fully integrated into their local school and receiving ITD support were:

> ...in the vast majority of cases achieving at age level and progressing towards satisfactory school certificates and higher school certificates to the same extent as their hearing peers.[8]

In 1996, Komesaroff, from Deakin University in Victoria, indicated that a growing number of teachers and parents were acknowledging the disappointing educational results of deaf students.[9] Komesaroff accompanied a number of other critics in noting that most deaf students still left school with lower standards of literacy and lower prospects for successful post-secondary education than did their hearing peers.[10]

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[4] Paul Macguire, 'Deafness: Spreading the word', Newcastle Herald, Wednesday, 22 August, 1990, p. 12.

[5] Sue Rayner, 'World Congress of the World Federation of the Deaf Report', Sound News, vol. 27, no. 3, Spring, 1999, p. 13.

[6] Deaf Society of NSW, 'Project Knock Knock', Newsbrief, vol. 1, no. 2, March, 1990a, p. 3.

[7] Sigrid Kirk, 'Silent Survival', Sydney Morning Herald, Wednesday, 20 March, 1991, p. 17.

[8] Brian Graham, 'Schools Renewal: How Devolution has Affected Deaf Education in NSW', Sound News, vol. 20, no. 4, December, 1992, pp. 26-27, p. 27.

[9] Linda Komesaroff, 'Removing the Barriers in Deaf Education', Australian Journal of Education of the Deaf, vol. 2, no. 1, 1996, pp. 40-44, p. 40.

[10] Quentin Iskov, 'But is it "Cricket"? - Signed English at Marion High School', AAD Outlook, vol. 4, no. 4, Summer, 1994, pp. 18-19, p. 18; Michele de Courcy, 'Will "Unlocking the Curriculum" Achieve Access in Deaf Education', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 31, 1991, pp. 37-51, p. 37; Juliana Friedlander, 'McRae Report Submission', Sound News, vol. 25, no. 2, Winter, 1997, pp. 15-18, p. 16; Paul Macguire, op. cit., p. 12; Deaf Society of NSW, op. cit., p. 3; Dr Harlan Lane, 'Deaf-Centred Education and Empowerment', Sound News, vol. 24, no. 3, Spring, 1996, pp. 8-13, p. 11; Wilma Vialle and John Paterson, 'A Sign of the Future: Recognising the Intellectual Strengths of the Deaf', Australian Journal of Education of the Deaf, vol. 2, no. 2, 1996, pp. 31-36, pp. 32-33.

Lack of language

In the 1990s, the lack of language was again highlighted as a major barrier to academic success for deaf students.[11] Friedlander, speaking as a consultant for the deaf in TAFE, noted that when deaf students enrolled in TAFE courses, some could write a sentence in English, but "...for the most part they are functionally illiterate".[12] Her claim was supported by a deaf adult who stated that:

> One of the biggest problems facing deaf people...is getting accreditation for their skills. Because the language presents difficulties it is not so easy for them to display the kind of written skills that many examination situations require. We have the ability but our limited education means limited vocational opportunities, and this means lower paid jobs and a lack of self-esteem.[13]

Lack of accountability

Some saw part of the problem as being due to the Education Department's lack of accountability in monitoring the effectiveness of service delivery in special education.[14] More specifically, Thorley noted that while regular education had some barometers of success, such as annual basic skills testing, school certificate moderators' examination and the higher school certificate,

> ...special education [has] nothing at all in the way of results to show...one is left with the impression of a system characterised by excessive secrecy and cover-ups.[15]

The Parent Council for Deaf Education (PCDE) held similar views, asserting that the Education Department "...has used many excuses not to collect data on the outcomes for students with disability, nor on the placement of personnel, or the expenditure of resources".[16] Consequently, the association supported recommendations 37-39 of the McRae Report relating to the collection of appropriate data, carrying out general needs analysis and monitoring service delivery and outcomes.[17] The association also

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[11] Phil Foreman and Greg Leigh, An evaluation of an innovative bilingual (Auslan and English) educational program: Principles, resources, environment and outcomes (Research in progress), 1999, Introduction; Stephen Marr, 'Speaking out for the deaf', Newcastle Herald, Wednesday, 21 August, 1991, p. 19.

[12] Juliana Friedlander, A High..., op. cit., p. 1.

[13] Private Papers Barbara Crickmore: Harrison Article, Leigh Harrison and Diana Hodgetts: A voice for deaf people in Tasmania, 1985.

[14] T Johnston, op. cit., pp. 16-17.

[15] Bernie Thorley, Greg Hotchkis and Meredith Martin, 'Clearing the Way for Inclusion', Special Education Perspectives, vol. 4, no. 2, 1995, pp. 71-80, op. cit., p. 73.

[16] Juliana Friedlander, McRae Report..., op. cit., p. 18.

[17] ibid.

reflected on other recommendations of the Report in naming the attitudes of school Principals, towards enrolment of deaf students, as "historically one of the worst problems..."[18] facing parents.

In 1997, after several meetings between the PCDE and the New South Wales Education Department, it was agreed that a number of issues would be addressed, including the training and qualification of teachers of the deaf, in both auditory management and sign language and matters pertaining to untrained and unqualified teachers' aides. In addition, the PCDE was to complete a Policy and Procedures Manual to ensure all guidelines were met.[19] In 1998, the PCDE admitted that, while the process had been fairly amicable and professional at all times, "...we are a long way from achieving a workable outcome given the policies and bureaucracy that is found in a large Government Department such as the DSE [Department of School Education]".[20]

Mode

The return of manualism and debate about mode

The oral mode had gained favour amongst educators, politicians, and members of the general community, in the 1930s, as a consequence of prevailing attitudes and social values about normalcy. By the 1960s many attitudes and community values were going through a period of considerable change, both in Australia and overseas. Educationally, concern for the poor outcomes for deaf students began to take precedence over social preferences for modes of communication. As a consequence, the failures of oral mode training were openly discussed among teachers, adult deaf, parents, and deaf students. Parents of deaf children and associations of adult deaf began to take a more active role in demanding better educational opportunities for the deaf, including the use of an instructional mode best suited to the individual deaf child. It was not so much a matter of the oral mode losing favour but one of a general recognition by educators of the individual needs of deaf students. Whereas the implementation of the oral mode had been closely aligned to social ideologies aimed at benefiting society, the return of manualism was based on a search for more efficient teaching methods to benefit the deaf child.

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[18] ibid., p. 17.

[19] Cathy Clark, op. cit., p. 5.

[20] Parent Council for Deaf Education, 'Disability Discrimination Action between Parent Council for Deaf Education and the Department of School Education', Sound News, vol. 26, no. 1, 1998a, p. 5.

The introduction of manual supplements to the oral-only approach, in the late 1960s and early 1970s, saw the manual mode gradually regain acceptance by some educators and the community at large. After more than twenty years of virtual banishment, however, there were few teachers of the deaf who had retained manual language teaching skills. The need to support teachers and parents led to the development of a collection of sign language guides produced by individual schools, such as "Let's talk with our hands", "Aid to communication with the deaf" and "Word for word".[21]

Signed English

Apart from these booklets, the need for a standardised national manual mode had long been recognised,[22] and resulted in the Australian Sign Language Development Project being established. The aim was to produce a dictionary of standard manual mode signs, to be used in schools for the deaf in Australia and New Zealand.[23] Taking more than six years to complete, 2,200 signs were created to complement the teaching of TC to deaf students.[24] Apart from anything else, the official sanctioning of a manual mode through what came to be known as signed English (because it followed the word order of the English language), reignited the old manual versus oral debate.

Sign language

As mentioned in Chapter Eight, for many years oral mode supporters had promoted speech acquisition as an essential prerequisite to learning. In contrast some educators now claimed that research into sign languages of the deaf around the world had found that they shared all the characteristics of spoken language and were equal to it in most cases.[25] Supporting the idea for acceptance of broader approaches, Power asserted

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[21] Raymond Jeanes and Brian Reynolds, op. cit., p. vii; Burwood State College, 'Current Research in Education of the Deaf', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 17, July, 1976, pp. 101-102.

[22] Ernest Lund, The Education of Deaf Children - An Historical Analysis of Thought and Procedure in New South Wales, MA Thesis, Melbourne University, 1939, pp. 99, 103, 105-6, 111.

[23] Raymond Jeanes and Brian Reynolds, op. cit., p. vii.

[24] ibid., pp. vii-viii, x; Greg Leigh and Merv Hyde, Teachers' Use..., op. cit., p. 27.

[25] T. Johnston, 'Deaf Sign Language & the Cochlear Implant: Opportunities and Problems Created by a better Understanding of Sign Languages and Advances in the Technology of Hearing Aids', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 30, 1990, pp. 1-17, p. 8; Des Power, 'Point of View - Signed English and Auslan in Educational Programs for Deaf Students', Newsletter of the Australian Association of Teachers of the Deaf, 1993, pp. 10-13, p. 10.

that both the hearing and the deaf should look forward to the emergence and application of different modes of education instruction for deaf students, as well as "...critical consistent evaluation of their results".[26]

Manualists versus oralists

In 1994, Leigh, an educator of the deaf, noted that educational practice with deaf students has been dominated by disputation concerning the appropriateness and effectiveness of sign versus spoken English for over four centuries.[27] A prominent feature of the debate had been and continued to be, the polarisation of the opposing groups.[28]

Poor outcomes - resulting from oral and manual modes

Earlier statements from both manualists and oralists overseas reported in Australian publications did little to suggest that either would willingly give ground. For example, in 1981 an article in the Australian Journal of Early Childhood cited the Principal of the Birkdale School for Partially-Hearing Children in the UK as asserting that deaf students should learn the natural oral mode, without fingerspelling or other artificial aids.[29]

On the other side of the argument and using a more emotive image, another UK source expressed anxiety that "...the oral methods might be causing brain damage by failing to stimulate the deaf child's brain".[30] Conversely, Canadian research was cited in the

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[26] ibid., p. 13.

[27] Gregory R Leigh and Merv B Hyde, 'Factors Influencing Teachers' Effectiveness in the Production of Simultaneous Communication', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 34, 1994, pp. 39-53, p. 39.

[28] John Race, 'Deaf Children's Comprehension of English Syntax under Two Conditions', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 17, July, 1976, pp. 4-13, p. 8; J Fiona Savage, 'Classroom Communication in Profoundly Deaf Children', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 23, 1982, pp. 25-28, p. 25; Marie H Kelliher, 'The Relationship Between Mode of Communication and Self-Esteem in Deaf Children of Hearing Parents', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 23, 1982, pp. 4-19, p. 4; Paul Macguire, op. cit., p. 12; Margaret Marrum, 'Education for Hearing Impaired Students - A Reflection on Present Trends', Sound News, March, 1990, p. 5; Mary Ryan, 'President's Report 1990-1991', Sound News, December, 1991, p. 9; Elizabeth W Ker, 'Talks by Professor Bonnie P Tucker, J.D.', Sound News, vol. 22, no. 2, Winter, 1994, p. 7; Jane Freeman, 'Definitely Deaf', Sydney Morning Herald, 9 March, 1995, pp. 11-12; K.W. Hodgson, The Deaf and Their Problems - A Study in Special Education, London, Watts and Co, 1953, p. 341.

[29] Alison Gregg, 'Helping Children Develop Language: Programming for An Integrated Hearing and Hearing Impaired Pre-School Group', Australian Early Childhood Resource Booklets, no. 5, 1981, pp. 1-16, p. 5.

[30] Paul Arnold, 'Experimental Psychology and the Deaf Child', Journal of Rehabilitation of the Deaf, vol. 19, no. 1-2, July/October, 1985, pp. 4-8, p. 4.

AATD journal, suggesting that "...teaching signing at an early age forecloses the possibility for deaf individuals of learning to speak normally...".[31] More than a decade later, the PCDE contended that many deaf students were told that sign language:

> ...is a negative communication tool only used by the "failures of oral communication"....it segregates Deaf people into a "silent Deaf world" and that their speech and language skills will decline if they become fluent in Auslan.[32]

Apart from any connection with "failure", the segregation threat appeared to play on the fears of some hearing parents of deaf children. For example, Johnston pointed out that some hearing parents felt that they had already "lost" their child to deafness and feared that if they allowed signing, and did not concentrate on speech and hearing, they would also lose them to the deaf community.[33]

Other people felt just as strongly about "the discredited educational approach of speech-only-first..."[34], and were particularly critical of the work of the Ewings which had been used to support the oral mode. Referring to claims for the success of oralism, Johnston suggested that closer examination of the facts would lead to "...some doubt and scepticism...". [35] Reminiscent of Barkham's criticism in the 1950s and 1960s, he noted that the Ewings worked with students who had high levels of residual hearing or were post-lingually deaf. He further suggested that, despite the claims of success, many oral deaf were unable to conduct a conversation and that their speech was comprehensible "...to only a relatively small circle of teachers, friends and family...".[36]

On the other hand, writing in the Volta Review, Goldberg cited three USA studies to claim that "...individuals who have, since early childhood, been taught through the active use of amplified residual hearing, are indeed independent, speaking, and contributing members of mainstream society".[37] Similar claims were made by the South Australian deaf school, but were aggressively refuted by Bartlett, a deaf man and

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[31] Wendy Lynas, 'Deaf Children and Integration', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 27, 1986, pp. 35-38, p. 38.

[32] Parent Council for Deaf Education, PCDE Auslan..., op. cit., p. 11.

[33] T Johnston, op. cit., p. 14.

[34] ibid., p. 8.

[35] ibid., p. 10.

[36] ibid.

[37] Donald M Goldberg, 'Auditory-Verbal Philosophy: A Tutorial', Volta Review, vol. 95, Summer, 1993, pp. 181-186, p. 184.

former student of the school. Asking when the "spectacular failure" of the oral mode would be acknowledged, he claimed that:

> Approximately 95% of these 'oral' deaf children fail to 'make it' in the hearing world, and have 'reverted' to Auslan or are caught in a world between those of hearing and Deaf people. These caught in limbo are unable to communicate efficiently with others, Deaf or Hearing. Their lives are a mess, thanks to the overwhelming altruism, insularity and paternalism of the Oral School and its benefactors.[38]

Bartlett also pointed out that other countries had already acknowledged the limitations of oral-only made. In Sweden, he said, it had even been made illegal and deaf children had to be taught bilingually.[39]

Other groups had related the known difficulties associated with lip-reading.[40] For example, the Senior Welfare Officer for the New South Wales Adult Deaf Society, was reported as saying that lipreading is an inexact process and that only about one third of English sounds are visible on the lips. Further, it was pointed out that not everyone speaks in a way which lends itself to lipreading.[41] The latter point was supported by Leong, a deaf woman, whose Chinese father spoke English with Chinese lip movements and an accent.[42]

Pedagogical problems

Since 1946 the Farrar school had promoted an oral-only approach. By 1980, however, staff recognised that "...unsupported oralism was not answering the needs of those children being placed at Farrar".[43] Consequently, there was a change from oral-only to the use of TC and cued speech.[44] Although this move towards the use of manual supplements can be seen as part of the world-wide trend, it also reflected the declared

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[38] Paul Bartlett, 'This is S.A.A.D's response', Flying Fingers, no. 1, May, 1995a.

[39] Paul Bartlett, 'Now Here's Something Interesting...', Flying Fingers, no. 1, May, 1995b.

[40] Australia: Department of Health, Ten Thousand Severely Handicapped Children in New South Wales and the Australian Capital Territory, (Dr D.J. Dykes) 1978; Pat Pengilley, 'Australian Aural Rehabilitation...A Possible Model', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 17, July, 1976, pp. 90-97, pp. 94-95.

[41] Catherine Harper, 'A big day for the deaf', Sydney Morning Herald, Saturday, 6 December, 1975, p. 13.

[42] Laisarn Leong, 'Deaf Student: Easy Going?', AAD Outlook, vol. 5, no. 1, Autumn, 1995, pp. 10-12, p. 11.

[43] Farrar Public School for the Deaf, Information Booklet, Ashfield, 1983, p. 2.

[44] ibid., pp. 1-2.

philosophy of the school which stated that "...We at Farrar believe in the right of the deaf child to understand and be understood from the earliest possible age".[45]

The fact that unsupported oralism had only just been recognised by the Farrar school as "not answering the needs" of these children, when the Catholic schools had acknowledged a "pedagogical problem" in the late 1960s, may illustrate a particular problem in deaf education, being the failure of many teachers of the deaf to communicate with each other. This not only applied to communication between the Catholic and non-Catholic schools for the deaf up to this period. It also appears that there was not a great deal of communication between the Farrar school and the Sydney school, which had introduced TC in 1974, despite the fact that they were both Departmental schools.

Signed English as a cause of poor outcomes

At the same time, other teachers began to acknowledge that signed English was not all they had hoped for,[46] specifically linking its use to low literacy in deaf students.[47] There appeared to be at least three areas of difficulty. The first was associated with the limited number of signs available in signed English. Later, to overcome the lack of specific technical terms used in some TAFE courses, TAFE produced a booklet Technical Signs for Mathematics, which used Auslan to help determine the new signs.[48] Although the number of signs was extended to 3000 in a second edition of the signed English Dictionary and new signs for computer technology were created,[49] secondary level deaf students were still seen as being exposed to "...impoverished linguistic input...".[50] Signed English was criticised for being unable to keep pace with the amount of new language spoken in the classroom, including signs for coarse and slang language.[51] As a result, Komesaroff believed that the education of deaf students was "...limited by an inadequate linguistic system..." in addition to "...inappropriate

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45 ibid., p. 3.

