This is a repository copy of *Deafness : representation, sign language, and community, ca. 1800–1920*.

White Rose Research Online URL for this paper:
http://eprints.whiterose.ac.uk/162989/

Version: Accepted Version

Book Section:

Cleall, E. (2020) Deafness : representation, sign language, and community, ca. 1800–1920. In: Huff, J.L. and Stoddard Holmes, M., (eds.) A Cultural History of Disability in the Long Nineteenth Century. The Cultural Histories Series, 5 . Bloomsbury , London , pp. 95-112. ISBN 9781350029538

https://doi.org/10.5040/9781350029101.ch-006

© 2020 Bloomsbury Publishing. This is an author-produced version of a chapter subsequently published in 'A Cultural History of Disability in the Long Nineteenth Century, Volume 5'. Uploaded in accordance with the publisher's self-archiving policy.

Reuse
Items deposited in White Rose Research Online are protected by copyright, with all rights reserved unless indicated otherwise. They may be downloaded and/or printed for private study, or other acts as permitted by national copyright laws. The publisher or other rights holders may allow further reproduction and re-use of the full text version. This is indicated by the licence information on the White Rose Research Online record for the item.

Takedown
If you consider content in White Rose Research Online to be in breach of UK law, please notify us by emailing eprints@whiterose.ac.uk including the URL of the record and the reason for the withdrawal request.

eprints@whiterose.ac.uk
https://eprints.whiterose.ac.uk/

Deafness: representation, sign language and community, c. 1800-1920.

> The catalogue of infirmities and calamities to which human nature is liable, exhibits, perhaps, no case of our fellow creatures (insanity excepted), which more forcibly, or more justly excites our commiseration than that of the uneducated deaf and dumb, for although blindness may and does claim a readier sympathy, from the deep interest it excites, yet, on attentively comparing these two great calamities, we cannot fail to discover that the former possesses the heavier privations. (Binham 1845: 2)

Introduction

Writing in 1845, a teacher of deaf children, H. B. Binham, summed up some of the ambivalent associations with deafness in nineteenth-century western Europe and North America. Whilst many deaf activists have argued that deafness is not, in fact, an impairment at all, but the basis of a linguistic minority, in the nineteenth century it was uniformly discussed as "defect" or, as here, a "great calamity" (Davis 1995: 881-882; Lane 2002: 356-379). Yet the "deaf mute" did not epitomize the pitiable figure in sentimental Victorian discourse as did the blind person or "cripple.". This was partly because deaf people were perceived as unable to hear the 'word of God,' and thus were labelled "irreligious." Linking deafness with insanity was also very common in the nineteenth century because, due to their perceived lack of language, deaf people were seen as unable to "reason". Over the course of the nineteenth century, other associations with deafness started to emerge, not least those about heredity, which became such a concern that some even started worrying about the creation of a "deaf variety of the human race" (Bell 1883). The first part of this chapter, on social and cultural attitudes towards deafness, will trace some of the developments and shifts in the largely negative imagery associated with deafness throughout the period.

If, however, the deaf were seen as experiencing heavy "privations" and deserving of great "commiseration," it was not a condition that was seen as completely without amelioration. Whilst medical and technological treatments for deafness were limited, education was highly prized as a means or "reaching," "treating" or "saving" the deaf. The second part of this chapter will look at the way in which deafness was treated and responded to in this period, particularly focusing on the emergence and growth of deaf education. Here, my argument is that, in constructing deafness as a 'problem' that hearing people might solve, the experience of deafness itself was constructed as undesirable and something to be mitigated. Building on this, the third section of the chapter will focus on the most contentious debate in deaf education – the question as whether best to educate deaf children using the "manual" method (a language of hand gestures, whether a recognized sign language--the native language of a particular deaf community--or an artificial language created by hearing people for the purposes of education) or the "oral" method (lip-reading the vernacular). As I shall explain, this debate, which originated in Europe and came to a head in the infamous Conference of Milan, had global ramifications. The fourth and final section of this chapter will explore how deaf people responded to these developments. I shall argue that, as well as active discrimination against deaf people, this period also saw the rise of deaf identity through deaf associations, the deaf press, and imaginations of a deaf future.

When contemporaries spoke about 'the deaf', they were not usually talking about anyone with a hearing loss, but rather those who were also without speech, that is those who were called 'deaf and dumb' or, as the century progressed, 'deaf mutes'. It is on this group, which we might think about it

today as non-verbal deaf people, upon whom this chapter focuses. I will not, therefore, be specifically discussing those with hearing loss related to aging, who were considered quite a different group, free from many of the negative associations which the term ‘the deaf’ evoked. I try to use terms that now have offensive connotations, such as “dumb,” only sparingly in this chapter, but I do not avoid them completely. This is because the terms were essential to how deafness was constructed and how deaf people came to see and name themselves. I have decided not to follow the distinction, introduced by the linguist James Woodward in 1972 and since widely accepted amongst many scholars of deafness, to capitalise “deaf” when using it as an identity and use a small case letters when using it adjectiviely. As the scholar of American deafness Douglas Baynton remarks, this distinction is not always possible to make when discussing nineteenth-century figures who moved between “deaf” and “Deaf” identities (Baynton 1996: 11-12). When I discuss “sign language,” I mean distinct languages that have developed amongst deaf people such as ASL in the US, BSL, in Britain, LSF in France or AUSLAN in Australia, and not manually-encoded versions of spoken vernaculars.

Quantifying deafness is difficult due to changing terminology, shifting measurements of hearing loss, and the lack of correspondence between degree of hearing loss (in decibels) and its social impact (e.g. on a person’s ability to follow spoken conversation, or to speak orally). British census officials, who started enumerating deaf people from 1851 onwards, put the numbers of deaf people in England and Wales in 1851 at 18,306, or 1 in every 979 people. By 1901, they were recording 25, 317 in 1901, or 1 in every 778 of the population (Census Reports). But these figures, as well as being limited geographically, are very unreliable. As census officials themselves recognised, deafness was widely underreported due to the stigma associated with it, and, further, the categories used to tabulate deafness (“deaf and dumb”, “deaf mute”, or “deaf”) changed throughout the period making comparison difficult (Census Report 1861; see also Söderfeldt 2013: 29-90). Certainly deafness was more common in the nineteenth century than it is in contemporary western Europe and America due to higher rates of illnesses causing deafness (scarlet fever; mumps; chicken pox; influenza; measles; encephalitis; meningitis; rubella etc) and poor quality audio-enhancing technology (which was also prohibitively expensive).

Imagining the deaf: social attitudes and cultural representations

The social category of “the deaf and dumb” attracted much attention in the nineteenth century, and this attention came from varied quarters: deaf characters appeared in jokes, stories, plays and satires; sermons were preached on the “plight of the deaf and dumb”; and charities and societies for deaf people proliferated. The deaf population were also a formative group in thinking about disability more broadly, and a social category defined through their perceived otherness. The link long drawn in western philosophy between language and thought meant that, without speech, deaf people were imagined unable to think or reason. In some cases deaf people were refused property rights, unable to inherit, denied access to the courts, deemed unable to give evidence, excluded from education, discouraged from marrying, and forcibly institutionalised (Ackers 1880: 164; Ward 2012: 3-20). These exclusions and interventions were justified on the grounds that deaf people did not qualify for full personhood; deaf people were, in Jan Branson and Don Miller’s memorable phrase, “damned for their difference” (Branson and Miller 2002). Some even argued that deaf people were more like animals than human beings. One observer wrote that deaf people were “not

much above the animal creation" and that the deaf person was "a creature…little removed from other dumb creatures" (quoted in Joyner 2004: 13).

One of the key ways in which deaf people were viewed as "other" involved ideas about religion and irreligion (Cleall 2013: 590-603). In Britain and America, the 'Deaf, who on that account do not attend Church' were identified as a community unable to hear the Word of God (SPCK 1864). Their perceived lack of subjectivity was troubling: if those 'without a voice' could not reason, could they exercise free will, or even believe in God? Issues of interpretation abounded as to whether deaf people could be considered part of the Christian community or, amongst other things, understand marriage vows (Cockayne 2003: 505). Writing of deaf people in 1864, the author of *Children of Silence* described lives of "perpetual and cheerless silence" (Anon. 1864: 5-6). As such the author made the common association between deafness and silence that was often used to suggest that being deaf was a poignant position. Further, in ignoring the sounds that deaf people may hear or make, they contributed to the metaphorical silencing of the deaf throughout the period. 'To be "Deaf"', the author wrote '"is to be cut off from enjoying the melody of nature, the pleasures of social intercourse and the persuasive sound of the preacher's voice calling men to hear the Word of God" (5-6). To be "Deaf and Dumb" was worse; and "if the affliction should have come in early life, it renders the faculties of the mind dormant, confining the nobler part of the child as in a dark prison-house without any ray of hope to illuminate the path." Indeed, the author continued, "it may be said of persons in this lamentable state, 'Eyes have they, but they see not; ears have they, but they hear not," and that "God is not in all their thoughts'" (5-6). Religious contexts reoccur in this image of deaf isolation. And in predominantly Catholic countries as well as Protestant ones, the deaf were constructed as morally suspect (Martins 2009: 109).