46 Breda Carty, 'Signed English: Point of View', AAD Outlook, vol. 4, no. 4, Summer, 1994b, pp. 19-21, p. 20.

47 Quentin Iskov, op. cit., p. 18; Michele de Courcy, op. cit., p. 37.

48 New South Wales Department of Technical and Further Education, Technical Signs for Mathematics, 1989, p. 3.

49 Anthony Petersen, 'Dictionary is a sign of the times', Australian, 5 April, 1995, p. 32.

50 Greg Leigh and Merv Hyde, Teachers' Use..., op. cit., p. 27.

51 Quentin Iskov, op. cit., p. 19.

pedagogy".[52]

A second difficulty was identified as being created by incompetent teachers, based on the view that to teach deaf students a second language, such as sign language or English, teachers needed to be fluent in both languages.[53] While not being so specific about pre-requisite language skills, the Newcastle Deaf Children Association made several general submissions to the New South Wales Education Department, including requests to "...weed out unsuitable teachers".[54]

This added to Johnston's earlier comment that deaf people would like the "hearing society" to provide funds for the "... training of teachers of the deaf in sign language".[55] The Department's expertise and guidance in the use of signed English for preservice and inservice training was called into question.[56] No training in sign language was provided, although in 1993 the New South Wales Education Department did undertake to examine teachers' proficiency in using signed English.[57] By 1996, however, Leigh found that the skills of teachers still reflected the need for "...improvements, [in] teacher training and accreditation procedures (both preservice and in-service)...". In particular, he found that improved fingerspelling skills were needed to help deaf students develop vocabulary beyond the limited number of available signs.[58]

The actual focus of research into signed English was also called into question with Carty, a deaf educator, proposing the need to measure how teachers' performance is understandable to deaf children, rather than focusing on teachers' performance while using signed English. She also proposed a moratorium on further expansion and revision of signed English.[59]

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52 Linda Komesaroff, op. cit., p. 41.

53 Juliana Friedlander, 'Deaf Education in Metropolitan West - An Indicator of the State?', Sound News, vol. 20, no. 4, December, 1992b, pp. 14-17, p. 17.

54 Juliet Clarke, 'Response to "Open Letter to Parents"', Sound News, vol. 22, no. 3, Spring, 1998, p. 4.

55 T Johnston, op. cit., p. 9.

56 Quentin Iskov, op. cit., p. 19.

57 Hon Jim Longley, 'Transcript of Minister's Opening Address at PCDE Conference: Orange NSW 7 August 1993', Sound News, vol. 21, no. 3, Spring, 1993, pp. 10-14, p. 12.

58 Greg Leigh and Merv Hyde, Teachers' Use..., op. cit., p. 28.

59 Breda Carty, op. cit., pp. 20-21.

A third difficulty was the lack of sign interpreters. In 1990, the New South Wales Government announced that it had provided funds to support sign language interpreting services. The services were to provide special interpreting support for deaf students being educated in regular classrooms throughout the State.[60] The funding resulted in the employment of teachers aides to work as notetakers and interpreters.[61] At the same time, training courses for sign language interpreters commenced in TAFE colleges under the auspices of the National Accreditation Authority for Translators and Interpreters (NAATI).[62]

While the provision of qualified interpreters for the deaf appeared to be a positive move in deaf education, there were difficulties caused by conflicting expectations of the interpreter and the deaf individual. For example, one deaf man felt threatened[63] by "professional" interpreters who:

> ...[tell me] how I should sign (more like correcting my signs)...criticised the sort of clothes I wore...kicked [me] in the leg for not watching [them]...when I asked for clarification of signs they used it was met with an annoyed facial expression...[64]

Auslan as instructional language

A subtle variation in the composition of the debate appeared to have occurred in 1991 when Auslan, the sign language of the deaf with its own grammatical structure, was officially recognised as a community language.[65] From that point, supporters of a manual mode were split, as advocates for Auslan, or signed English, or a mixture of the two (known as "pidgin Sign English"). Some of these were as much in opposition to each other as manualists were with oralists. For example, the Education Department sanctioned the use of signed English in State schools, but a resolution passed at the

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[60] New South Wales Department of School Education, 'Transition Program for Students with Disabilities', Transition Newsletter, 16 April, 1990, p. 4.

[61] Hon Jim Longley, op. cit., p. 12.

[62] Des Power, '"Australia's Language: The Australian Language and Literacy Policy" and Deafness', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 31, 1991, pp. 1-11, p. 2.

[63] Australian Association of the Deaf, 'Letters to the Editor', AAD Outlook, vol. 5, no. 1, Autumn, 1995a, pp. 5-7, p. 5.

[64] ibid., p. 6.

[65] Parent Council for Deaf Education, PCDE Auslan..., op. cit., p. 9; Joe Lo Bianco, Language of..., op. cit., p. 18; PPBC, Australian Association of the Deaf, Guidelines..., op. cit., pp. 2-4; Carol-lee Aquiline, op. cit., pp. 9-10.

1993 Annual General Meeting of the Australian Association of the Deaf, which comprised the Deaf Society of New South Wales and other adult deaf associations supported the use of Auslan, and strongly discouraged the promotion, development and use of signed English resources and activities.[66]

Deaf versus hearing

Earlier it had been contended that Auslan could be differentiated from both Signed English and the oral mode on the basis that Auslan was the language of the deaf developed by the deaf, whereas all other forms were contrived by the hearing.[67] The distinction appears to have introduced, or hardened, opposition between some deaf and hearing individuals. For example, Johnston, who compiled the first Auslan dictionary, claimed that there was not only misunderstanding but also mistrust between these two groups.[68]

Nevertheless, throughout the 1990s there were increased calls from the deaf community for the introduction of Auslan as a means of instruction in schools. In 1991, for example, one parent of a deaf child used the press to criticise the Education Department for failing to provide instruction in Auslan, claiming that "the deaf have their own language and they should be allowed to use it...".[69] According to Andersson, the President of the World Federation of the Deaf, for deaf individuals to achieve equality with their hearing peers, access to education should be via the sign language of the deaf community. In addition, there was a need for the support of interpreting services and access to the media via TV programs in sign language.[70]

Similar to debate about the approaches, not everyone agreed with the use of Auslan. For example, the Australian Language and Literacy Policy stated that the use of Auslan, as a method of instruction in schools, was controversial. One reason cited was the lack of experience many deaf students would have had with Auslan before starting school, especially when the majority came from homes where only English was spoken

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66 Private Papers Barbara Crickmore: Australian Association of the Deaf, Australian Association of the Deaf Discourages Signed English, 1993.

67 T Johnston, op. cit., pp. 16-17.

68 ibid., p. 2.

69 Stephen Marr, op. cit., p. 19.

70 Mr Yerker Andersson, 'Sign Language - A Key to Barrier-Free Environments - The WFD President addressed the UN General Assembly', AAD Outlook, vol. 3, no. 1, Summer, 1993, p. 17.

by hearing parents and other family members.[71] Two other problems were also identified. First, the visual aspect of the language made it difficult to write Auslan, which meant everything had to be translated.[72] Second, the lack of trained Auslan interpreters meant many users remained totally isolated within their own community.[73]

Training for Auslan teachers

Training teachers to use Auslan effectively was also an issue. Some Commonwealth funding was made available from the Multi-Cultural and Cross-Cultural Supplementation Program of the Department of Employment, Education and Training for the training of deaf people as sign language teachers under the Community Language Teacher Development Program.[74] It was not, however, accepted as a classroom language by the New South Wales Education Department and no training in Auslan was provided to teachers in State schools. This led Komesaroff to warn that:

> There is a risk of deaf children continuing to fail if Auslan is given low status and modelled only by unqualified or unpaid deaf adults, for non-academic subjects...[75]

There is evidence to suggest, however, that some teachers did attempt to use Auslan without proper training. Graham, who was with the New South Wales Education Department and was the President of the AATD at the time, noted that educators when using signed English programs tended "...to lapse into pidgin sign, [and] call this Auslan...".[76]

Access to appropriate language

Despite the acknowledged difficulties of implementation, access to appropriate languages of instruction became one of the major educational issues in the 1990s. In 1997 one parent publicly declared her intention not to send her deaf child to school, but

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[71] Australia: Department of Employment, Education and Training, Australia's language: The Australian language and literacy policy, (John Dawkins), Canberra, Australian Government Publishing Service, August 1991, p. 20.

[72] Carol-lee Aquiline, op. cit., p. 10.

[73] Sigrid Kirk, op. cit., p. 17.

[74] Des Power, Australia's Language..., op. cit., p. 2.

[75] Linda Komesaroff, op. cit., p. 42.

[76] Brian Graham, 'A System Approach to the Issue of Bilingual / Bicultural Education of Deaf Children', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, no. 34, 1994, pp. 61-63, p. 61.

teach him at home using Auslan "...his native language...".[77] In 1998, the PCDE met Government representatives from education and disability departments, to express continuing concerns that children "...are being denied access to appropriate language development through the use of sign language".[78] The barriers were seen as being due to Government policy which placed only profoundly deaf children in sign language programs.[79]

While educators, deaf adults and parents of deaf children were arguing for different modes, there appeared to be little change in the outcomes for deaf students. Friedlander observed that deaf students who wanted to enrol in TAFE were not only illiterate in English, but also unable to sign proficiently.[80] Despite early calls from recognised authorities that the choice of communication mode should depend on the child's amount and type of residual hearing, there appeared to have been little resolution of differences between the opposing groups.[81] For example, in 1997, at a teachers of the deaf conference in Adelaide, Power reported that:

> Members of both sides [manual and oral] milled around getting on well socially, but professionally / conceptually the two sides never engaged one another in discussion or debate. In many ways there might have been two conferences going on.[82]

Decisions about mode

The lack of agreement amongst professionals impacted on new parents of deaf children. They often had to make decisions early in the child's life about the mode of communication to which the child was going to be introduced. The enormous

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[77] Denise Sealy, 'Lack of Support for Deaf Boy in Kindergarten', Sound News, vol. 25, no. 1, Autumn, 1997, pp. 8-10, p. 8.

[78] Katherine Price, 'Untitled (Report of Meeting on 26 February 1998)', Sound News, vol. 26, no. 3, Spring, 1998b, p. 9.

[79] ibid.

[80] Juliana Friedlander, McRae Report..., op. cit., p. 16.

[81] Gallaudet College, Educating the Hearing Impaired Child: A Legal Perspective, 1981, p. 1.

[82] Des Power, 'Does it Matter?', Australian Journal of Education of the Deaf, vol. 2, no. 2, 1996, p. 3.

implications of the choice have been recognised by parents and educators alike.[83] Yet access to unbiased advice remained a major problem. For example, many parents complained that they were given insufficient information by doctors, who were often the first to diagnose deafness in the child, which made them resentful and mistrusting of the medical profession.[84] Others claimed they had been given an incorrect assessment of the degree of their child's deafness.[85] More commonly, however, parents received conflicting educational information, or expert opinion, on which to base those decisions.[86] Some conflicting views included being told, on the one hand, that deafness rendered the child incapable of achieving and, on the other hand, being told that the deaf were capable and it was the parents' fault if they did not achieve.[87]

Attempting to counter the problem, the PCDE aimed at producing an unbiased guide for parents who had a child newly diagnosed as deaf.[88] More recently, the Deaf Society of New South Wales in conjunction with the PCDE, Rivendel Child and Adolescent Psychiatric Unit and the Deaf Unit within the new Children's Hospital at Westmead, developed a short program for parents of deaf and oral deaf children. Topics included "communication issues", "behaviour management" and "expectations of your child".[89]

Lack of empirical evidence

For some deaf students, problems were also seen in the way decisions about

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[83] Federation for Junior Deaf Education, Where Do We Go From Here?, Stanmore, Federation for Junior Deaf Education, 1982; K Meadow, Deafness and Child Development, Berkley, University of California Press, 1980, pp. 181-182; Alan Jarman, 'The Role of the Parent in Career Planning for Hearing-Impaired Youngsters', Sound News, vol. 13, no. 2, September, 1984, pp. 81-87, pp. 81, 83; John Race, Deaf Children's..., op. cit., p. 9; St Dominic's Centre for Hearing Impaired Children Archives: Isles Article, Parents 'left in dark' on teaching sounds to deaf children, Newcastle, 1991, p. 1.

[84] Katherine Price, 'Early Detection of Hearing Impairment in Children in NSW', Sound News, vol. 26, no. 3, Spring, 1998a, p. 7.

[85] Paul Macguire, op. cit., p. 2.

[86] Mervin Garretson, 'Hamburg - 1980', in R.G. Brill (ed.), International Congresses on Education of the Deaf - An Analytical History 1878-1980, Gallaudet College, Washington, DC, 1984, p. 435; St Dominic's Centre, Isles Article, op. cit., p. 1; Jennifer Truran, 'Choices', Sound News, vol. 20, no. 4, December, 1992, p. 3; Des Power, Point of..., op. cit., p. 10.

[87] Juliana Friedlander, Deaf Education..., op. cit., p. 14; Linda Komesaroff, op. cit., p. 41.

[88] Parent Council for Deaf Education, 'Where Do We Go From Here?', Sound News, vol. 22, no. 2, Winter, 1994b, p. 16; Margaret Marrum, Education for..., op. cit., p. 3.

[89] Parent Council for Deaf Education, 'Proposed Parents Support Group', Sound News, vol. 26, no. 1, Autumn, 1998c, p. 24.

communication policy in schools continued to be made "...without regard for the research evidence which exists in support of native sign language or the preference of deaf adults".[90] The research evidence referred to appears to have been based on overseas studies, rather than findings from Australian investigations.[91] This was concluded because, despite Power's earlier call for critical and consistent evaluation, there had been no such work undertaken in Australia at that time.

Philosophical and economic basis for decisions

As has been shown in previous chapters, prior to 1945 the choices about instructional mode to be used with deaf children were made, more often than not, by hearing educators with an eye on social and philosophical issues rather than basing their decisions on research evidence. After 1945, hearing parents in particular applied pressure for oral mode training for their deaf children, which was acceded to by the New South Wales Government. On the one hand, the Education Department's support could be seen as following the world-wide trend towards the oral mode which was evident during the period. On the other hand, the Department's support for the oral mode of instruction and integration was seen as a less expensive option compared to the greater cost of manual mode instruction needing specially trained teachers. This led to the view that the decision may have been influenced by economic considerations as much as, if not more than, educational concerns.[92]

Power basis for decisions

Educators and advocates for the deaf took a less economic or altruistic view of hearing individuals' approaches to teaching deaf students, seeing it more as a matter of the exercise of power. The issue was raised at a national deafness conference in Tasmania, in 1996, when Lane, an American activist for the deaf, claimed that:

> If deaf education has evolved across the decades into a structure that is centred on the hearing teacher, it is no accident. This arrangement minimizes what the teacher has to learn; the burden is not the teacher's to study the language of the students, nor to become familiar with their cultural and historical context.[93]

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[90] Linda Komesaroff, op. cit., p. 43.

[91] Parent Council for Deaf Education, PCDE Auslan..., op. cit., p. 10.

[92] Juliana Friedlander, 'Deaf Education in Metropolitan West - An Indicator of the State?', Sound News, vol. 20, no. 4, December, 1992b, pp. 14-17, p. 17; Ben Boer and Victor Gleeson, The Law of Education, North Ryde, Butterworths Pty Limited, 1982, p. 65.

[93] Dr Harlan Lane, op. cit., p. 12.

Komesaroff also saw an issue of power involved and expected resistance to any attempt to confer status on the deaf at the expense of a loss of dominance by hearing professionals.[94] The same could be said for the dominance of bureaucrats. For example, although community involvement in educational decision-making was promoted by the New South Wales Government, it was noted that this form of parent power was checked and balanced by the overriding authority of teachers and educational administrators to determine the form and content of core curricula on a day-to-day basis.[95] In addition, there was some doubt about the decision-making process which was dependent on consensus of participants, whether in the form of school councils or participation in wider reviews of education. For example, it was suspected, in some quarters, that the Government was using the process to provide "...a legitimation for Government directives and the means by which this social movement could be contained...".[96]

Instigating change

In 1993, the need to change support provisions, particularly for the non-oral deaf, was acknowledged in a speech delivered by the Hon Mr Peter Baldwin, on behalf of the Minister for Health, Housing and Community Services, Brian Howe, when he stated that:

> ...the Government recognises that people who are profoundly Deaf...have been prevented from fully participating in society through lack of recognition and lack of services...[and] Denial of access to relevant services and support has limited Deaf people's educational, employment and social opportunities...[97]

This speech confirmed the Federal Government's commitment to providing funds towards the introduction of services specifically for deaf individuals. For instance, funds were provided to the Australian Association of the Deaf's National Advocacy

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[94] Linda Komesaroff, op. cit., p. 43.

[95] T Johnston, op. cit., pp. 9-10.

[96] Cheryl Carpenter, 'Corporate Restructuring of the Australian Disability Field', in Bob Lingard, John Knight, and Paige Porter (ed.), Schooling Reform in Hard Times, London, The Falmer Press, 1993, pp. 176-191, p. 186.

[97] Hon Mr Peter Baldwin, 'Speech at the Launch of the Deaf's National Advocacy Service for Deaf People Who Use Auslan (AAD-NAS) - 31 October 1992', AAD Outlook, vol. 3, no. 1, Summer, 1993, pp. 6-7, p. 6.

Service for Deaf People Who Use Sign Language.[98] Also, to facilitate telephone typewriters use, the Federal Government allocated $26.1 million to establish a National Relay Service by April 1995.[99]

Other efforts to support independence and access to information for the non-oral deaf may be seen in the application of new technologies. For the first time, a number of devices were created that focused on the needs of the non-oral deaf. These included flashing or vibrating alarms (eg. for clocks, doors, smoke alerts, baby monitors, fax machines, telephones) TV and VCR sub-title decoders and video readers.[100]

In the same year, the ABC Science Program, Quantum, featured a segment on teaching computers to recognise Auslan.[101] Computers were also being used in the schools and classrooms for generating pictures and text. By 1995, as part of a project conducted by Renwick College which is administered by the Royal Institute for Deaf and Blind Children and affiliated with the University of Newcastle, a sign language computer dictionary was being produced. The Auslan Technical Signs for Computer Technology was reported as containing approximately 700 computer terms which had been made part of a computer program.[102] In 1995, also, the Federal Government announced it would provide $6 million over three years to caption the ABC and SBS news, adding to the ABC's late edition news and 7.30 Report.[103]

Limitations of technology

Other individuals linked the use of technology to support the oral mode directly to poor educational outcomes for the oral deaf.[104] Much of the blame was related to the

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[98] ibid.; Mac Adam, 'Speech at the Launch of the Deaf's National Advocacy Service for Deaf People Who Use Auslan (AAD-NAS) - 31 October 1992', AAD Outlook, vol. 3, no. 1, Summer, 1993, pp. 4-5, p. 5; Colin Allen, 'President's Speech at the Launch of the Deaf's National Advocacy Service for Deaf People Who Use Auslan (AAD-NAS) - 31 October 1992', AAD Outlook, vol. 3, no. 1, Summer, 1993, pp. 2-3, p. 2.

[99] Hon Mr Peter Baldwin, op. cit., p. 7; Bobbie Blackson, President's Report, Australian Association of the Deaf, 1995, p. 3.

[100] Deafness Resources Australia, Deafness Resource Guide - 1997, 1997, pp. 5-8, 14-16.

[101] Tasmanian Council of Deaf People, Australian Association for the Deaf, Report, 1995, p. 19.

[102] Anthony Petersen, op. cit., p. 32.

[103] Australian Association of the Deaf, 'Closed Captioning Opens Doors for Hearing Impaired', AAD Outlook, vol. 5, no. 1, Autumn, 1995d, p. 16.

[104] Denise Sealy, op. cit., p. 9; Simon Andersson, 'Report on Cochlear Implant Symposium', AAD Outlook, vol. 4, no. 4, Summer, 1994, pp. 12-17, p. 14.

unsatisfactory performance of devices, although not everyone agreed. On the one hand, the Principal of the Newcastle school was reported as saying that, since the children had to grow up in a hearing world, any device which helped should be encouraged.[105] On the other hand, the Australian Association of the Deaf acknowledged that hearing aids "...amplify sound to varying degrees, but never approach anything like the clarity of full hearing".[106] Similarly, MacGregor, a deaf teacher's aide, was reported as saying that for many individuals with a hearing loss:

> ...spoken language is like forever listening to a radio during an electric storm, or trying to hear the news with a tractor running, or like having the radio dial tuned permanently a little off the station.[107]

The National Acoustic Laboratories, which underwent a name change to the Australian Hearing Service and became a Statutory Authority in 1992, continued fitting and maintaining devices for children.[108] For those deaf students who had some residual hearing that would benefit from amplification, devices continued to be developed for classrooms.[109] For example, the FM hearing aid allowed both students and their teacher freedom of the movement around the classroom.[110]

Variations for use outside as well as inside the classroom included hand held wands, body hearing aids with easily managed headphones and controls, in the ear hearing aids, behind-the-ear hearing aids, plus assistive listening systems to help hear TV, radio and telephones. In addition, smaller programmable hearing aids that promised to be more reliable, more flexible and cheaper, became available in the early 1990s.[111] The third generation of programmable aids were able to be adjusted with a computer keyboard, instead of the traditional screwdriver.[112]

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[105] St Dominic's Centre, Isles Article, op. cit., p. 1.

[106] PPBC, Australian Association of the Deaf, Guidelines..., op. cit., p. 3.

[107] Melissa McMullen, 'TAFE students get on with life in a quiet world', Newcastle Herald, Saturday, 29 August, 1992, p. 4.

[108] Jenny Warfe, 'Australian Hearing Services', Sound News, vol. 20, no. 4, December, 1992, p. 20.

[109] National Library of Australia: Dorothy Shaw Np362/42 0994/T737, Towards the Future - Proceedings of a 1 day seminar - 8 May 1977 - Deaf Peoples Views, 1977a, pp. 19-20, p. 20.

[110] Australia: Department of Health, FMs, 1985, p. 3.

[111] Greg Birtles, 'Changing Role of the Audiologist', Better Hearing, vol. 45, no. 2, June, 1991, pp. 10-12, pp. 10-11.

[112] Carolyn Collins, 'Tiny aid will improve hearing...and trade', Sound News, vol. 20, no. 4, December, 1992, p. 23.

However, not all parents were ready to accept medical intervention for their deaf child. For example, the Trurans, a hearing couple with a deaf child, considered the hearing assessment process to be too traumatic for their son. As a consequence they decided to postpone the "...endless audiology routine....[and] not to submit him to any medical tests that require an anaesthetic".[113]

The cochlear implant also began to be more widely used with deaf children, although with some criticism, particularly from the non-oral deaf community.[114] There were also concerns from within the ranks of supporters of the implant over what they saw as exaggerated claims being made by some advocates for the technology.[115]

Segregation and integration

Related to the Trurans' concerns was a resurrection of the segregation versus integration debate in deaf education amongst a small number of educators and parents during the early 1990s.[116]

Problems with integration

Friedlander, as a mother of a deaf child, TAFE Consultant for the Deaf and a PCDE activist, saw problems with integration and based her opposition on several points.[117] First, she believed that it was inappropriate for a curriculum designed for hearing children to be imposed on deaf children. Second, she opposed the isolation of teachers. Third, she opposed the isolation of deaf students.[118] Fourth, she deplored the lack of classroom interpreters[119] and fifth, she believed that the "so-called

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[113] Jennifer Truran, op. cit., p. 3.

[114] T Johnston, op. cit., p. 7; Sigrid Kirk, op. cit., p. 17; Anthony Lea, Cochlear Implants, Australian Institute of Health: Health Care Technology Series, No. 6, Canberra, AGPS, 1991, p. 1; Paul Macguire, op. cit., p. 12; Des Power, Does it..., op. cit., p. 3; Judy Van Den Berg, 'It sounds like hard work for Jamie-Lee', Flying Fingers, no. 1, May, 1995.

[115] Patricia Mutton, Jill Ditton, Rosemary Douglas, Linda Byrnes and Edward Beckenham, 'Letters to the Editor', Sound News, March, 1992, p. 2.

[116] Juliana Friedlander, Deaf Education..., op. cit., pp. 1, 4-5; T Johnston, op. cit., p. 16; Cheryl Carpenter, op. cit., p. 185; Carol A Christensen, 'Social Justice and the Construction of Disability in Schools', AASE Newsletter, no. 3, 1992, p. 6.

[117] Juliana Friedlander, Deaf Education..., op. cit., p. 17.

[118] Juliana Friedlander, 'A High School for the Deaf? - Yes or No', Sound News, vol. 20, no. 4, December, 1992a, pp. 1, 4-5, pp. 4-5.

[119] Juliana Friedlander, Deaf Education..., op. cit., p. 16.

integration of students" usually meant that the deaf student was sent to "..."unimportant" classes, such as woodwork and home science alone..." without any specialised support.[120] The problems existed, she claimed, because the Education Department had not provided the resources needed for true integration.[121]

Equal educational opportunities

In 1992, Friedlander argued that deaf children were being denied their legislated rights to Equal Educational Opportunity.[122] One year after the Disability Discrimination Act in 1993, the PCDE lodged a complaint with the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission regarding the poor standards of education and support received by oral deaf children in the New South Wales public school system.[123] The move to involve a third party in the dispute was a comparatively new tactic by parents of deaf children, facilitated by anti-discrimination legislation, growing community awareness of unequal treatment of some members of society, and the failure of direct involvement in educational decision-making, to rectify the perceived failings of deaf education.

Support for segregation

Friedlander also made a substantial contribution on the side of segregation, stating that the deaf community had been lobbying for a special high school for many years, but without results.[124] She contended that "...a high school for the deaf would not only result in higher literacy levels for our students, it would cost less than the system as it stands today".[125] In contrast, Graham reported statistics which, he said, demonstrated the success of integration and accused the "...'vocal minority' of critics of the integration process..." of ignoring the evidence.[126]

Nevertheless, part of the agreement made between the PCDE and the New South Wales Education Department at the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission

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[120] ibid.

[121] ibid., p. 17.

[122] ibid., p. 14.

[123] Parent Council for Deaf Education, 'PCDE Disability Discrimination Action Results', Sound News, vol. 25, no. 2, Winter, 1997, pp. 13-14, p. 14.

[124] Juliana Friedlander, A High..., op. cit., p. 5.

[125] ibid., p. 1.

[126] Brian Graham, Schools Renewal..., op. cit., p. 27.

in 1994 included examining the issues of a segregated high school for non-oral deaf students using sign language.[127]

At this point, the special facilities for the deaf at the Sydney, Newcastle, Castle Hill, and Farrar schools had been augmented by the opening of the non-government Garfield Barwick school and the Thomas Pattison school.

Specialist primary and secondary schools

Garfield Barwick school

The Garfield Barwick school was established by the Royal Institute for Deaf and Blind Children to provide an oral program to deaf students. The goal of the school was for its students to be integrated into mainstream schools by the end of their primary schooling.[128]

Thomas Pattison school

In 1993, the Thomas Pattison school was also established by the Royal Institute for Deaf and Blind Children as a pilot program for deaf children, aged 5-8 years, who used Auslan as their first language. The program was influenced by the Manilla Schollen school in Sweden, employing deaf people as full time teachers aides to use Auslan in the classroom with the deaf children.[129] Following a successful review of the program in 1994, the Institute approved the extension of the program to include Year 6. After visits to similar programs in Denmark, Sweden and the USA, the Institute made plans to extend the schooling to include secondary courses.[130] By 1996, 30% of enrolments into the program were children of deaf adults who spoke English but use Auslan as their first language. Their presence was seen as making a major contribution to the success of the bilingual and bicultural program.[131]

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[127] Parent Council for Deaf Education, PCDE Disability..., op. cit., p. 13.

[128] Parent Council for Deaf Education, 'The Royal New South Wales Institute for Deaf and Blind Children', Sound News, vol. 24, no. 3, Spring, 1996, p. 22.

[129] Wilma Vialle and John Paterson, op. cit., pp. 35-36; John Paterson and Deslea Konza, 'A Response to Hall: bilingualism in deaf education explored', International Journal of Disability, Development and Education, vol. 44, no. 1, March, 1997, pp. 67-74, pp. 71-73.

[130] Diane Dunphy, 'Editor's Corner', Sound News, vol. 25, no. 3, Spring, 1997, p. 4.

[131] John Race, Survey of Deaf Students Who May Wish to Attend Thomas Pattison School as Boarders, North Rocks, Royal New South Wales Institute for Deaf and Blind Children, 1996 (Letter); Parent Council for Deaf Education, The Royal...Blind Children, op. cit., p. 22; Sue Rayner, op. cit., pp. 12-13.

In 1997, construction of a new science laboratory, design and technology centre, food and textiles study centres, information resource centre and an auditorium, were commenced to allow the school to provide secondary education. The aim of the program was to prepare the school as a centre of excellence with all the resources expected of a modern school.[132] Great care was taken in recruiting staff to ensure that all were fluent users of Auslan and were well qualified in their respective subject areas.[133] The curriculum comprised key learning areas set by the New South Wales Board of Studies.[134]

According to Race, Deputy Chief Executive of the Royal Institute for Deaf and Blind Children, the school adopted "....a middle school model of class arrangements", where students received instruction from specialist science, mathematics and technology teachers from Year 5 onwards. The model was seen as an advantage for students as they would commence their transition to secondary schooling at an earlier age. In so doing, it was anticipated that students would experience a smoother adjustment in moving from primary to secondary schooling.[135]

Educational provisions for the education of the deaf

New South Wales Government schools

Since 1975, the New South Wales Education Department had emphasised, wherever possible and with help of ITD support, the placement of deaf students in mainstream classes. As a result of the additional Commonwealth funding for education, research and teacher training, there was an increase in the range and extent of educational services for the deaf, particularly in the Government school system. In 1976, the Premier of New South Wales claimed that New South Wales was the only State with a fully-flexible range of educational opportunities for children with disabilities.[136]

The significance of the statement lay in its broad reference to "children with disabilities"

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[132] John Race, Survey of...., op. cit.

[133] John Race, 'Royal Institute for Deaf and Blind Children Builds New Secondary School for Deaf Children', Sound News, vol. 25, no. 2, Winter, 1997, pp. 30-31, p. 30.

[134] Parent Council for Deaf Education, 'The Thomas Pattison School', Sound News, vol. 27, no. 1, Winter, 1999, p. 8.

[135] John Race, Survey of...., op. cit.

[136] Sir Eric Wills, Address at the 114th AGM, Lantern Light, April, 1976, pp. 2-3, p. 3.

which represented a considerable range of diverse services. By 1977, for example, the New South Wales Education Department had formed the new Directorate of Special Programs which had responsibility for multicultural education, early childhood education, environmental education, aboriginal education, community involvement, personal development in school, disadvantaged school program, disadvantaged country area program, school of the air, isolated children, sport in schools, correspondence school, children in institutions and innovations.[137] This broadening of special interests provided an obvious increased pressure on available resources.

Taking a national view, in 1978, Drummond had stated that "...Provisions being made and currently developing in Australia for the education of handicapped children are comprehensive at the school level...".[138] Although, it was acknowledged that this was more thorough at the primary level than for secondary education. Part of the reason given for this unequal development cited the greater orientation of secondary level teaching towards specific subject matter.[139]

By 1981, following further consolidation and some expansion of services, the New South Wales Education Department stated that:

> In New South Wales over recent years, there have been significant changes in the service delivery system. Services have been designed to provide increased flexibility in order to more appropriately meet individual needs. Emphasis has been placed on the provision of services which promote integration and sustain sensorily impaired children in the mainstream.[140]

Amongst the more notable of these provisions for the deaf, was the Department's introduction of home-teaching, with ITD support, for children 0-3 years of age and their parents.[141] In 1981, the New South Wales Education Department reported that the program, which was also supported by preschool OD units, indicated the importance attached to the earliest possible detection of hearing deficiencies, as well as the early

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[137] New South Wales Department of Education, Annual Report of the Minister for Education for 1978, 1979, p. 9.

[138] Norman W Drummond, Special Education in Australia, North Sydney, Torren Printing Pty Ltd, 1978, p. 78.

[139] ibid.

[140] New South Wales Department of Education Library Archives: Document 5, Educational Services for Hearing Impaired and Visually Impaired Children (Sensorily Impaired), 1981, pp. 37-43, p. 39.

[141] ibid., p. 38.

teaching of language.[142] The importance of early detection had also been recognised by the audiology profession in 1980, with the certification of specialist paediatric audiologists.[143]

The 1982, however, the Doherty Report on planning special education services in New South Wales confirmed the fact that New South Wales compulsory education legislation still did not include deaf students.[144] Further, the report also indicated that there was no obligation on the Government to provide deaf children with an appropriate education.[145]

In 1996, McRae, in his report to the New South Wales Minister for Education and Training on the feasibility of integration and inclusion, acknowledged some apparent confusion in compulsory education legislation and recommended that a "...common enrolment policy...be formulated to apply to all students", because:

> At present students with disabilities are enrolled under a separate policy with different provisions than those applying to students without disabilities. This is contrary to the letter and the spirit of relevant legislation.[146]

Therefore, it appeared according to the 1990 Education Act that school education for deaf students in New South Wales continued to be more of a privilege than a right.[147] Some support for this interpretation may be found in the New South Wales Anti-Discrimination Board's 1981 report on discrimination in relation to individuals with intellectual disabilities, which stated that education for all students at primary and secondary should be available as a right. Since the New South Wales Public Instruction Act did not provide such a right, the Board recommended that the Act be

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[142] Australia, Department of Health, Ten Thousand..., op. cit., pp. 48-49.