Whilst the construction of deaf people as "unchristian" was a discourse of otherness, it was one often articulated through the language of pity. This was not the relatively straightforward kind of pity evoked by other disabled figures in this period, notably the blind person and the "cripple". Indeed, there is a rarity of sentimental representations of deafness with the deaf and hard-of-hearing more often presented as figures of fun, or misanthropes. Instead it was a pity for the "heathenism" deaf people represented and the moral danger they posed, which marked them outside of mainstream society. Mr Gordon, writing about the "instruction of the deaf and dumb" in Dublin, was but one to adopt this pitying tone and frame deaf people as suffering beings needing rescue. "The sympathies of our nature must be awakened" for the "uneducated deaf mute", he wrote, because "he must be forever excluded in this life... doomed to pine away his years in solitary misery, incapable of ameliorating his condition in the slightest degree by any exertions of his own" (Gordon 1831: iv). Typically, Gordon linked the supposed passivity of this people with transgression and social exclusion. Ignoring the varied and often effective means of communication deaf and hearing people improvised at community levels, he depicted deaf people as thoroughly isolated from human contact. When finding that "his rude language of gestures' was 'ill-adapted' to communicating 'with his family or his neighbours", Gordon believed, "continual vexations soon call up the evil passions in his breast" and "as is generally the case where the impetus to virtue, religious instruction, is wanting" and one was "ignorant" of "all the great truths of natural and revealed religion" a "propensity to evil" had "full scope" (iv). In such circumstances, he concluded, "well it is, if along with being a burdensome, he does not become a troublesome and mischievous member of society" (Gordon 1831: iv). Here Gordon constructed deaf irreligion as a signifier of their victimhood. Scriptural imagery, practical forms of religious exclusion, the undermining of deaf subjectivity,

critiques of sign language and pity for their "heathenism" all led to the construction of deaf people as religious others.

Even those sympathetic portrayals of deafness that do exist could feed into the construction of its perceived otherness. In Charles Dickens's *Doctor Marigold*, for example, sign language, as used by the novella's heroine, Sophy, is represented fairly positively. Furthermore, in Sophy's motherhood of a hearing child (a plot line at odds with the strong link between deafness and heredity in "scientific" discourse) we might see a progressive interpretation of deafness in the 1860s, that ran counter to some of the fears it generated elsewhere (Dickens 1865). The novella ends with eponymous Marigold's "happy, yet pitying tears" at his realisation that Sophy's child was hearing. These tears, as Martha Stoddard Holmes so effectively analyzes, reinforce associations between disability, tragedy and loss (Holmes 2009: 53-64) and yet at the same time, as Christine Ferguson points out, the object of the pity in this context is complex evoking the grief around childhood death (a different storyline) and abuse rather than disablement (Ferguson 2008, 20). Fiction also provided a vehicle for rather more romanticised versions of deafness, or particularly muteness, as an idealised form of womanhood. As Elisabeth Gitter asserts, "mute" and "angelic" heroines, as popularised in Daniel Auber's *La Muette de Portici* or *Masaniello* (1828) or found in John Farrell's *The Dumb Girl of Genoa* (1827), were such a feature of mid-nineteenth century theatre as to earn ridicule in Bernard Bayle's farce *The Dumb Belle* (1841) (Gitter 1992: 185). Most famously, perhaps, the deaf-mute heroine is found in Wilkie Collins's Madonna (*Hide and Seek,* 1854), whose feminised silence helped to construct her as an angelic type (Gitter 1992: 188-189).

In her excellent study of deafness in Victorian Britain, Jennifer Esmail has argued that, towards the end of the nineteenth century, there was a shift in attitudes towards deafness: it stopped being a "private issue", an individual misfortune, and became a "public threat" (Esmail 2013: 141). One of the ways in which we can see this shift happen is in the increasing notice that eugencists, such as Alexander Graham Bell, payed to questions of deafness. Born in 1847 in Edinburgh, Bell had an international career. He emigrated to Canada with his family in 1870; moved to the US, where he became a naturalised citizen in 1882; and later returning to Nova Scotia, where he died in 1922. Most well known as an inventor--he is famously credited with inventing the telephone--Bell had a wide range of interests including science, eugenics, linguistics, and deaf education. His interest in the last was something of a family tradition. His father, Alexander Melville Bell, was an educator who worked to create a system of "visible speech" for deaf students. His mother, Eliza, née Symonds, was almost completely deaf and, later, Alexander Graham Bell married one of his own students, a young deaf woman called Mabel Hubbard. Using his father's methods, Bell taught in deaf schools in Scotland, Canada, and the US and was passionate about the oral method of deaf education.

It is for his *Memoir on the Formation of a Deaf Variety of a Human Race* which Bell is best remembered amongst scholars of deafness. In this paper, originally a lecture delivered at Yale University in 1883 and published the following year, Bell started from the selective reproduction of breeds of domestic animals, extrapolating from them that" 'if we could apply selection to the human race we could also produce modifications or varieties of men" (Bell 1884: 3). His central thesis was that "[i]f the laws of heredity that are known to hold in the case of animals also apply to man, the intermarriage of congenital deaf-mutes through a number of successive generations should result in the formation of a deaf variety of the human race" (4). And this, he argued was a strong possibility as "in this country [the US] *deaf-mutes marry deaf-mutes*" (italics in original) (4). With deaf people

forming clubs, socialising with one another and, worst of all in his opinion, marrying other deaf people, Bell believed that the creation of a "deaf race" was well underway. Whilst deaf people were not alone in representing "inferior racial stock", their distinctive communities made the problem more pressing: "We do not find epileptics marrying epileptics, or consumptives knowingly marrying consumptives", Bell wrote (3). As an antidote to deaf communities, he emphasised the benefits of assimilation. The majority of what became a treatise of nearly a hundred pages was a careful statistical analysis of patterns of the inheritance of congenital deaf-mutism, and the marriage patterns resulting, Bell believed, from deaf education, socialisation and in particular, sign language (Baynton 1996: 28).

Deaf people as well as hearing people could perpetuate negative stereotypes of deafness. John Kitto, whose 1845 memoir, *The Lost Senses*, provides an illuminating insight into the physicality and emotionality of the experience of deafness in this period, uses an "uneducated" boy only conversant in sign-language as an example of the kind of deaf person that Kitto himself was not: impoverished, isolated and ignorant (Kitto 1845: 115). Indeed, as Holmes has noted in her analysis, Kitto seems convinced that deaf people suffered "disqualifications" from many of the walks of life in which he himself excelled (Holmes 2010: 158-164). Further, Kitto claimed to have always 'abominated' sign language--the visible marker of deaf identify, was deeply offended to have been connected with the Deaf and Dumb Institution, and strove to distinguish himself from "deaf mutes" (Cleall 2015c: 132-133).

Given the negative connotations attached to deafness and the prominent place it occupied in the public sphere, it is unsurprising that many attempted to "save", "civilise" and "reform" the deaf, through medical or technological cure or through education and spiritual salvation.

'Saving' the deaf: medicine and education.

Deafness was something that doctors, encouraged by Enlightenment developments in biomedicine, had become increasingly determined to "cure" but which in the age of empires, still largely eluded them. Physicians drilled holes through deaf children's jaws, poured caustic substances into their ears, pierced ear-drums, applied white-hot metal, and, in some cases, fractured their skulls behind the ear (Carpenter 2009: 115). Such procedures invariably failed to induce hearing and were not infrequently fatal. Whilst the development of certain instruments, such as the Cephaloscope (an aural instrument designed to test the circulation of air in the inner ear), contributed to the professionalization of the discipline of aural surgery, quackery still remained widespread (Virdi-Dhesi 2013: 347-377). The aforementioned deaf traveller and missionary, John Kitto, recorded how doctors "poured into my tortured ears various infusions, hot and cold; they bled me they blistered me, leeched me, physicked, me and at last, they put a watch between my teeth, and on finding that I was unable to distinguish the ticking, they gave it up as a bad case, and left me to my fate" (Kitto 1845: 12). Fiction presented more positive interpretations of surgery, as in W. Fletcher's *The Deaf and Dumb Boy* (1843), where surgery apparently cures the congenitally deaf Jack, and he becomes a hearing partner in a law firm (Miller 1992: 46). Technology was another method used to mitigate the effects of deafness, from "ear spectacles" to "ear trumpets," but, despite some famous advocates (the writer, traveller and sociologist, Harriet Martineau, was perhaps one of the most famous users of the ear-trumpet), such innovations were rudimentary; there was a large contingency of deaf

people for whom they did not help at all and the cost of such technology put it beyond the reach of many ordinary people (Virdi-Dhesi 2016).

The main way through which deafness was 'treated' in the nineteenth century was through education. Whilst early attempts at deaf education had been pioneered in Spain, these did not really spread in Western Europe until the end of the eighteenth century, when there was a profound shift in the way in which deaf people were approached (Van Cleve and Crouch 1989: 10-16). Whilst deaf people had long been seen as "uneducatable", teachers, missionaries, parents and deaf people themselves slowly developed techniques for deaf education. In 1760, the Royal Institution for the Deaf and Dumb was opened in Paris by L'Abée L'Epee, a French priest who, having observed deaf Parisians communicate amongst each other using sign language, was inspired to adapt and codify this 'language of signs' for the purpose of teaching deaf people about the life of Christ. At more or less the same time, Thomas Braidwood, a mathematics teacher based in Edinburgh, was approached by the father of a deaf boy anxious for his son to be educated. Braidwood developed his own techniques (about which he was secretive, considering them commercially sensitive information) for deaf education and established the Braidwood's Academy for the Deaf and Dumb in Edinburgh later in 1760. The first permanent school for the deaf in America was the American School for the Deaf (originally the Connecticut Asylum for the Education and Instruction of Deaf and Dumb) which was founded in 1817 by Mason Fitch Cogswell (the determined father of a deaf daughter, Alice), Thomas Hopkins Gallaudet (a talented congregational minister who had studied at the Royal Institution for the Deaf and Dumb in Paris) and Laurent Clerc (a deaf teacher at the Royal Institution who came to the US with Gallaudet) (Van Cleve and Crouch 1989: 30).