[143] Lorraine Goodall, 'Family Congress for Parents of Deaf and Hearing Impaired Children - Part 1', Sound News, vol. 16, no. 1, November/December, 1987, pp. 3-9 p. 4.

[144] Working Party on a Plan for Special Education in New South Wales, Strategies and Initiatives for Special Education in New South Wales - A Report of the Working Party on a Plan for Special Education in New South Wales - May 1982 (P Doherty, Chairman), Sydney, The Working Party, 1982, pp. 34-35.

[145] ibid., p. 35.

[146] New South Wales Ministry for Education and Training: David McRae, The Integration/Inclusion Feasibility Study - A Summary of the Findings and Recommendations, 1996, p. 6.

[147] Act 8, 1990, Education Act 1990, Parliamentary Counsel's Office (Authorised Reprinted Act), 1998, pp. 4-5.

amended.[148] As a consequence, in 1981, the New South Wales Education Department introduced a new enrolment policy which took account of amendments to the New South Wales Anti-Discrimination Act of 1977.[149] The Minister subsequently announced that students with disabilities would have access to their local school.[150] The statement still appeared to leave unanswered the question of State responsibility in deaf education. Ten years on, the New South Wales Education Department had apparently still had not made a full commitment to resourcing deaf education, as was evidenced by the difficulties it was experiencing in providing teachers of the deaf and other support provisions to all schools that requested them.[151] A further ten years on, in the latter half of the 1990s, continuing attention was being drawn to the failure of deaf children in gaining the educational access or support they required.[152]

In terms of the types of facilities and approaches to deaf education generally, little changed during the 1980s, except for names of facilities and titles of staff positions. For example, a parent guide booklet published by the New South Wales Education Department in 1991 stated that special placement for oral deaf students may be in regular classes in local Government schools with ITDS and OD units, which were given new titles, being respectively, itinerant support teachers (hearing) IST(H), and support class teachers (hearing) (H) attached to regular schools.

In 1992, it was estimated that over 1200 deaf students were fully integrated in local schools, with 600 more placed in one of the 95 support classes in New South Wales.[153]

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[148] New South Wales Anti-Discrimination Board, Discrimination and Intellectual Handicap - A report of the Anti-Discrimination Board in accordance with section 119(a) of the Anti-Discrimination Act 1977, 1981, pp. 106-111.

[149] Ben Boer and Victor Gleeson, op. cit., p. 189; NSWDOE, Division of..., op. cit., p. 1; NSW Anti-Discrimination Board, op. cit., p. 1.

[150] New South Wales Teachers' Federation, Special Education Integration, Sydney, 1986, pamphlet; R.J. Andrews, J Elkins, P.B. Berry, and J.A. Burge, A Survey of Special Education in Australia - provisions, needs and priorities in the education of children with handicaps and learning difficulties, Schonell Educational Research Centre, University of Queensland, 1979, p. 64.

[151] Brian Graham, 'Schools Renewal: How Devolution has Affected Deaf Education in NSW', Sound News, vol. 20, no. 4, December, 1992, pp. 26-27, p. 27; Peter O'Connor, 'Planning for Special Education Needs', Australian Journal of Special Education, vol. 8, no. 1, May, 1984, pp. 5-8, p. 5.

[152] Cathy Clark, Project Co-ordinator's Report 1997b, Parent Council for Deaf Education, 1997b, p. 5; Wilma Vialle and John Paterson, op. cit., p. 33; Denise Sealy, op. cit., p. 9; Beverly S Lavis, 'Letter sent to Special Education Directorate and PCDE from Group of Concerned Parents, Wollongong Area', Sound News, vol. 25, no. 1, Autumn, 1997, p. 11.

[153] Brian Graham, School Renewal..., op. cit., p. 27; Hon Jim Longley, op. cit., p. 12.

By 1994, Graham claimed that 2000 deaf students were enrolled in New South Wales Government schools.[154] Some of the schools with groups of deaf children began to develop specialist approaches of their own. For example, Canley Vale High School, also near Sydney, designed its own course to help their deaf students adjust to a hearing society. Called "Living in a Hearing World", it was implemented over five lessons of forty minutes per week.[155] A boy's boarding school in the Sydney area, St Joseph's College at Hunters Hill, also introduced a special program in 1989 to support only oral-deaf students enrolled in Year 7 to Year 12.[156] Later, St Andrews Primary School, which was described as a relatively large New South Wales Government school, in the south-west of Sydney, was using TC and a bilingual and bicultural program with its thirteen mainstreamed deaf students. The school paid particular attention to increasing support from the deaf community for the program and provided a training ground for aspiring deaf teachers.[157]

Where integration was inappropriate, unrealistic, or when an optimal educational environment could not be provided, the Education Department advised that "...parents will be offered an alternative placement...".[158] The alternative usually meant enrolment in the Sydney or Farrar schools.[159]

Sydney school

Within general age groups, at this time, the enrolment of students was based on a number of factors. Race stated that the:

> ...variables which decide a child's placement in a particular deaf class placement are usually a combination of geographic considerations, residential facilities, and availability of places...[160]

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154 Brian Graham, A System..., op. cit., p. 62.

155 Caroline Dobson and Kerry O'Connor, 'Schools Step Out', Sound News, vol. 10, no. 2, May, 1981, p. 27.

156 Parent Council for Deaf Education, 'Integration Program - St. Joseph's College, Hunters Hill', Sound News, vol. 21, no. 4, Summer, 1993b, p. 19.

157 St Andrews Primary School, 'St. Andrews Bilingual/Bicultural Program', Sound News, vol. 25, no. 1, Autumn, 1997, pp. 28-30, pp. 29-30.

158 New South Wales Department of School Education, Integration Statement, 1992, p. 2.

159 New South Wales Department of Education, Who's Going to Teach My Child? - A Guide for Parents of Children with Special Needs, 1991, p. 24; Brian Graham, Schools Renewal..., op. cit., p. 27; NSWDSE, Integration Statement, op. cit., p. 2.

160 John Race, 'Deaf Children's Comprehension of English Syntax under Two Conditions', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 17, July, 1976, pp. 4-13, p. 11.

The increased focus by the New South Wales Education Department on supported integration[161] and OD units saw enrolments decrease significantly at the Sydney school. By the 1990s, students comprised those with specialised disabilities needing individually tailored programs. In 1997, there were just four classes, ranging from infants to secondary age groups.[162]

Curriculum included transition programs, with an emphasis on living skills, vocational skills, sport and leisure. The total communication approach was implemented, including speech, listening, signed English, Auslan, compic (computer generated pictures) and Makaton.[163]

Farrar school

At the Farrar school, more than two-thirds of the students were described as severely to profoundly deaf[164] and usually started at the school "...without any intelligible speech, and most have only the most rudimentary understanding of verbal language".[165] By 1982, the Farrar school was also using TC, cued speech, the Tate Oral English program, the Ling speech program, and regarded the content of the subject areas as a stimulus for the learning of language.[166] In 1983, the school claimed that subjects offered at secondary level included mathematics, science, social studies, creative activities and physical development.

Despite their deafness, it was stated that the aim was to give the students an experience and understanding of as much as possible.[167] This included some preparation for life after schooling was over. As in the past, it had been recognised that some deaf students would have limited vocational opportunities. Consequently,

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161 Phil Foreman, 'Disability, integration and inclusion: Introductory concepts', in Phil Foreman (ed.), Inclusion & Integration in Action, Harcourt Brace & Company, Sydney, 1996, pp. 1-25, p. 5.

162 North Rocks School for Deaf Children, 'Mission Statement', Sound News, vol. 25, no. 1, Autumn, 1997, pp. 22-23; Brian Graham, Schools Renewal..., op. cit., p. 27.

163 North Rocks School for Deaf Children, op. cit.,

164 Australia, Department of Health, Ten Thousand..., op. cit., p. 51.

165 Farrar Public School for the Deaf, Information Booklet, op. cit., p. 3.

166 ibid., pp. 3-5.

167 ibid., pp. 2-3.

the final years of their education were given a "prevocational bias".[168]

In the latter half of the 1970s this took the form of special work experience programs. For example, Johnson, who was an employment counsellor for the New South Wales Department of Education and Youth Affairs, reported that students from the OD unit at the Arthur Phillip High School and the Farrar school had been participating in employment and work experience programs since 1976.[169] The program was aimed at "...lower 'language' level students who will not be attempting a school certificate curriculum".[170] Under this program, the work habits of students aged 15 years or more were assessed, after which they were assigned to an employer for between two and four days per week, with the remaining time being spent at school. They were paid for their work by the employer, who received a subsidy from the Government. The students were re-assigned at intervals so that they gained experience at three different jobs over a two year period.[171]

In 1977, another form of work experience was introduced by TAFE, being the Link program. This comprised mainly short courses aimed at providing the student with an idea of the sort of work done in a particular trade or clerical area. Averaging two weeks in duration, students also gained some familiarity with the TAFE system.[172] Farley, the first TAFE consultant for the deaf in New South Wales, described the Link program as:

> ...a small innovative pilot with a relatively restricted sample of courses...[such as] carpentry, painting and decorating, vehicle painting, showcard and ticketwriting, studio skills and punch-card operators course.[173]

Integration had been part of the Farrar school's academic program for its secondary students from the 1950s. By 1992, students attending the Farrar school proceeded to Kogarah High School where interpreter, tutorials, and team teaching support were provided in regular and special classes.[174]

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[168] R.J. Andrews et al, op. cit., p. 26; J.A. Burke, History of Catholic Schools for Deaf and Dumb Children in the Hunter Valley, MA Thesis, University of Newcastle, 1974, pp. 355-359.

[169] Neil Johnson, 'Words on Work', Sound News, vol. 10, no. 2, May, 1981, pp. 32-34, pp. 32-33.

[170] ibid., p. 32.

[171] ibid.

[172] Lorraine Palmer, 'Words on Work', Sound News, vol. 11, no. 2, September, 1982, pp. 38-40, p. 39.

[173] National Library of Australia: M Farley Np362/42 0994/T737, Towards the Future - Proceedings of a 1 day seminar - 8 May 1977, 1977, pp. 14-20, pp. 16-17.

[174] Brian Graham, Schools Renewal..., op. cit., p. 27.

In the preschool program, hearing children were also enrolled as an aid to both oral and social development of the deaf children.[175]

Specialist preschools for the deaf

In addition to the Shepherd Centre, the Catholic preschools for the deaf, and the preschool classes at the Farrar and Sydney schools, a number of new specialist preschools for deaf children were opened by the Royal Institute for Deaf and Blind Children in the 1990s. These included the Rockie Woofit Preschool, located within the Garfield Barwick school, which provided an auditory-verbal program to deaf and hearing children;[176] the Glenmore Park Early Childhood Centre, west of Sydney, which offered a reverse integration program and provided an auditory-verbal program;[177] the Tingira Centre, near Newcastle, with reversed integration facilities for oral deaf and visually impaired students as well as hearing and seeing children, and used both TC and an auditory-verbal approach;[178] and the Roberta Reid Centre situated at the Royal Institute for Deaf and Blind Children's premises, which provided a bilingual and bicultural reverse integration program for deaf children whose primary language is Auslan.[179]

Catholic schools for the deaf

Boarding school and preschool closures

In 1976, the boarding section closed at the Newcastle school. Former Newcastle school boarders went to a Catholic school for deaf students in another State, or were sent home and totally integrated into their local school. At the same time, changes

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175 Farrar Public School for the Deaf, Information Booklet, op. cit., p. 8.

176 Parent Council for Deaf Education, The Royal...Blind Children, op. cit., p. 22.

177 ibid.

178 Private Papers Barbara Crickmore: Tingira Invitation, 1991; Parent Council for Deaf Education, The Royal...Blind Children, op. cit., p. 22.

179 Breda Carty, Cathy Clark, Robyn Hocking, and Leonie Jackson, 'Deaf Studies for Australian Students: Putting it all together', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 34, 1994a, pp. 1-13, p. 2; John Race, 'Royal Institute for Deaf and Blind Children Builds New Secondary School for Deaf Children', Sound News, vol. 25, no. 2, Winter, 1997, pp. 30-31, p. 31; Parent Council for Deaf Education, The Royal...Blind Children, op. cit., p. 22; Parent Council for Deaf Education, 'Roberta Reid Centre', Sound News, vol. 20, no. 2, 1992, p. 17.

were made to the program at St Dominic's preschool to provide more individual support for each child.[180]

Catholic itinerant teachers of the deaf service

Some Catholic parents with deaf children in mainstream Government schools wanted to enrol them in a mainstream Catholic school but knew that there was little support available for the deaf. Consequently, a group of parents approached Cardinal Freeman to have a Catholic ITD service created so that their children could attend Catholic schools with appropriate educational support. As a result, in 1978, the Catholic Education Office established the Catholic ITD service to operate under the Dominicans in Newcastle, and in Sydney at premises occupied by St Dominic's preschool. St Dominic's early intervention program continued within the same building and in 1979 the two services were bought together as the Catholic Centre for Hearing Impaired Children.[181] With continued expansion, the responsibility of the Sydney ITD service had to be relinquished by the Dominicans and handed to the Catholic Education Office in 1984, while in Newcastle the responsibility remained with the Dominicans.[182] By the mid-1990s, there were said to be hundreds of deaf students in Catholic schools supported by ITDs.[183]

The Newcastle day school

The earlier plan to close the Newcastle school in 1977 resulted in acceleration of the integration program. Prior to the advent of Catholic ITDs, 24 primary and secondary day students at the Newcastle school were enrolled in a number of local Catholic and State mainstream schools.[184] In what was regarded as a revolutionary approach to teaching, however, the deaf students returned to the Newcastle school on a regular

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[180] St Dominic's Centre for Hearing Impaired Children Archives: Dooley Monograph, To Be Fully Alive - A Monograph on Australian Dominican Education of Hearing-Impaired Children, 1989, p. 71; Australia: Department of Education and Science, Special Education in Australia: Department of Education and Science, 1972, p. 34.

[181] St Dominic's Centre, Dooley Monograph, op. cit., p. 75.

[182] ibid., p. 76.

[183] Sister Diana Santleben, 'The Gabriel Hogan Catholic Deaf Education Project', Sound News, vol. 23, no. 3, Spring, 1995, pp. 23-24.

[184] Christine Miller and Catherine Rumsey, 'Directory of Schools for the Hearing-Impaired Children in Australia and New Zealand,', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 18, July, 1977, pp. 59-62, p. 59.

basis for specialised training in lip reading and auditory discrimination.[185] The changes did not include any arrangements for the preschool-aged deaf children in the parent support and early intervention program. These parents voiced their concern to the local media in Newcastle, which led to the Newcastle Catholic Education Office accepting responsibility for the education of all the then-current deaf students. It was in this reorganisation the Newcastle school was renamed the Catholic Centre for Hearing Impaired Children.[186]

Funding

Even after the boarding school was closed, the day school still relied on the annual Ephpheta Appeal to provide regular funds. Dooley recounted that in the late 1970s the Waratah Rotary Club raised $7,000 to buy hearing devices for the Newcastle school.[187] She also said that between 1980-1982 there was a desperate effort to attract funding to enable the early intervention program to continue. In particular, money was needed for interpreters and an educational psychologist to work with low income non-English speaking parents. The Sisters approached the Commonwealth Government who provided sufficient funding for them to continue the program.[188]

The Castle Hill school

The Castle Hill school was not immune to changes in the Catholic system. By 1975, the boys only boarding school was reorganised as a co-educational day school.[189] Apart from anything else, the change in enrolment policy provided deaf Catholic girls living in Sydney with a school closer to their homes.[190] By 1977, the Castle Hill school had 42 students, ranging from infants to secondary, and seven teachers, four of whom were trained teachers of the deaf. The program provided for the regular integration of

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[185] St Dominic's Centre for Hearing Impaired Children Archives: Chris Maddock, Deaf school reborn with a revolution, 1977, p. 1; St Dominic's Centre, Dooley Monograph, op. cit., pp. 75, 89.

[186] St Dominic's Centre, Chris Maddock, op. cit., p. 1; Paul Macguire, op. cit., p. 12; Elsie May Pettinari, Catholic Education in Newcastle, 1870-1977, Extended Essay in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Bachelor of Educational Studies Thesis, Newcastle, 1979, p. 14; St Dominic's Centre, Dooley Monograph, op. cit., p. 75.

[187] ibid., pp. 98, 100.

[188] ibid., p. 62.

[189] Sister Egan, History of Catholic Deaf Education in Australia 1875-1975, Newcastle, Newey & Beath Printers Pty Ltd, 1975a, p. 34; Sister Egan, Pictorial Centenary Souvenir, Newcastle, Newey & Beath Printers Pty Ltd, 1975b, p. 110.

[190] St Gabriel's School for the Deaf, Golden Jubilee 1922-1972, Parramatta, St Gabriel's School for the Deaf, 1973.

deaf students into mainstream schools each afternoon.[191]

While there was little change in the Castle Hill school's approach to curriculum content. The school concentrated on language development and, as already mentioned, used subject content as part of their approach for deaf students to learn language. There was some indication that the materials were carefully monitored in an effort to minimise the child experiencing failure. For example, McGrath stated that "During the years of their language development, the children only read material over which they have oral control".[192]

The teachers at the Castle Hill school reproduced the content of the Board of Studies courses, using what they consider a more appropriate language level. According to Robinson, the school's Principal, this was seen as making the courses accessible to the students and at the same time, fulfilling all the Board of Studies' requirements. Although pronounced silences again limit evaluation of the school's approach, only two students were mentioned as sitting for mainstream year 10 tests in 1997.[193]

Parent dissatisfaction with Catholic system

The basic oral approach to Catholic education of the deaf did not change. In recognition of the wider debate that had been taking place, the Principal of the Newcastle school was reported as saying that it was the parents who had to make the important decision between sign language and oralism for their deaf child.[194] In effect, it was not only a decision between modes, but also between a Catholic and a non-Catholic education.

In 1994, however, parents who wanted both a Catholic and bilingual education for their two profoundly deaf daughters, wrote to the National Catholic Deaf Conference seeking a solution to the problem.[195] The request led to the establishment of the

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[191] Christine Miller and Catherine Rumsey, op. cit., p. 59.

[192] Gerry McGrath, 'Teaching Language to Hearing-Impaired Children of School Age', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 18, July, 1977, pp. 14-21, p. 21.

[193] Sue Robinson, 'St Gabriel's School for Hearing Impaired Children - School Certificate Secured by Special Students', Sound News, vol. 25, no. 4, Summer, 1997, p. 22.

[194] St Dominic's Centre, Isles Article, op. cit., p. 1.

[195] W.K. Pickup, 'Bilingual/Bicultural Catholic Education', Sound News, vol. 22, no. 2, Winter, 1994, p. 8.

Gabriel Hogan Catholic Deaf Education Project to investigate the possibility of providing manual mode educational services for non-oral deaf Catholic children. In November, 1994, the project's committee delivered a proposal for such a program, but the response from the Catholic Education Office stated that current programs could not be extended due to lack of sufficient resources. The decision may also have been related to the high cost of providing services for a small numbers of students. According to Santleben, a nun, there were an estimated 580 primary and 340 secondary severely or profoundly deaf students in New South Wales. Of these, only about 1% were thought to be in Catholic schools.[196] Although further discussions were held with other officers of the Catholic Education Office, in the Sydney area, there was "...much confusion in the minds of the Catholic Education leadership about current thinking and research findings regarding the education of deaf children".[197]

St Dominic's Centre for the Hearing Impaired

Meanwhile, in Newcastle, the Catholic Centre for Hearing Impaired Children moved to new premises in 1993 and changed its name to St Dominic's Centre for the Hearing Impaired. The building was constructed with thicker window glass and wall and ceiling insulation to reduce noise transference within each room and from the outside. The building was also used out of school hours for a playgroup and an association of former students.[198] The one million dollar project, funded by the Federal Government and supported by the Catholic Diocese of Maitland, was described as a non-denominational centre which aimed to teach deaf students to speak rather than use sign language.[199] The auditory-verbal approach used an experientially based program to enhance the total development of the 28 enrolled students.[200]
By 1997, with a total enrolment of 34, St Dominic's was catering for oral deaf students and those with other communication delays or disorders, from the time of diagnosis to the completion of formal schooling. The school was described as having four educational programs, early intervention, infants and primary, secondary (years 7-10) and a parent support program. The aim of the early intervention project was to train

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[196] Sister Diana Santleben, 'The Gabriel Hogan Catholic Deaf Education Project', Sound News, vol. 23, no. 3, Spring, 1995, pp. 23-24, p. 23.

[197] ibid.

[198] St Dominic's Centre for Hearing Impaired Children Archives: Newspaper Article, op. cit.

[199] St Dominic's Centre for Hearing Impaired Children Archives: Newspaper Article, 'Where the deaf learn to speak', 1993.

[200] St Dominic's Centre for Hearing Impaired Children Archives: School Profile, 1997.

parents as prime educators in developing their children's listening and communication skills.[201]

Infants and primary students were integrated into the local St Columban's Primary School for various subjects, depending on the individual child's abilities and needs. High school students were enrolled in the OD unit at the nearby San Clemente Regional Secondary School and integrated into mainstream classes.[202]

Expanded advisory services

Elsewhere in New South Wales, the Goulburn and Canberra archdiocese reported an increasing number of enrolments and inquiries relating to students with significant hearing loss and other communication disorders. As a result, the Catholic Education Office appointed an Education Officer to a Special Needs Service Team, to facilitate the delivery of appropriate services.[203]

Teachers of the deaf

New South Wales State teacher training

Increased Commonwealth Government funding in the early 1970s had expanded the number of courses available for training teachers of the deaf in New South Wales.[204] For those teachers who did undertake the special training, some of the basic competencies to be mastered were skills in facilitating the development of English language and speech, providing individual remediation, individualised experience curriculum and individualised structured programs based on the needs of the child and classroom management of a deaf child. In addition, teachers were expected to acquire knowledge of communication techniques and devices such as hearing aids.[205]

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201 ibid.

202 ibid.

203 Parent Council for Deaf Education, 'Recent Developments in Catholic Education - The Archdiocese of Canberra and Goulburn', Sound News, vol. 26, no. 1, 1998b, p. 15.

204 Catherine Rumsey, 'Teacher Education in Australia', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 21, 1980, pp. 199-200, p. 199.

205 NSWDOE, Document 5, op. cit., p. 38; New South Wales Department of Education, 'Early Intervention Course - Special Education - 1984', Education Gazette, no. 20, 28 November, 1983, p. 227; New South Wales Department of Education, 'Course for Teachers of Children with Hearing and Communication Handicaps', Education Gazette, vol. 15, no. 17, August, 1976, pp. 190-191, p. 190; Lilian Yang, 'Teacher Education in Australia', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 21, 1980, p. 199.

By the late 1970s in New South Wales, the highest level of training for a teacher of the deaf was a Graduate Diploma in Educational Studies (Hearing Impairment). The top qualification was in contrast to other professionals dealing with the deaf such as audiologists, for whom Macquarie University offered a Masters Degree.[206]
The New South Wales Government also provided funds to support post-graduate in-service courses, in accordance with its special education plan. These courses included programs to develop the oral mode expertise of teachers and allow them to more effectively support deaf students in regular and special class settings.[207] Nothing was provided for in-service training for the use of signed English or Auslan.

In addition to full-time teacher training at CAEs, specialist workshops were being offered by other organisations. For example, the Cumberland College of Health Services offered a two-day workshop designed to prepare "non-disabled" teachers, students and parents, for the integration of disabled students, including the deaf.[208] Correspondence courses and packaged "kits" were also developed, such as one by the staff of the Farrar school, which contained video and audio tapes, slides, photographs and worksheet material for staff working with deaf students.[209] There were also specialist international courses for teaching in the oral-aural mode, such as one for the "Education of Deaf Children of Normal Intelligence by means of the Maternal Reflective Method".[210] In the latter half of the 1970s, the AATD was still inviting applicants to sit Diploma Examinations,[211] although there was only one student in 1978.[212]

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[206] Catherine Rumsey and Christine Miller, 'Directory of Courses of Hearing Impaired Children', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, July, 1978, pp. 40-41; National Library of Australia: R McL Shaw Np362/42 0994/T737, Towards the Future - Proceedings of a 1 day seminar - 8 May 1977, 1977b, pp. 1-8, p. 8; Norman W Drummond, op. cit., p. 46.

[207] New South Wales Department of School Education, 'Transition Program for Students with Disabilities', Transition Newsletter, 16 April, 1990.

[208] New South Wales Department of Education, 'Disabled Student Course', Education Gazette, vol. 5, no. 6 April, 1983, p. 64.

[209] Australian Association of Teachers of the Deaf, 'Teacher Education', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 18, July, 1977, p. 68.

[210] Australian Association of Teachers of the Deaf, 'Coming Events - International Course in the Education of Deaf Children of Normal Intelligence by Means of the Maternal Reflective Method', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 23, 1982a, p. 79.

[211] Australian Association of Teachers of the Deaf, 'Australian Teachers of the Deaf', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 17, July, 1976b, p. 33.

Catholic teacher training

In 1975, as had been the case for the previous 100 years, the Catholic teaching Sisters and Brothers of deaf students received different training to teachers in State schools.[213] From the late 1970s, however, these Catholic teachers of the deaf made use of the special education courses being offered by the CAEs. Despite the change, Dooley claimed that inservice training was still of major importance to the Catholic teachers of deaf students, mainly because they used cued speech in contrast to the TC mode used in the State schools.[214] The Catholic schools for the deaf also used the Ling Speech program[215] and in keeping with the preference for inservice, the staff at Portsea, in Victoria, made a training video for teaching the Ling system.[216] In addition to formal training and inservice, the Catholic teachers of the deaf continued to undertake study tours, with financial assistance from the community. For example, the Rotary Club provided scholarships for the sisters at the Newcastle school to study and travel.[217]

Renwick College

In 1992, as a result of an affiliation between the University of Newcastle and the Royal Institute for Deaf and Blind Children, Renwick College was established at the Institute's North Rocks campus. The plan was to make it a national centre for research and professional studies related to the education of hearing and vision impaired students. In 1994 Renwick College offered a Master of Special Education (Sensory Education) to its first intake of post-graduate students. By 1999 the College offered additional courses leading to a Graduate Certificate in Educational Studies (Special Education), a Master of Education, and a Doctor of Philosophy. These post-graduate courses were made available on a part-time and full-time basis and provided deaf and hearing teachers with accreditation to work as teachers and allied professionals involved with students with sensory disabilities in Australia and overseas.

Unique amongst other teacher training facilities providing post-graduate courses in

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212 Catherine Rumsey and Christine Miller, op. cit., pp. 40-41.

213 Helen Praetz, Public Policy and Catholic Schools, Hawthorn, The Australian Council for Educational Research Limited, 1982, p. 34.

214 St Dominic's Centre, Dooley Monograph, op. cit., p. 52.

215 Leo Murphy, 'Three Decades of Education of the Deaf in Australia', Australian Teacher of the Deaf, vol. 21, 1980, pp. 5-15, p. 12.

216 St Dominic's Centre, Dooley Monograph, op. cit., p. 118.

217 ibid., p. 69.

deaf education in New South Wales, Renwick College has required its graduates planning to work with deaf students to achieve a proficiency in Auslan.[218] The decision by the College to use Auslan and not signed English could have been largely influenced by the implementation of the RIDBC bilingual preschool program in which Auslan is used as the language of instruction and English is taught as a second language through sign language. Indeed, the fact that the bilingual program was extended for high school students signifies the continued commitment of the RIDBC to this form of deaf education.

Teacher morale

Throughout the history of deaf education in Australia, teachers have been seen as one of the most important elements in successful educational outcomes for deaf students. In the early 1990s, apart from the facilities and staff of the Catholic system, the Shepherd Centre, and the schools established by the Royal Institute for Deaf and Blind Children, the State Government operated two schools for the deaf and more than 90 OD units. These were staffed by an estimated 244 specialist teachers,[219] most of whom had been trained in the oral mode. The introduction of signed English and manual supplements to combat perceived failures in language acquisition by deaf students added a new dimension to classroom communications for teachers of the deaf. Some educators and parents believed that claims of failure and the imposition of new communication methods had impacted detrimentally on staff. For example, Johnston claimed that in deaf education "controversy, debate, conflicting claims and educational failure have demoralised teachers...".[220] A little later, Winter, writing in the Australian Journal of Education of the Deaf, suggested that any other problems that teachers may have were compounded by the pressure:

> ...to deliver the goods which must include overall academic skills, teaching school curricula concurrently with the language in which it is delivered, attending to strategies particularly for students with additional learning problems...[221]

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[218] Renwick College, Postgraduate Studies in Special Education, 1999; Parent Council for Deaf Education, 'Graduation Focuses on Special Education', Sound News, vol. 28 no. 4, Summer, 1999, p. 16.

[219] Hon Jim Longley, op. cit., p. 11.

[220] T Johnston, op. cit., p. 10.

[221] Joan Winter, 'Reflections on Cochlear Implants for Students in Education Settings', Australian Journal of Education of the Deaf, vol. 2, no. 1, 1996, pp. 40-48, p. 48.

Perceptions of teaching as "charity work"

Part of the claim that teachers were demoralised may have been based on historical perceptions that those who chose to work with the deaf did so from charitable motives. While acknowledging the view, the Australian Association of the Deaf counterclaimed that teachers were professionals "...whose career choices are affected by the same mixture of motivations and experiences as everyone else's".[222] On the other hand, Lane believed that many teachers insist, at least in the USA:

> ...that they are engaged simply in benevolent humanitarian practices in the face of overwhelming difficulties presented by the catastrophe of early childhood deafness.[223]

Kewin, a deaf man studying to be a priest in Queensland, had expressed similar beliefs, noting the prevalence of an image that the deaf are to be helped. Citing the Ephpheta story, he suggested that Jesus may have healed the deaf man "...not to liberate [him] from his deafness, but rather, from the ostracism that the deaf man was experiencing in his society".[224]

Attitudes to abilities of deaf students

The notion of ostracism reflected earlier concerns of the Adult Deaf Society that the Australian community saw deafness as a form of mental disability.[225] The claim was reflected by Lane, at the National Deafness Conference in Tasmania in 1996, when he contented that many hearing teachers believed deaf students were intellectually disabled and as a consequence students:

> ...are taught English fundamentally as mentally retarded children...The written language they see is neither high-level nor newspaper-level, but imbecile-level, reduced language.[226]

The image was continually reinforced by the use of intelligence test results, although the testing procedures had been questioned since their introduction in the early 1900s.[227] Nevertheless, the New South Wales Education Department continued to use

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[222] Private Papers Barbara Crickmore: Australian Association of the Deaf, Guidelines for the Portrayal of Deaf People in the Media, 1991, p. 3.

[223] Dr Harlan Lane, op. cit., p. 10.

[224] James Kewin, 'Bits and Pieces', AAD Outlook, vol. 5, no. 1, Autumn, p. 8.

[225] Stephen Marr, op. cit., p. 19.

[226] Dr Harlan Lane, op. cit., p. 11.

[227] Bernie Thorley et al., op. cit., p. 76.

intelligence testing to help establish the educational needs of deaf children despite the belief by some educators that it had "...nothing but negatives to offer".[228] For example, Lane noted "it is common for special educators to place blame for the academic underachievement of the Deaf child on the child...".[229]

Attitudes to achievement of deaf students

Others also noted the tendency to blame the deaf child for their school failure,[230] which led to lower expectations and the acceptance of lower achievements levels which was seen as ensuring school failure.[231] The acceptance of lower academic standards for the deaf was exemplified by a deaf adult who reflected on his time as a secondary school student. He had observed that his teachers would usually "...give a good mark and you knew that you didn't deserve that mark...".[232]

There was also concern that deaf education programs often focused on remediation and compensation, rather than on the academic strengths of deaf students.[233] Other educators contended that the level of educational attainment of deaf children should be equivalent to that of hearing children.[234] The suggested reasons for the lesser achievement of the deaf was that the modified curricula provided for them was not as comprehensive as that in mainstream schools.[235] Thus ensuring that the deaf could not progress to the same academic standards as those attained by their hearing peers.

In 1990, Brian Scott, Director of the Management Review of the New South Wales Education Portfolio that examined the delivery of education, wrote in the final report that "School education today therefore must have two essential objectives for the

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228 ibid.

229 Dr Harlan Lane, op. cit., p. 10.

230 Carol A Christensen, op. cit., p. 6; David Evans, 'Editorial', Australasian Journal of Special Education, vol. 21, no. 2, 1998, pp. 65-66, p. 65; Linda Komesaroff, op. cit., p. 42.

231 T Johnston, op. cit., pp. 16-17.

232 Wilma Vialle and John Paterson, op. cit., p. 33.

233 ibid., p. 32.

234 Linda Komesaroff, op. cit., p. 41; Private Papers Barbara Crickmore: Christine Retschlag, Coast Conference uses Sign Language, 1991.

235 Simon Andersson, op. cit., p. 14.

students themselves; education for living, and education for making a living."[236] For the deaf, however, a lack of language as well as lack of a comprehensive curriculum made it doubtful that they would reach either objective. Modified versions of curricula designed for hearing children had been imposed on deaf children in schools for the deaf from the 1860s. By the 1980s, the practice had received official sanctioning and recognition by the New South Wales Education Department, with the provision of "Records of Achievement" and "Student Profiles" in place of standard examination results, such as the School Certificate or the Higher School Certificate.[237]

Adult deaf

The adult deaf had been playing an increasingly prominent role in deaf issues throughout the 1960s and 1970s. Participation in various Government sponsored events and inquiries during the International Year of the Disabled in 1981, and increased community awareness created by those events[238] appears to have impacted in two main areas. First, it almost certainly acted as a catalyst for the development of deaf culture, the identity of the deaf as different rather than disabled, and the potential emergence of the non-oral deaf as a minority ethnic group.[239] Second, the new credentials provided deaf adults with a platform from which they could launch their opinions about the education of deaf children and demand change.