Following these early moves, and some tentative first steps, deaf schools started to flourish throughout western Europe and North America. The Edinburgh Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, founded in 1810 by Thomas Braidwood's grandson, John Braidwood, after the original Academy relocated to London, was one of the largest of such institutions. Its object, reiterated yearly in its annual reports, was 'to remedy one of the most calamitous and affecting imperfections, to which human nature is liable' (Edinburgh Institution 1815: 3). In a mixture of religious and secular aims typical of deaf education, it aimed 'to withdraw that evil' by which the minds of deaf people had been 'rendered inaccessible to the lights of truth and reason, and to the blessed light of religion' (Edinburgh Institution 1815: 3). 'Industrial training' was an important part of the curriculum of many of these school, with students trained in a variety of skills from printing to brush-making. Susan Plann records the daily *labores* Spanish girls did in the Spanish National Deaf School in Madrid, where they were trained, amongst other things, to compete in a marriage-market in which their deafness was presumed to disadvantage them (Plann 2007: 167-176). In America, the success of schooling for deaf children contributed to demands for a Deaf College, where higher levels of education could be achieved. The opening of the National Deaf Mute College in 1864 was an important moment, hailed by John Carlin in its inauguration ceremony as 'a bright epoch in deaf mute history' (Van Cleve and Crouch 1989: 83, 71-86).

As well as being places where deafness was constructed and treated by hearing people, schools were also important sites for the formation of deaf identity. Schools were often the first places where deaf children encountered other deaf people, and many expressed profound feelings of connectedness when they realised there were other children like them. One pupil at the Edinburgh Institution of the Deaf and Dumb, George Tait described his 'delight' on entering the schoolroom for

the first time when he saw 'a number of boys and girls' of whom he states, 'like myself none of them could either hear or speak' (Tait 1878: 6). Alexander Atkinson, an older pupil at the institution, also commented on being 'sensibly affected when I saw that I became the glanced of fifty young eyes, hailing enough to say, "Oh! Come to us, for we are all deaf and dumb, like you' (Atkinson 1865: 11). In North America, too, school experiences were bonding and formative (Winzer 1997: 363).

Schools for deaf people also developed elsewhere in the Anglophone world, sometimes coupled with institutions for blind people. By the beginning of the twentieth century, deaf schools in Canada included institutions in Halifax, Nova Scotia, and Fredericton, New Brunswick which, in their origin and praxis, followed along similar lines to schools in Britain (Board of Education, 1901: 292 and 342; Cleall 2015). The Institution for the Deaf and Dumb and the Blind in New South Wales was opened in 1869 by Thomas Pattison, a deaf and dumb Scottish Immigrant (Board of Education, 1901b: 238). In Tasmania, the Blind, Deaf and Dumb Institution opened in North Hobart in 1898 with the intention of providing education and industrial training. The Brisbane Institution for the Instruction of the Blind, Deaf and Dumb catered for those in Queensland and was founded in 1883. In southern Africa, meanwhile, education for the deaf were provided by church and missionary organisations rather than civic philanthropic endeavours. The Irish Dominican Order established the first School for the Deaf, the Dominican Grimley Institute (also known as St Mary's), in Cape Town in 1863 and, unlike schools in Australia and Canada, which were essentially European enterprises, it was open to indigenous Africans as well as European settlers (Aarons and Akach 2002: 301).

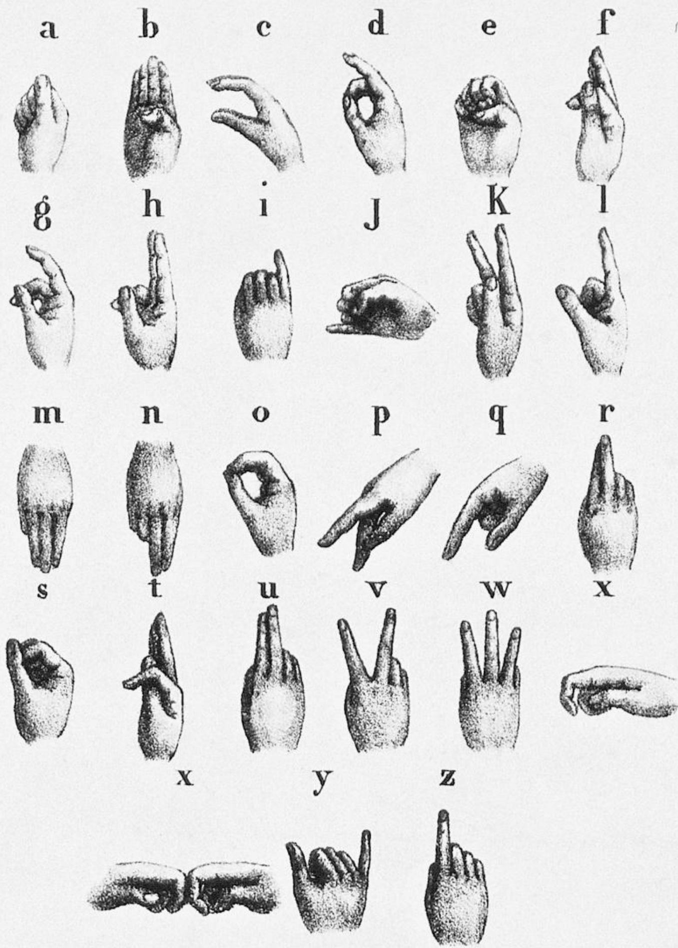
Charting the development of deaf education beyond the western world is difficult due to sketchy and disparate evidence, though excellent preliminary work by M. Miles suggests that attitudes were as varied as might be anticipated (Miles 2001: 291-315; Miles 2004: 531-545; and Miles 2000: 115-34). With the scarcity of English-language sources on the topic, indigenous constructions of disability are beyond the scope of this chapter, which focuses instead on the way in which these constructions were understood by European and American writers. Certainly we should be wary of assuming, as did some nineteenth-century British missionaries, that the absence of European involvement meant that those with impairments were simply excluded or abused.