For example, one of the strongest deaf advocates for deaf people was Dorothy Shaw, who was described as having spent "...many years of representing Deaf people and highlighting the social injustice they faced".[240] In 1989, she was awarded the Order of Australia Medal, which was seen as confirming, what she termed, as a "new respectability" for the deaf. She was a staunch opponent of the inappropriate application of the oral mode, particularly at the expense of language acquisition, and campaigned for the many deaf students she believed were leaving school without any

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236 New South Wales Management Review, School-Centred Education, New South Wales Department of Education and Youth Affairs, 1990, p. xiii.

237 New South Wales Board of Studies, Credentialling for Students with Special Education Needs in Stage 5, 1996, pp. 5-6.

238 Phil Foreman, op. cit., p. 4.

239 T Johnston, op. cit., p. 13; PPBC, Australian Association of the Deaf, Guidelines..., op. cit.

240 ibid.

confidence in themselves and little language skills.[241]

Shaw was also a founding member of Deafness Resources Australia Limited. The resources centre provided publications, gathered from around the world, relating to all types of deaf issues. In 1995, Deafness Resources Association merged with Deaflink Inc. to become part of the National Australian Communications Exchange which was established as a national non-for-profit community based organisation, with a Board of Directors mainly comprising deaf people.[242]

Other deaf adults used different methods to take their messages about the deaf to the public. Among these were deaf actors who joined with hearing actors to form the Theatre of the Deaf. Backed by the Australian Elizabethan Theatre Trust and the Australia Council, the Theatre of the Deaf was launched as a professional company in 1979, and continues to provide a regular program of performances.[243]

Yet other members of the deaf community have taken part in initiatives involving the promotion of sign language, such as work with a lobby group for Auslan, the Australian Sign Language Advisory Board, or through involvement with interpreter training bodies. Some have served on decision-making bodies, such as the Disability Advisory Council of Australia and on committees of the Australian Advisory Council on Languages and Multicultural Education.[244]

By the 1990s, the New South Wales adult deaf associations were also publishing "fact" sheets, advising that the deaf are rarely unhappy about their deafness, although they felt frustrated by discrimination and obstruction.[245] They also produced material to directly educate the hearing public about deaf culture, including an explanation of their dislike of some terms used to describe the deaf and deafness. In particular, they opposed being described as "victims" of deafness, "suffering" or "being afflicted" with

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[241] NL.Np362/42 0994/T737, Dorothy Shaw, op. cit., p. 19; Australian Communication Exchange, Dorothy Shaw - Young Writers Competition, 1998.

[242] ibid.

[243] Christopher R Coogan, 'Theatre of the Deaf', Sound News, vol. 13, no. 2, September, 1984, pp. 51-53, p. 51.

[244] Des Power, Australia's Language..., op. cit., p. 2.

[245] PPBC, Australian Association of the Deaf, Guidelines..., op. cit., pp. 1-2; Dr Harlan Lane, op. cit., p. 8.

deafness, or being labelled as "hearing impaired", which they perceived as negative and clinical.[246] They also let it be known that most deaf do not want to be hearing, and are not interested in miracle surgery or other medical interventions promoting "cures" for deafness. The message was reinforced by one deaf person who said "...I find sign language such a comfortable language...it removes the need to concentrate on other people's speech".[247]

At the same time, other groups of deaf worked directly with deaf adults and deaf children. For instance, the Deaf Education Network advertised courses and associated services to deaf, oral deaf and hearing people "...for personal, vocational and cultural development specific to the Deaf community".[248] As another example, the North Sydney Deaf Children's Association provided special tutorial awards for any member's child who had some extra-curricular activity in which they needed financial assistance.[249] In addition, the Deaf Society developed a Deaf Studies Program in conjunction with the New South Wales Education Department, designed for 8-12 year olds in manual and oral classes in mainstream schools.[250] Thus, by the late 1990s, a range of deaf people were engaged in educating the general public, supporting other deaf, and generally advocating for deaf issues.

Summary and Conclusions

The second half of the 1970s witnessed the beginning of the end of the innovations in deaf education that had begun in the first half of the decade. Commonwealth Government funding for Australian research into various facets of education of the deaf came to an end. The Catholic schools for the deaf underwent dramatic change, with boarding facilities phased out in favour of day school services. In addition, the Newcastle school was restructured and services reduced, while the Castle Hill school was converted to a co-educational facility. At the same time, the Catholic Education

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[246] New South Wales Technical and Further Education: Division of Languages Course Number 8962, Stream 2200, Certificate in Language - Auslan, 'Topic 1: The Deaf Community and Deaf Culture', 1991, pp. 1-10; PPBC, Australian Association of the Deaf, Guidelines..., op. cit., pp. 1-2; Wilma Vialle and John Paterson, op. cit., p. 32.

[247] Private Papers Barbara Crickmore: Deaf Reach Out In Mattara Role, 1980.

[248] Australian Communication Exchange, Handbook 1997, 1997, p. 3; Adult Education Centre for Deaf and Hearing Impaired Persons, 'Untitled', Good Signs, vol. 2, no. 1, 1994, p. 1.

[249] North Shore Deaf Children's Association, 'Tutorial Awards', Sound News, vol. 26, no. 1, 1998, p. 15.

[250] Breda Carty et al, op. cit., p. 4.

Office appointed ITDs to support an increasing number of deaf students being integrated into Catholic mainstream schools. At the State Government level, the focus on educational services for deaf students and specialised teacher of the deaf training were being engulfed by the New South Wales Education Department's general focus on "disadvantaged" children as well as a broad range of children with disabilities.

As a result, the 1980s took on the appearance of a period of stagnation for deaf education. The only real issue to emerge for the educators of the deaf was the recognition by many that deaf students were not achieving the same academic successes as their hearing peers. The search for a solution led to the return of at least some aspects of the manual mode to the deaf schools and special classrooms, resurrecting the old antagonisms between manualists and oralists.

In the main, however, the special classes attached to New South Wales Education Department mainstream schools and the Catholic schools for the deaf retained a concentration on the oral mode, albeit with the support of manual supplements. The most significant innovation was the development of signed English as a component of a Total Communication, a hybrid system comprising signs, speech and body language to help an individual child develop language use.

The emphasis on language development followed the slow but eventually widespread acceptance that language skills were the key to improving educational outcome for deaf students. For the oral deaf it meant the continued development of hearing aids and refinement for their use in classrooms. For the non-oral deaf it helped pave the way for the subtitling of television news and other programs, the creation of a national TTY service, and specialised computer software, all designed to increase language and, therefore, access to information and better language use.

More importantly, perhaps, the emphasis on language and development of signed English coincided with the adult non-oral deaf declaring their own ethnic identity as a minority culture and exerting their growing influence on education. The result was pressure for Auslan, which had already been recognised as the natural language of the deaf, to be accepted in schools as an instructional language for deaf students. Although claims were made that this would help raise the level of educational outcomes for deaf students, no outcomes have yet become available.

The arguments and conflicting demands of various groups added to the confusion of parents, some of whom began agitating for better information. In particular, there was a growing dissatisfaction with the medical profession and Government guidance services because of perceived biases and inaccuracies in the advice they provided.

Parents were also becoming dissatisfied with the resourcing of services for their deaf children. Parent pressure that had been applied to the New South Wales Government since 1945 was now experienced by the Catholic system: first in campaigns in the media which saved the Newcastle school from total closure, followed by calls for ITDs, and then to have manual languages introduced into the schools for the deaf. Although the last request was not met, it signalled a new type of relationship between Catholic parents of non-oral deaf children and the Catholic education system.

At the same time, parents of deaf children in State schools were becoming increasingly dissatisfied with services for their children. There were questions about the professional skills and motivation of teachers and bureaucrats, as well as the real power of parents to impact on political and professional decision-making affecting the educational opportunities for their deaf children. Relations between the New South Wales Education Department, individual parents, and parent groups became more contentious in the 1990s, culminating in the presentation of a case by the PCDE to the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission. The parents failed to win any clear cut decision against the Education Department, although some of the shortcomings of deaf education in New South Wales schools were acknowledged. To date, however, the Government has taken few concrete measures to rectify matters or to accept full responsibility for deaf education by including deaf children in compulsory education legislation.

Most of the more recent innovations in deaf education, including the establishment of new preschools for deaf children, facilities for both primary and secondary student incorporating the use of Auslan as a language of instruction, and development of teacher training at postgraduate level have emanated from the Royal Institute for Deaf and Blind Children.

From a certain perspective the wheel of deaf education history in New South Wales has turned full circle. It is the successors of the founders of the first school for the deaf in the State who are trail-blazing with new approaches to the education of deaf

children. Although they now have classroom support that was not available in the nineteenth century, most deaf children in the State system are once again in mainstream classrooms. Also similar to the situation brought on by Katie Sullivan more than 125 years ago, the Catholic schools are faced with demands from parents who want their non-oral deaf children to receive an as yet unavailable Catholic education.

Given each of the matters raised in the current chapter, and the educational outcomes for deaf students in New South Wales today, it is apparent that unresolved issues still exist to fuel continuing debate about education of the deaf in New South Wales.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

Summary of the investigation

This study has investigated the establishment and evolution of educational provisions for a specific group of deaf students in New South Wales from 1860 up to the present. The group comprises students who obtain their formal education in schools for the deaf, special classes and in mainstream school classrooms. The author has explored the philosophies, aims and expectations that have shaped educational provisions for these children, with a view to identifying and clarifying issues that, taken together, help to explain their underrepresentation in successful post-secondary educational outcomes in the late twentieth century. The study does not include deaf students with additional disabilities who have to attend other specialised schools such as the Spastic Centre.

In New South Wales, there was a heavy reliance on overseas wisdom and practice in education in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and deaf education was no exception. Australia lacked traditions of its own in the field until the latter half of the nineteenth century. It was necessary very early in the thesis to touch on the teaching methods developed by European and American tutors of the deaf as far back as the sixteenth century. An understanding of these early antecedents sheds light on the interrelatedness between perceptions of the abilities of the deaf and teaching methods, the myths that pervade common understandings of deaf education, and the fragmented character of provision. The remainder of the study has used a chronological and thematic approach that traces the major events in deaf education in New South Wales since the 1860s.

To date, there have been few studies of deaf education in New South Wales and none that have looked at Government and non-government services on a State-wide basis. Consequently, none has looked at the interactions between educational services for the deaf and education of hearing students, and how such interactions may have shaped deaf education. In particular, the force and direction of these interactions and their outcomes have not previously been considered holistically for the State of New South Wales. Hence the findings contribute a broader perspective than has been hitherto accessible.

Summary of the findings

The study found general agreement that language acquisition was a fundamental prerequisite to academic achievement. Yet the available evidence suggests that educational programs for most deaf children in New South Wales have seldom focused on ensuring adequate language acquisition before or in conjunction with the introduction of academic subjects. The causes can be traced to three general and overriding attitudes towards deaf education amongst the major players providing educational services. These can be summarised as those players who saw the educational needs of the deaf as different to those of hearing students, those who saw only the level of hearing as different and viewed the educational needs of the deaf as being no different to those of the hearing, and those who were quite indifferent to providing educational services for the deaf at all. In practice, those who have seen differences in the educational needs of the deaf have been overwhelmed by the counter-views represented in the moves towards pure oralism, normalisation, the imposition of norms based on curriculum devised for hearing students, and economic rationalism, all interrelated with a "mesh of meanings" attached to deafness by the diverse and polarised groups of involved players. As a result, language and literacy competencies of deaf students in general have been acknowledged as being below those of their hearing counterparts, to the point of presenting as a barrier to successful post-secondary study.

The evolution of practices which have led to these outcomes can clearly be traced through the history of deaf education in New South Wales. The picture is one of conflicting ideologies, founded in State versus Church battles for control of education, moving into manual versus oral forms of instruction with accompanying educational versus medical and technical models dealing with deafness. All are bound in concurrent social values at various points in the past century and a half, starting in the late 1840s.

In the context of State versus Church

The National Education Board Act of 1848 initiated State education for children in the Colony of New South Wales. The Act established and incorporated a board to administer State funds for public schooling and marked the first round in a long war waged by the Colonial Government to wrestle control of education from the churches. Although the Act aspired to lay the foundations for providing an education to all children, it did not recognise any different educational needs of deaf students.

Amendments to the Act in 1852 increased the number of commissioners on the Board, but still made no mention of education for the deaf.

Unlike the older and more established countries in Europe where the different educational needs of the deaf had been acknowledged, Australia had no tradition of specific tutors or teachers of the deaf. Nor had the colony developed special educational facilities for the deaf as had been created in America. Public pleas by a few parents for a school for their deaf children, supported by other individuals in the community, led to the opening of private schools for the deaf in New South Wales and Victoria. In keeping with practices in Britain, which still exerted influence over the educational policies of Australia, the Colonial governments did not offer to provide specialist services. Promoting protestant ideals and using the British two-handed two-handed fingerspelling mode as a basis for instruction, the Sydney school evolved into the State's largest provider of deaf education. For almost a century the school was operated as a non-government facility and relied on charitable donations to maintain its programs.

The Public Schools Act of 1866 marked the next move in the legislative campaign. The Act replaced the National Education Board with the Council of Education, and introduced certification for schools including those established by churches. It also allowed the opening of new denominational schools, but still did not acknowledge any differences in the educational needs of the deaf compared to those of hearing students. The recognition of special needs and provision of appropriate services was apparently left to the schools themselves.

One prominent example of recognising differences and providing special services followed a series of incidents involving a Catholic girl at the Sydney school. Certain actions of some of the Sydney school's pupils and teachers were interpreted by her family as an example of religious intolerance, the Catholic church became involved in deaf education with the establishment of a school for the deaf in Newcastle. Staffed by Dominican nuns from Ireland, the Newcastle school opened in 1875 and used the French one-handed fingerspelling mode to promote Catholic ideals including a proper religious education for deaf Catholic children.

The Public Instruction Act of 1880 established the State Department of Public Instruction and effectively reduced past church influence over the Colony's education

system, although church sponsored schools were still permitted. The Act also instituted some compulsory education requirements for most children between the ages of six and fourteen years, but still offered no special provisions for deaf children. Similarly, the Public Instruction (Amendment) Act 1916, contained requirements for parents or guardians of children aged between seven and fourteen years to ensure their children attended school. Excluded from the requirement, however, were children with a permanent infirmity, which included the deaf.

The 1916 Education Act also required non-government schools to register with the New South Wales Department of Public Instruction and to submit to regular inspections by officers of that department. In addition to matters of physical safety and comfort, the inspectors were concerned with ensuring that standards for instruction in State schools were maintained by educational institutions outside the State system. In effect, this meant that the Newcastle school had to adopt much of the State school curriculum and assessment processes. Apart from any impact on denominational matters, the 1916 Act officially sanctioned the imposition of norms for a curriculum devised for hearing children on the education of the deaf. This Act also included the Sydney school, though it had been subjected to inspections since it had become a charitable institution in 1861.

Although the many aspects concerned with the control of education rested with the State Government from the 1880s, related matters of State aid to church schools arose again in the 1950s. Prime Minister Menzies' resistance to the funding of non-government schools impacted negatively, at that time, on the operations and continued development of services by the Catholic schools for the deaf. In the 1970s, the Newcastle school declined to accept the conditions attached to an offer of total funding made by the State Government of the period. The school's desire to maintain its century-long independent control of the programs provided for deaf Catholic children eventually saw it totally restructured as a result of financial pressures.

<u>The influence of the players</u>

The communication systems, academic education, and trade training programs operated by the two facilities were greatly influenced by individual school principals. When the Sydney and Newcastle schools were first established they were both under deaf principals. Sister Hogan of the Newcastle school was particularly insistent that manual mode be taught because she believed that signing was the natural language of

the deaf which allowed them to fully express themselves.

Within a very short period, however, the schools were influenced by overseas trends in education of the deaf as well as the need to maintain financial viability, meet the legislative requirements of being registered schools, and satisfy the ideologies of their respective sponsors. By the early 1900s these influences combined to see the schools move away from their original specialist programs to adopt curriculum and assessment techniques that were designed for hearing students in the State education system. By the 1950s, the manual mode had been almost totally supplanted by oral mode training.

At the urging of Sister Columba, Principal of the Newcastle school, a second Catholic school was opened in 1922 at Castle Hill, near Sydney. The new facility was built for boys, which allowed the Newcastle institution to operate as a girls school only. Both facilities operated as separate entities with their own curricula, special programs, and variations of the one-handed communication system until it was replaced by the oral mode and, in the 1970s, modified by manual supplements.

Government position in relation to deaf education

As already mentioned, early Colonial Governments and, after 1901, the State Governments, failed to make any special provision for education of deaf children beyond limited financial and some legislative support for administration of the Sydney school. Despite the New South Wales Government undertaking two substantial investigations into the educational needs of the deaf during the 1930s, both of which recommended greater State involvement in the provision of educational services for the deaf, the Sydney, Newcastle and Castle Hill schools remained the only specialist educational options for deaf children in New South Wales up to the Second World War.

A number of possible reasons for New South Wales government failure to provide adequate services for the education of deaf children, particularly between the mid-1800s to the mid-1900s, have been suggested. These included problems associated with the logistical and financial difficulties of providing special services to a relatively small group of children with diverse educational needs who were located in different areas across a large State. It was shown that in the beginning of the period both difficulties were compounded by the embryonic nature of the Government school system and the struggle with the Church for control of education within the Colony. It was also shown that issues of State aid to denominational schools and the unequal

treatment of specific schools on religious grounds were also likely to have played a role in the general lack of government funding for the non-government schools for the deaf until the 1950s.

From the early part of the twentieth century, issues relating to modes of communication, accurate diagnosis of deafness, technological aids, assessments of educational needs, and the application of specific teaching techniques added to the complexity of required services. Additionally, it has been demonstrated that deaf educators also contributed to government inaction by asserting the special nature of their work, that had several centuries of European tradition as background, and declining to associate with either mainstream or other special education teachers. At the same time, a description has been given of successive technological developments relating to hearing devices and advances in surgery and other medical procedures, and it has been shown how these helped maintain a belief for some that deafness could be cured. The impact on education of the deaf in New South Wales of investigations carried out in Britain during the late 1930s that found most deaf children had some useful residual hearing and that profound deafness was comparatively rare, was also discussed. In particular, attention was drawn to the beliefs of politician and bureaucrats that scientific advances and research would eliminate the need for special educational services for most deaf children.

Underlying these matters, however, it has been shown that social values probably played an important role in determining government policies on education of the deaf at various times over the past 150 years. Although the difficulties of determining links between policies and social influence have been acknowledged, it has been shown that the Eugenics movement of the late 1800s to mid-1900s, and the normalisation movement of the 1950s, were both likely to have impacted on special education services, including those for the deaf.

Through consideration of each of the above points, the New South Wales government's failure to seize the initiative in the education of the deaf, as it had done with mainstream and many special needs children, is seen as the result of indifference at best, and intentional avoidance of involvement at worst. In between, it is possible to identify some situations where government action is ambivalent, but many more where it appears that deaf children and their needs have been ignored because of their difference to hearing children.

Such an attitude to education for the deaf was demonstrated by the New South Wales and Commonwealth governments in 1942 when the Sydney School's building was allocated to the military. Unlike the education of hearing students across Sydney, the only classes available for education of the deaf outside the Catholic system were suspended and for many deaf students there was no schooling for three years.

Government indifference to education for the deaf was further illustrated in 1942 when the Sydney school's building, in contrast to the many other schools for the hearing, was taken over by the military and classes were suspended for the duration of the war. During the same period, the Public Instruction (Blind and Infirm children) Act of 1944 legislated compulsory education for blind and infirm children that did not specifically refer to deaf students a point acknowledged by the Minister for Education in the 1950s. The omission effectively relieved the State of direct responsibility for the provision of special educational facilities and teachers of the deaf. Although the Government did become involved in the provision of deaf education after the war, State responsibility for the education of deaf students has never been legislated in New South Wales. Up to the mid-1940s, it is clear that successive New South Wales Governments avoided involvement in deaf education beyond the provision of small grants.

The Government compounded its avoidance stance by failing to provide for training of specialist teachers of the deaf in the first half of the twentieth century. While teachers for hearing students in State schools were trained in Government sponsored colleges, such as the Sydney Teachers College which opened in 1905, potential teachers of the deaf had no such facility in the State. Qualified teachers were recruited from overseas or students were trained "in-house" by the institutions. The result was a lack of consistency in teachers' basic teaching and communication skills and competencies. In particular, it created considerable difficulties when new topics were introduced into the curriculum by the State education system.

To promote teaching standards, principals and teachers of a number of deaf schools around the country formed the Australian Association of Teachers of the Deaf in 1935, and introduced their own certification for practitioners two years later. The AATD was comprised of many advocates of the emerging oral mode movement which was opposed to the use of the manual mode as a medium of instruction and general communication with deaf students.

The State Government continued to show little interest in educational services for deaf children in New South Wales until after the Second World War, when the medical model of treating deafness began to prevail over specialist deaf education. The medical model arose with treatment of military personnel who had suffered hearing loss as a result of wartime service. They had received rehabilitation, including being issued with hearing devices, since the Boer war period. Technological developments during the Second World War made hearing aids a viable tool for deaf children to use, which coincided with an increase in the number of children born with hearing impairments as a result of the 1940 rubella outbreaks.

The Government was forced into becoming involved in deaf education when rubella-affected children considerably increased the usual number of deaf children seeking school enrolment in 1945 and 1946. Their mainly hearing parents lobbied the Government to provide educational services for deaf students in mainstream schools. The demands were supported by the head of the Commonwealth Government's acoustic laboratories, who had been working on hearing aids for children, and led to the establishment in selected State schools of special classes for deaf children. Inspired by the developing technology, coupled with the work of British researchers who had declared that all deaf children could be taught to speak, some Australian educators, scientists and politicians began to voice a belief that deafness could be eliminated.

Mode of instruction

The belief was based on the premise that deafness was no more than a lack of hearing and could be rectified with sound amplification devices, and that approaches to education would then need to be no different than that provided for hearing children. No consideration was given to the possible effects of delayed language acquisition on later linguistic mastery and literacy. Nor was any consideration given to the possibility that deafness was not simply a deficit in hearing, but another state of normality different to that of hearing people.

Consequently, the teachers in special classes attached to mainstream schools used an oral approach to communication and teaching the standard curriculum, but enrolled only those deaf children who could benefit from the use of hearing aids. Although the conditions of enrolment appear to have constituted an admission that deafness could

not be eliminated for all children, there were no Government services or additional help provided for those students who could not benefit from the use of hearing aids. The only option for non-oral deaf students anywhere in the State were the Sydney, Newcastle and Castle Hill schools. The general organisation and allocation of resources for education of deaf children has remained essentially the same to the present.

Despite a world-wide trend towards oral training in 1930s and 1940s, both the Sydney and the Catholic schools adhered mainly to the manual system, although some oral and combined modes were practised for some deaf students. While the use of different signing systems reflected the backgrounds of the school founders, the impact on the deaf students was to effectively prevent interschool communication and a cohesive community of deaf educators. The barriers had already been seen to extend beyond school life and witnessed the establishment of several adult deaf societies in the first half of the century, differentiated not solely on religious grounds but also on the basis of modes of communication used by the members. The expansion of oral mode training further alienated groups of deaf and fragmented the deaf community according to communication styles. In the pre-war years, the fragmentation effectively limited the establishment of a common advocacy group amongst the deaf.

By the 1950s prevailing social values about what came to be known as normalisation saw all schools move to the teaching of oral mode. The shift was encouraged by interpretations of the Darwinian theory had denigrated the use of sign languages in favour of oralism, by the medical profession and the Commonwealth Government department involved with the manufacturer of hearing aids who appeared to view deafness simply as a lack of hearing, and by the State Government Ministers who saw normalisation policies as economically advantageous and easier to administer than providing support for special private schools. The State Government consolidated these policies with its take-over of the Farrar school then the Sydney school, which were then incorporated into the State school system. By the 1960s, the educational options for deaf children unable to progress in an oral mode classroom were severely limited.

At this point, manual mode teaching had all but been eliminated from educational services available to deaf students in New South Wales. Along with rise of the oral mode went the demise of training teachers in the manual mode, which meant the

virtual extinction of manual language instruction. The lack of skilled teachers further educationally marginalised the non-oral deaf who could not make adequate academic progress with oral mode training. Even when the failure of the purely oral mode approach for many deaf children was recognised in the 1970s, few teachers were able to implement manual mode or manual supplements efficiently. The supporters of the "not different" and "indifferent" approaches has almost totally overwhelmed those who saw deafness as grounds for taking a different approach to education.

By the late 1960s, however, it became quite apparent that deaf children were not succeeding academically as well as their hearing counterparts. The main reason for the school failure of many deaf children was identified as their lack of language skills. The lack of language skills was, in turn, seen as a result of the inappropriate imposition of the oral mode of instruction on all deaf children. Internationally, as well as in Australia, it was recognised that deaf children needed to be taught in a mode most suited to their needs. Supported by parents of deaf children and adult deaf societies seeking better outcomes for deaf students, educators the world over began to complement oral mode instruction with manual supplements or return to manual forms of communication.

In the late 1930s the use of the oral mode had been seen by the hearing as socially more acceptable than manual languages. The results of research conducted during that period claimed that most deaf children could be taught to speak with appropriate hearing devices, and development of better devices after the Second World War made them readily available in Australia. These developments had supported the mode gaining favour in schools for the deaf through the 1950s and 1960s. However, its removal from pre-eminence as a mode of instruction and communication for the deaf in the 1970s was to do with improving educational outcomes for the deaf. The oral mode is still favoured by many teachers of the deaf but is counterbalanced by manual and combined modes equally favoured by other teachers of the deaf, often depending on the needs of the individual student.

Advocacy

It had been hearing parents of deaf children who had led calls for the establishment of the first schools for the deaf in Australia during the nineteenth century. In the mid-twentieth century it was hearing parents again who became active in advocating for special services for their deaf children. For example, in a response to requests from

parents, the Sydney-based Farrar School for the Deaf was opened in 1946 as a private institution specialising in oral education. By the end of the 1940s in New South Wales there was a total of four private schools and a small but increasing number of special classes in mainstream State schools. It soon became apparent, however, that many deaf students in the State schools were not benefiting from oral mode training and even those that were making some progress could not match their hearing counterparts' academic achievements.

In the 1960s, faults with services for deaf children were apparent from the establishment of a number of advocacy groups by hearing parents, including the Federation of Junior Deaf Education, and the North Shore Deaf Children's Association, followed by the formation of other local and regional groups during the 1970s and 1980s. Indicating that problems still exist, the Parent Council for Deaf Education, acting as a peak body, maintains an active monitoring and advocacy role in a continual fight for more appropriate deaf education. During the period, the failure of the system was also evident in the Adult Deaf Society seeing a need to expand its basic educational services for the education of deaf adults.

At the same time, both the Newcastle and Sydney schools were announcing successful outcomes for some of their deaf students sitting the same State-wide examinations as hearing students. The claims for the few are emphasised, however, by the pronounced silences in the documentation about level of educational outcomes achieved by the majority of deaf students. Comments made at various times by individuals attached to the adult deaf societies and tertiary institutions such as TAFE indicate that the more usual educational outcomes rendered post-secondary school education problematic for most deaf students. The difficulties were identified as being related to poor communication skills and literacy. The source of the lack of achievement was seen as an education system that did not ensure the learning of a language, oral or manual, by deaf children before they were expected to learn the academic content of the curriculum. The perceived failure of the education system was also seen as the result of evolving community values.

Teaching strategies

By the mid-1970s, integration policies in the State schools system placed less emphasis on the creation of OD units in favour of greater efforts to support deaf students in the mainstream, and to provide help for mainstream teachers who had deaf

children in their class. The support provisions included the establishment of itinerant teachers of the deaf services, although the workload and the extent of travel required of the itinerant teachers cast doubt on their efficacy. It was also clear from parents' comments that some deaf children in mainstream classes, particularly those outside the metropolitan area, were not receiving the promised support.

The overall effect of the focus on integration was to decentralise specialist teaching expertise and further dilute services for those deaf students who were enrolled in mainstream classes. The consequence of Government policy was to create four broad categories of deaf students. The first group of these was the deaf students who were able to cope in the mainstream, and of whom little more is heard. The second group was those enrolled in the mainstream but who could not cope. The increased utilisation of General Activity courses for deaf students effectively sanctioned a lower level of mainstream education and expectations for them. Along with many other non-deaf students who were not progressing in the normal classroom, these students were moved to programs with lower attainment standards and lesser qualifying awards compared to mainstream classroom programs. The third group comprised those deaf students unable to cope with mainstream at all and who were transferred to an OD unit or, making up the fourth group, were enrolled at the Sydney school.

To the present, for deaf students in bottom stream classes, special classes, and the schools for the deaf, the curriculum remains little more than a modified and reduced version of that provided to hearing students. Although the social and language environment may be more suitable for some students, the application of lower academic expectations ensure that few deaf students achieve a level of literacy and mastery of language skills which is sufficient to move them onto successful tertiary level study.

The 1990s has also witnessed the dilution of specialised training for teachers of the deaf. The State-controlled courses introduced in the 1950s and expanded in the 1970s have now been absorbed into broader special education teacher training qualifications. The sole remaining specialist teacher of the deaf course in New South Wales is offered by Renwick College.

Discussion of findings

The investigation found that historical, political and social complexities which surround

schooling for deaf students have contributed to a unique culture of deaf education. It is a culture shaped by opposing concepts. On the one hand is the recognition that deaf students need a special educational environment and specific teaching strategies which are quite different to those provided for hearing students. On the other hand is the belief that deafness is no more than a deficit in hearing and compensation for hearing loss renders a different form of education unnecessary. At the same time, there is a bureaucratic and social insistence that educational outcomes for deaf students should be compared to those of hearing students only within the academic and temporal framework of standards devised for "hearing" children.

An examination of these findings required an approach that challenged the "received traditions" about deaf education and reassessed the documented claims and historical accounts. From the preliminary analysis, five key themes emerged that provide a conceptual framework for understanding the development of deaf education in New South Wales. The five key themes are:

- a culture of politics and advocacy;
- the framework in which instruction occurs;
- the imposition of the norms and educational aims of education for hearing students on the education of deaf students;
- the resources issue;
- the "mesh of meanings", i.e. the underlying beliefs, attitudes and myths that underpin debate and decisions about deaf education.

These themes apply across the whole of the period studied and are eventually the issues that need to be addressed in order to move the various debates on deaf education forward.

<u>A culture of politics and advocacy</u>

The deaf education community is a small one and this makes its internal politics all the more visible. For a variety of historically-based ideological, technical, and cultural reasons, there are very strong and opposing views on deaf education within that community. Such differences in viewpoints are central to all human activities, including those concerning education. Within education of the deaf, however, there has developed a "culture" of politics and advocacy, most prominently over territory and ownership of areas and aspects of deaf education.

Territorial claims were evident in the religious foundations to the establishment of the first schools for the deaf in New South Wales and the programs they offered. The emphasis was on specific characteristics of the deaf child totally unrelated to his or her deafness. Another example of territorial significance, and one also based on characteristics of the deaf other than deafness, was the demands of the Adult Deaf Society in relation to the name of the association formed by hearing parents of deaf children attending State schools. By including the word "junior", the Federation for Junior Deaf Education was clearly demarcated from the adult territory of the Deaf Society. The Association for Better Hearing, representing post-lingual oral deaf, provide another example of advocacy within a specific territory, although more directly concerned with deafness.

The cultural differences of these groups becomes important when specific issues relating to services for the deaf are subject to debate. For example, the development and supply of hearing aids and the cochlear implants may be particularly supported by members of the Federation for Junior Deaf Education and the Australian Association for Better Hearing. On the other hand, these matters may receive little support from the non-oral deaf of the Adult Deaf Society, and are likely to be opposed by some members of the non-oral deaf community. Similar sentiments may be expressed by the different parties for the expansion of audiology and speech therapy services. Conversely, issues related to the teaching and use of Auslan as an instructional medium have also seen considerable debate. Central to many of the current issues is the perception of deafness, which is discussed more fully in the fifth section as part of the "mesh of meanings".

In more recent years, the religious foundation of the service provider has become less significant in deaf education. The ideological beliefs and pedagogical philosophies of the educators remain, however, a relatively powerful force in the classroom education of the deaf. Comments by OD unit teachers, as well as teachers in the Sydney and Catholic schools, clearly indicate the impact of individual teachers on the education of deaf children. In particular, such comments relate to beliefs about the capacity of deaf children to learn academic subjects and the purpose of the children's experience in the classroom. During the 1960s and beyond, such views were reflected in global movements concerned with children enjoying the educational experience rather than high level achieving.

Other educators have seen a need to ensure that all deaf children do have access to higher levels of learning, but particularly the non-oral deaf. Their advocacy saw the return to the use of manual mode and manual mode supplements to facilitate language learning, and the development of signed English in particular in an attempt to assist non-oral deaf with the curriculum devised for hearing students. Accepting the limitations of Signed English, and recognising the identity of deaf culture, yet another group has adopted the use of the natural signs of the deaf to provide instruction in Auslan.

Each of these groups, and others, represent a particular aspect of beliefs about deafness and education of the deaf. The polarity of debate between them, and the intense advocacy each presents to support specific issues is ongoing from clearly identifiable historical precedence. In this context, the politics and advocacy has become part of the culture of deaf education in New South Wales. It is contended, therefore, that an examination of historical documentation relating to education of the deaf needs to utilise an approach that recognises the existence of that culture and consider its component parts in any analysis of events.

Imposition of the norms and educational aims for hearing students

It is also contended that examination of historical documentation relating to deaf education, particularly that which focuses on curriculum content, duration of schooling and language learning, and teaching strategies, should consider the impact of the long-standing imposition of the norms and educational aims of hearing students on the deaf. Such impositions are a relatively recent development in terms of the history of deaf education. The earlier techniques used by European tutors of the deaf, for example, were focused first on teaching their students a language, either oral or manual, then to extend the language into written literacy which could be combined with instruction in academic subjects. The end product was the defining feature of a successful education, whereas the process was not comparable to the schooling of hearing children.