The most significant work amongst deaf people in the late nineteenth-century British Empire was done by missionary societies. The Church of England Zenana Missionary Society (CWZMS) was particularly active in establishing schools for the deaf in Palamcottah, India (opened 1897), Madras, India (opened 1913) and Mount Lavinia, Ceylon (opened 1912). Another notable establishment was the Institution for Deaf Mutes in Bombay. The then Vicar Apostolic of Bombay, Bishop Meurin, had established the institution in 1884, having been approached by members of his congregation with deaf children. A Catholic institution in its origin and management, the school was nonetheless planned as "open to children of every caste and of every religious denomination", with "no attempt to wound in any way the religious susceptibilities of non-Christian scholars", and with "the strictest religious neutrality...observed with regard to pupils not belonging to the Christian communion" (Walsh 1890). Given the rates of deafness in Bombay, however, the number of students was surprisingly low and the principle of the school, Mr T. A. Walsh, believed that many potential students were kept away due to the suspicions of their parents that the school was an instrument of proselytization. Elsewhere, the development of deaf education was more limited. Some missionaries attempted to work with deaf people they encountered. Reverend Colden Hoffman, for example,

taught basket-weaving to a Liberian deaf boy, baptised Harvey Peet. These efforts were *ad hoc* throughout the period (Miles 2004, 537-8).

Manualism versus Oralism: the battle over sign language

The most contentious, indeed vitriolic, debate that characterized the development of deaf education was whether the “manual” system (sign language) or the oral system (lip-reading the vernacular) should be used. This brings us to sign language, perhaps the heart of deaf identity. Whilst the aforementioned Abée L’Epee is often credited with first attempting to codify sign language, signed languages had, of course, been used all over the world both by groups of deaf people and by individual deaf people to communicate with their families and communities. When contemporaries talked about “signs,” they were actually talking about several different things. Sometimes they were discussing gestures used by hearing and deaf people alike (like pointing or beckoning). Sometimes they were talking about improvised sign systems between deaf individuals particularly in a community where several people were deaf. Sometimes they were talking about an “artificial” sign system, usually “invented” by hearing people (the Abbé d’Epee’s system was a version of this), and sometimes they were talking about an organic language, that today we would discuss as BSL in the British case or ASL in America. These are separate languages with separate grammar and vocabularies. The blurring between these categories was essential in denigrating sign language.
[Figure 1 near here]



Charles Michel de L'EPÉE, né à Versailles, le 25 Novembre 1712, institua l'enseignement des Sourds-Muets en 1760. Il mourut à Paris le 25 Novembre 1789. Vue loi des 21 & 29. juillet érigea en **INSTITUTION NATIONALE** l'Établissement qu'il avait fondé à ses frais.

Lith. Desportes, Inst. R.l des Sourds-Muets.

Image One: The one-handed manual alphabet as used in France and the US.

https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/8/85/The_French_sign_language_alphabet_with_ornate_border%2C_above_Wellcome_V0016556_%28retouched%29.jpg see also http://search.wellcomelibrary.org/iii/encore/record/C__Rb1175894?lang=eng

From the beginnings of deaf education in the late eighteenth century, there were always some differences in the “best” pedagogical method of teaching deaf children. “Manualism” (sometimes called the French method) embraced the sign languages indigenous to deaf communities supplementing and altering them with sign systems codified by hearing teachers. At the same time, another system developed, “oralism” or the “German method” which focused on articulation and speech-reading the vernacular. “Oralists” abhorred sign languages, which they believed to be fundamentally primitive. They discouraged (and sometimes forcibly restrained) deaf children from using sign language and encouraged them instead to focus on pronouncing and speech-reading spoken language. A variety of methods were used to do so, such as tying the hands of deaf children behind their backs so they could not sign and tediously teaching them the micro-mechanics of oral pronunciation. In the early nineteenth century, “manualism” and “oralism” coexisted reasonably peacefully, but by the mid-nineteenth century these two distinct forms of had hardened into opposing camps. Manualism was favoured in France and the USA, whilst oralism was increasingly used in Germany. Spain, the Netherlands and the Scandinavian countries, did not have a fixed position – rather different schools used different methods, and in Britain some schools used what they called the ‘combined system’ where both were deployed (Van Cleve and Crouch 1989: 107-8).

The debate over which form of deaf education was better intensified into an important philosophical discussion about the limits of language and ‘civilization’. By the mid-nineteenth century it was felt that these methods could no longer coexist, and there were heated arguments between teachers and schools within countries and internationally about which system was superior. With individuals, schools and missionaries petitioning different European governments, in 1878 and 1880 respectively, two international conventions were convened in order to establish once and for all which system was considered preferable.

The second of these conferences, The Congress of Milan held in 1880, is the most notorious point in deaf history and is associated with the deliberate suppression of sign language. From the outset, the conference was biased. Out of the twelve speakers, nine spoke in favour of oralism, compared to only three who championed manualism (the Gallaudet brothers from the US and Richard Elliott a teacher from England). The conference was chaired by the Italian Abbé Guilio Tarra who was a strong advocate in favour of oralism. There were almost no deaf people present.

Again and again, it was argued that only oralism would properly equip deaf people for participation in hearing society. Oralists contended that ‘the mouth was positively exalted, of all movements for the expression of ideas, those of the lips are the most perfect. All is comprehended in that wonderful instrument, the mouth, played upon by the hand of the Deity’ (President 1880: 24). Signs were repeatedly derided: “Symbols and signs are metals absolutely base” (Kinsey 1880). The president claimed that only oralism could convey abstract thought and that signs only left his pupils “in possession of grossly material images” (President 1880: 26). Those arguing in favour of the

"German method" also fused oralism with masculinity. "In the school room begins the "redemption" of the deaf mute" stated the President of the Congress "he is waiting to be made a man of by his teacher. Let the pupil be taught to move his lips in speech, not his hands in signs". In such a statement we see sign language users excluded both from 'man' as representative of humanity and from adult men the gendered political actor. Others argued that manualism made deaf education needlessly expensive. But the central argument was that signing made deaf people different. Speaking at the conference M. Hugentobler from Lyons, for example, argued that "deaf mutes are born with the same faculties as hearing children. They differ from the rest of mankind only when they are taught signs. Moral development is then prevented" (Hugentobler 1880: 34). Difference was increasingly intolerable, and difference became embodied in the sign language debate.

These debates had huge consequences for the way in which deaf people were educated. Teachers and pedagogues across Britain, Europe and America turned away from the use of sign language and towards 'Pure Oralism'. The conference of Milan has been seen by deaf scholars and activists as crushing deaf culture and ushering in a "dark age" of deaf education. Children, forced laboriously to learn articulation, were denied access to education beyond the mere rudiments of speech. The conference is etched on the memory of the deaf community as a moment of cultural demolition. In 2004, deaf academic and social worker Paddy Ladd referred to its protagonists as "a bunch of criminals" (Paddy Ladd 2004 quoted in Hutchison 2007: 494).

So, why did oralism rise with such devastating effect? Douglas Baynton argues that, in the case of the US, the turn away from manualism can be explained by a reconfiguration of deafness from a problem of religious belonging to a problem of national belonging (Baynton 1996). Before the 1860s, Baynton explains, deafness was seen as isolating because it cut people off from the Christian community. After the 1860s, he continues, this was no longer paramount in defining deafness as a "tragedy". Instead, the hearing community became increasingly concerned that deaf people were cut off from English-speaking American culture and thus could not belong to the nation (Baynton 1996: 15; Baynton 1992: 216-243). Baynton provides two explanations for this shift. Firstly, he argues that sign language came to be linked with primitivism. Secondly, he states that the shift occurred in response to renewed nationalism in the wake of the Civil War and the anti-immigration rhetoric that developed in this milieu. Although Baynton's thesis is constructed about American culture, a similar shift occurred in the British context. In Britain too, sign language became increasingly linked with primitivism.

One of the ways in which sign language was denigrated was through placing it in the same analytic frame as "race", to which attitudes were also hardening over the nineteenth century. Anthropologists were one group who, in drawing on the notions of language and civilisation, helped to articulate disabled others and racialised others in the shared discursive terms, not least through subjecting both the deaf and the colonial other to the same "scientific" gaze. Edward Burnet Tyler, the first professor of Anthropology at Oxford University and who had previously studied Mexico and the Mexicans, wrote extensively about "the gesture language of the deaf and dumb" in his *Researches into the Early History of Mankind* (Tyler 1865). Tyler drew on research conducted in a range of deaf institutions in Britain and Germany, and his friendship with BSL users, to list numerous examples of what he discussed as "picture signs" and to detail the different grammatical aspects of sign language such as word-order and tense use. Tyler placed considerable importance on establishing the independence of sign language from speech; he emphasised that "the real deaf-and-

dumb language of signs" should be distinguished from finger-spelling and artificial grammatical additions to it by hearing teachers of the deaf (Tyler 1865: 16-17): "The gesture language is not, like the finger alphabet, an art learnt in the first instance from the teacher, but an independent process originating in the mind of the deaf-mute, and developing itself as his knowledge and power of reasoning expand under instruction" (Tyler 1865: 17-18). The "gesture language", Tyler argued, was the "mother tongue" of the deaf and, just "as a foreigner is not fit to teach a Frenchman French, so the speaking man has no business to meddle with the invention of signs, giving them abstract values" (Tyler 1865: 19). Whilst in many ways Tyler thus defended the use of sign language, by placing it in the same analytic frame as race, and by discussing it in terms of national identity, he opened the doors to suggestions that those who used sign language did not belong to the nation-state.