Academic content

In nineteenth century Australia, however, the need to attract public donations required the schools to demonstrate that their students' academic skills were equivalent to those of hearing students at each year or grade. This led the schools for the deaf to adopt mainstream curricula, a move that was reinforced when the institutions became

registered schools after the Public Instruction (Amendment) Act of 1916. The mainstream curricula made no provision for basic language learning as this was assumed to have been accomplished for hearing children prior to the commencement of school. The lack of classroom time to properly teach language and academic content led to a compromise between the two, virtually assuring that the deaf child would never reach the same educational level expected for hearing children.

The difficulties of teaching deaf students was compounded by the continual development and upgrading of the State school curriculum. Apart from adding to the mass of content, the additional subject matter was often beyond the expertise of the specialised teachers of the deaf who, in the main, were trained to teach communication skills and only basic academic subjects. The influence of the educational norms for hearing students was increased with the greater reliance by the State education system on common examinations for the assessment of all students.

Duration of schooling

The difficulties of maintaining academic progress at a level similar to hearing students were further compounded by the schools' inability to retain a deaf student's enrolment beyond the duration of that for hearing students. Socially, it was considered disadvantageous to the deaf child if it was admitted that he or she needed longer schooling than a hearing student. At the same time, it was acknowledged as disadvantageous to the deaf child's prospects of employment if he or she was older than hearing school leavers. This was particularly important where apprenticeships were concerned, and even recently the duration of schooling for the deaf was attacked as a barrier to their trade training.

Acknowledging that early language learning could be beneficial in terms of the deaf child's educational outcomes, early diagnosis of deafness was provided through New South Wales Department of Health's clinics from the late 1930s. For those able to access facilities, early language training was introduced at the preschool level by the Sydney school after the Second World War. During the 1970s, the demand for more preschool provisions for deaf children and family support services resulted in the establishment of the non-government Shepherd Centre in Sydney. In the same period, the Newcastle school established its own preschool facility and, within the State school system, the itinerant teachers of the deaf included preschool-aged children on their caseload. While it is assumed that this has been a benefit for language acquisition by

deaf children the lack of monitoring and evaluation cannot confirm the efficacy of this approach.

Teaching strategies

Within the mainstream classroom, the move away from teacher-directed instruction and towards greater emphasis on student involvement in the learning process has been seen as further disadvantaging the deaf child. It has been reasoned that without well developed communication skills, the deaf child has little opportunity to fully participate in the interactive processes with either the teacher or hearing peers. Failure of the deaf student adequately to contribute to individual and group processes reinforces the stereotype image that the deaf are not academically as competent as their hearing counterparts.

Special considerations

Thus the three specific related issues, centred on academic content, duration of schooling and language learning, and teaching strategies, conspire to render the deaf child at a considerable disadvantage to hearing students in trying to maintain comparable progress through a curriculum designed and timed for hearing students. In any analysis of deaf education, specific consideration needs to be given to the basis and standards upon which policies are based and outcomes derived.

Instructional framework

Within the modified instructional framework of OD units and special schools, the major classroom issue for educators of the deaf has undoubtedly been, and continues to be, the mode of instruction. Over several centuries, teachers have attempted to raise their deaf students' literacy levels by either manual or oral methods. Accountability for their efforts was measured in the commercial success of their schools or the international reputations they built for their methods. In New South Wales, fame and fortune have played less of a part in general education than research and standardised data on academic outcomes. In deaf education, however, there is no strong theoretical or empirical base for using one teaching strategy or the other, nor are there any data on academic outcomes which clearly indicate the benefits of any particular method. As a result, educators and parents appear to make decisions about the deaf child's education based more ideological or social grounds than on firm educational foundations.

Consequently, claims and counterclaims about mode of instruction that appear so frequently in the literature on deaf education must be considered in the light of the paucity of research findings and documented outcomes. Not only ideology but also social values, traditions, and economic rationalism also appear to play a part in choice of mode at the present.

The resources issue

It is possible to view much of the course of deaf education in New South Wales over the past 140 years as having been dictated by financial concerns. The historic impact on students and schools for the deaf of the need to collect fees and solicit donations, coupled with the failure of Governments to provide adequate financial support have already been mentioned. Of current importance to the families, which continues to impact on deaf students' outcomes, has been the concentration in metropolitan areas of specialist services such as the Sydney school, and Government audiology and speech therapy services, which effectively discriminates against those living elsewhere.

At the same time, the expanded use of ITD support for mainstream integration, the curtailing of OD unit facilities, and the generalisation of teacher training, has diminished the deaf child's access to full time specialist teacher of the deaf services in State schools. The result has been to provide fewer options for ensuring an academically successful education for deaf students who cannot cope with the content or time restrictions of the curriculum for hearing students being implemented in their local New South Wales mainstream school classroom.

Analysis of educational documentation on any particular issue during any specific period needs to consider the location from which data is sourced and what resources were available at the time.

Mesh of meanings

The often unsubstantiated beliefs, attitudes, and myths that underpin debate about education of the deaf, referred to as the "mesh of meanings", have frequently played a central role in policy-making. The sub-human primate images of non-oral deaf and users of sign language conjured up by hearing people led to extreme policies of eugenics overseas, and a wholesale adoption of oral mode training across the world. At the individual level, beliefs of the hearing about the deaf have frequently been

negative in their connotation and have often evolved through unfavourable comparison of the communication styles of the deaf and hearing. Such comparisons have led the deaf to be labelled, at various times in history, as "idiots", "dumb", and incapable of assuming the responsibilities of marriage or inheritance. Among other failings they have also been labelled as ineducable. In New South Wales, the predicament was further compounded by the assertions in the 1950s that all deaf children could learn to talk, which placed the reason for educational failure firmly at the feet of the child.

Beliefs about deafness have also played a major role in policies and decision-making. Historically, aspects of the medical model were consistently associated with a deficit theory of deafness. Some of the most detailed early records of deafness, such as those compiled by Itard, are associated with efforts to find a cure for deafness. The application of hearing aid technology to prelingually deaf children, in the belief that such devices would render deafness obsolete, dictated both State policies for education of the deaf and training given to teachers of the deaf. The policy assumed that amplification of sound was all that was needed to solve the problem of deafness and although the inaccuracy of the theory was clearly demonstrated in the 1970s and 1980s, policies have hardly changed.

Over the past two decades the non-oral deaf have joined the discussion and attach their own "mesh of meanings" to deafness, imbuing the state of silence with characteristics of normality and little more than simply being different to the state of hearing. The success of advocates for the normality of deafness in having the deaf not merely recognised by some as a linguistic minority but as an ethnic minority within Australia, with their own culture and language, has contributed a new dimension to debate about services for the deaf community. At the educational level, this has seen the introduction of Auslan as an instructional mode in some classrooms, although insufficient time has elapsed to reach any conclusions about its efficacy.

Acknowledging the existence of the "mesh of meanings" obliges the analyst to consider the impact of influences that shift across the array of players and through time. For example, the conflicting ideologies of church and State-supported educational services of the nineteenth century have vastly different implications for similar sponsorships today. Yet, at the same time, historic traditions and beliefs emanating from obsolete institutions may still play a part in maintaining current ideologies and practices. The acceptance of expectations for deaf children to achieve less academically than their

hearing counterparts may be one such case.

Limitations of the study

The specific location of the investigation in New South Wales will limit the generalisation of finding to other States in Australia or other countries. However, New South Wales was appropriate because of its long history history of specialist educational services for the deaf and the largest population, which ensured the maximum amount of historical and demographic material for investigation and because there is a unique relationship between other deaf education providers and the State. In addition, the author's direct involvement in the New South Wales education system, and personal knowledge of many specific events that have influenced deaf education over the past twenty-five years, provided another factor in locating the study in her home State.

Conceptual and methodical practical implications of the study

Investigating the history of deaf education in New South Wales is a problematic area of study, with many interlacing themes and conflicting ideologies about deafness held by opposing advocates underpinning debate and policy decisions about teaching methods. Historically, many of these ideologies have been shown to be founded on the attitudes and beliefs of hearing participants, and more often based on myths about the deaf than on facts. The difficulties are compounded by a lack of educational records, statistics, and valid research pertaining to education of deaf students. In the frequently controversial issues for the dissenting advocates of teaching methods, the "mesh of meanings" needs to be unravelled and analysed. Such an approach is necessary in order to understand the present educational provisions for deaf students in New South Wales.

To overcome the problems, and provide the widest possible view of developments and outcomes over time which have led to the current situation, a wide variety of primary sources has been consulted. These include papers and reports from the special schools, Government documents, professional journals, conference papers, specialist books concerned with deaf education, newspaper reports, and a variety of advocacy group newsletters. Information gained during informal interviews with participants in some of the key events over the past fifty years has also been used as guidelines for further investigation.

At the same time, it is acknowledged that many of the sources are biased towards the advocated purpose or special interest of the groups that published them. It is evident that annual reports cast the institutions in favourable lights, while media stories are generally focused on a particular point, such as the advantages of technology, or the benefits of a service in order to promote fund-raising. Consequently, the positive bias has to be taken into account. Other sources tend to concentrate on one specific aspect of education for deaf, such as parents' interests in parent support, audiologists concerns with audiology, oral mode teachers with oralism, often to the exclusion of broader or more general views of educational issues.

Of note is the overwhelming emphasis on the etic view of deaf education. Only in recent years have the deaf been included as contributors to decision-making and policy. Even to the present, however, the non-oral deaf are frequently limited in their unaided contributions by their lack of writing skills and a need for interpreters.

Contextualisation of the study in terms of new developments

The purpose of this section is to report any new developments in education of the deaf in New South Wales, that may have taken place since writing of the current work commenced. The most significant advances being made appear to be the continued development of Auslan based instruction through to the secondary school level at the Thomas Pattison school, and new teacher training techniques evolving from the Renwick College postgraduate program, a joint venture between the Royal Institute for Deaf and Blind Children and the University of Newcastle. Within the State and Catholic systems, however, little has changed. Financial concerns still dominate the provision of services, and no comprehensive State-wide statistics have been collected or investigations undertaken concerning the teaching methods being used in the various classrooms with deaf students. For the majority of deaf school leavers, there appears to be little greater prospect of successfully undertaking tertiary study than has been evident in the past.

Needs in relation to research and practice

Monitoring of progress and outcomes

Debate and policy-making about teaching methods and curriculum have been conducted over the past fifty years without the benefit of data indicating the progress and outcomes for deaf students. It would appear essential that such data about the efficacy of instructional mode and the appropriateness of content, particularly in

relation to the learning of language be collected in order for informed decisions to be made.

Evaluating curriculum sequencing and content

The balance between language instruction and academic content of the curriculum needs to be examined in relation to communication styles. This particularly applies to non-oral deaf students who are being instructed in Total Communication that uses signed English or Auslan, as both manual modes have limitations in relation to the level of literacy required for the current curriculum designed for hearing students.

Duration of schooling

A consistent problem recognised by educators for most of this century has been the lack of time available for the adequate teaching of language before the introduction of academic content. Although a greater effort at teaching language has been made at the preschool level, the time required for deaf students to attain literacy and academic proficiency at a level similar to that of their hearing peers needs to be investigated.

Teacher training

The diminished availability of specialist teachers of the deaf has led to a lack of specific expertise in many areas of deaf education. Recognition needs to be given to the specialised teaching skills required to work with the oral deaf, the non-oral deaf using signed English, the non-oral deaf using Auslan, or those students requiring a combination of modes. Such recognition also requires the need for an option for teacher trainees to specialise in one of the above areas. For example, Renwick College's postgraduate programs, specifically those dealing with hearing impairment and deafness, require candidates to have skills in Auslan.

Funding

Monitoring the progress of deaf students, evaluating the curriculum and teaching methods, extending the duration of schooling, and expanding the specialisation of teacher training, will all require a greater financial commitment than has been provided in the past.

Teaching strategies

Training or in-service programs for teachers working with deaf children will need to

address issues associated with the balance of teacher-directed activities and those that require greater initiation by the child. This may be particularly important in integrated settings which place more emphasis on student involvement in learning processes.

Histories for the future

From the outset the author has emphasised that the area selected for investigation is problematic because it was poorly documented, particularly in relation to the interlacing themes of players, influences, ideologies and mythologies. She also stated that in trying to unravel some of the issues, the thesis attempts to undertake the documentary groundwork that will allow more theoretically sophisticated historical studies in the future. A fervent hope is that the work on the one small aspect of deaf education contained in the present study may help following investigators shed a greater light on the education of deaf students across Australia.

To further illuminate the situation there is a great need for deaf persons to write histories of deaf education and add the emic quality to inquiry and analysis that must always elude the current author. There is also a need for greater use of oral history and life history approaches, as well as a need for historical syntheses of the entire Australian situation. Then it may be that the cause of raising the standards of deaf education will be immeasurable strengthened.

APPENDIX A

Definition of terms used in the thesis

non-oral deaf
: person who is deaf and mostly does not communicate through speech or lip/speech reading - usually communicates through manual signs

oral deaf
: deaf person using speech, lip/speech reading and residual hearing

prelingual deaf
: person who is born deaf or whose deafness occurred before normal language was established

postlingual deaf
: person who after acquiring spoken language, acquires various degrees of deafness, through a variety of causes, eg. excessive noise that damaged hearing, accidents, ear infections, illness, the aging process

partially deaf/hard of hearing/hearing impaired/impaired hearing
: person who has impaired hearing, but is able to use hearing for communication

hearing-impaired
: person with some hearing that could be boosted by using hearing devices

deaf and dumb/deaf mute
: obsolete term for non-oral deaf person, now viewed as pejorative

retarded deaf
: obsolete term for deaf individual believed, often incorrectly, to have an intellectual disability

APPENDIX B

Definition of modes used in this thesis

manual mode
: use of finger movements to represent letters or hand movements to represents words and or concepts, plus use of body movement and gesture. No oral sound is used for communication purposes

sign language
: use of finger spelling plus either Signed English or the natural manual language of a deaf community, eg. Auslan in Australia

fingerspelt alphabet and fingerspelling
: involves the use of finger movements to represent each letter of each word individually spelt. May involve one hand (French method) or two hands (English method)

oral mode and oral method
: uses speech, usually with amplification devices

aural-oral
: listening to speech and sounds (using few visual cues)

lipreading and speech reading
: ascertaining the identity of words by watching movement of the speakers lips

cued speech
: a manual supplement to teaching in the oral mode that uses various hand and finger movements around the face, to indicate some different sounds used to produce speech

combined mode
: uses parts of both oral and manual modes

total communication
: uses a combination of manual mode, including signed English and oral mode, including articulation, lipreading and amplification devices

Auslan
: the sign language used by members of the Australian deaf community

signed English
: uses fingerspelling and signs to represent the spoken English language. Also defined as an educational tool

APPENDIX C

Name changes

1. Name changes for the Sydney school from 1860

1860-	Deaf and Dumb Institution of New South Wales
1868-	New South Wales Deaf and Dumb Institution
1869-	New South Wales Deaf and Dumb and Blind Institution
1962-	North Rocks School for the Deaf

2. Name changes for the Newcastle school from 1875

1875-	Institution for the Deaf and Dumb (commonly referred to as the Rosary Convent or Waratah school)
1948-	School for Deaf Girls
1977-	Catholic Centre for Hearing Impaired Children
1993-	St Dominic's Centre for Hearing Impaired Children

3. Name changes for the Castle Hill school from 1922

1922-	St Gabriel's School for Deaf Boys
1975-	St Gabriel's School for the Deaf
1998-	St Gabriel's School for Hearing Impaired Children

4. Name changes for the New South Wales Education Department

1848-	Board of National Education
1867-	Council of Education
1880-	Department of Education
1989-	Department of School Education

5. Name changes for class and itinerant teachers of the deaf

Opportunity Deaf Class Teachers to Support Teachers (hearing)
Itinerant Teachers of the Deaf to Itinerant Support Teachers (Hearing)

APPENDIX D

Report of Departmental Committee on the Education of the Deaf and Partially Deaf in N.S.W. - 1949 - Terms of Reference

1. To examine the methods at present being followed for the education of children with impaired hearing in -

   (a) State schools;
   (b) the school conducted by the New South Wales Institution for the Deaf and Dumb and the Blind;
   (c) private organisations, if possible.

2. To estimate the number of deaf children for whom it is considered special educational facilities should be provided. The report of the Principal Medical Officer of the result of a survey of children with impaired hearing attending Departmental Schools in the Metropolitan Area to be accepted as a basis for such assessment.

3. To report on the facilities which should be provided, indicating the approximate number of deaf children falling within each of the recognised groups.

4. To report as to the suitability of the premises at Darlington of the New South Wales Institution for the Deaf and Dumb and the Blind for the education of children with impaired hearing, and to submit recommendatibns for improvements thereto or substitution therefor as the circumstances may warrant.

5. To examine the evidence available as to the results achieved in the education of children with impaired hearing attending Departmental schools and assisted by artificial hearing aids.

6. To report on the various methods adopted in the teaching of deaf children and to submit recommendations in regard thereto.

7. To advise the appropriate ages at which deaf children or children with impaired hearing should be brought under a system of formal teaching and to what age they should continue under such direction. In this matter the form of any pre-school activity, if such activity be desirable, should be investigated and reported on.

8. To report on methods for the training of teachers of the deaf and to furnish an estimate of the number of such teachers likely to be required to satisfy immediate and future needs.

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