As the nineteenth century wore on and evolutionary discourses gained hold, the association between sign language and "savagery" contributed to the decline of manual education for the deaf and the rise of oralism. As Douglas Baynton demonstrates, oralist educators such as Gardiner G. Hubbard, president of the Clarke Institution for Deaf-Mutes, one of the first oral schools in America, claimed that the sign language of deaf people "resembles the languages of the North American Indian and the Hottentots of South Africa." Further, the British oralist Susanna E. Hull, claimed in an article in the *American Annals of the Deaf* that to teach children sign language was to "push them back in the world's history to the infancy of our race" (Baynton 1996: 43). Here we can see important intersection between disability, colonialism and race, that characterised the construction of deafness more widely (Cleall 2015b: 22-36).

Being Deaf: deaf associations, communities, publications and colonies

So far this chapter has focused on images of and social attitudes towards deaf people predominantly propagated by hearing people, but deaf people were also active in constituting their own image as projected in the public sphere and in forging their own communities and identities.

Throughout the nineteenth century, deaf people created organisations to enable them to come together, share the experience of being deaf, and advocate on behalf of other deaf people. In Britain, the Association in Aid of the Deaf and Dumb was established in 1841 and was one of the largest of such organisations. This organisation (the *Royal* Association in Aid of the Deaf and Dumb – RAADD – from 1873) was formed to assist adult deaf people, who, it argued, had been omitted from the first wave of philanthropy directed at deaf children. The RAAD supported a wide range of activities including the debating society, evening lectures, *soirees*, bazaars, spelling-bees, plays and impersonated black 'minstrel' shows (Pemberton 2004: 60). It was also behind the creation of a deaf church, St Saviours, on Oxford Street, London, which opened in 1875 and both reflected and contributed to the sense of the deaf as a discrete community (Pemberton 2004: 60). [Figure 2 near here]

Image Two: St Saviours Church, London, UK, 1892.

Whilst the RAADD was always headed by a hearing man, the National Deaf and Dumb Society and the British Deaf and Dumb Association (BDDA) were British organisations run by deaf people for deaf people. The BDDA was the brainchild of Francis Maginn, a deaf Irishman who had been educated in England and the National Deaf Mute College in the Washington DC. His experience of the American deaf community and subsequent involvement in the International Congress of the Deaf and Dumb in Paris in 1889 inspired him to try to establish an empowering deaf organisation back in Britain (Grant 1990: 19). The American deaf community, which Maginn had found so influential, certainly had a deep tradition of deaf activism. As John Vickrey Van Cleve and Barry A. Crouch argue, the prominent American deaf associations--such as the National Fraternal Society of the Deaf, the American Athletic Association of the Deaf, the National Congress of the Jewish Deaf and the American Professional Society for the Deaf--are striking because of the extent to which ‘in the United States deaf people created their own associations, funded them and controlled them’ (Van Celve and Crouch 1989: 87). Nonetheless, in France, deaf associations such as *Société des Sourds-Muets de Bourgogne*, were also established in the wake of Milan to defend the use of sign language (Mirzoeff 1995: 182). In Germany, meanwhile, associations, “clubs” and groups were also key to the spread of the deaf movement (Söderfeld 2013: 145-218). [Figure three near here]

Image Three: A Christmas entertainment, presented in sign language for the deaf and dumb, at the Hanover Square rooms, London, 1865. Wood engraving. Wellcome Images. http://search.wellcomelibrary.org/iii/encore/record/C__Rb1175838;jsessionid=0E465EC9795E11CB60DB9E2117B571DA?lang=eng

Association in Aid of the Deaf and Dumb." *Illustrated London News* [London, England] 21 Jan. 1865: 74+. *Illustrated London News*. Web. 12 Jan. 2018.
http://find.galegroup.com.sheffield.idm.oclc.org/iln/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ILN&userGroupName=su_uk&tabID=T003&docPage=article&docId=HN3100066266&type=multipage&contentSet=LTO&version=1.0

Deaf publications were an important means through which these deaf communities were bound together, imagined, and constituted. The earliest deaf publications took off in the mid-nineteenth century, a period in which decreases in the stamp duty and technological advances enabled cheaper production and distribution of periodicals, and the rapid increase of a reading public fuelled the demand for specialist publications. One of the most striking things about deaf newspapers is the sheer number of them. In America there were vast numbers of the publications known collectively as “Little Papers” or the “Little Paper Family”, which tended to be produced and managed by schools which acted as hubs for the deaf community (Van Cleve and Crouch 1989: 98). Raymond Lee calculates that since the first known magazine for the deaf was published in Edinburgh in 1839 until 2004, there was a “minimum count" of 356 known journals for the deaf published in Great Britain (Lee, 2004: 131). And, in France, as many as fourteen periodicals and journals were established by and about the deaf just between 1883 and 1899 (Mirzoeff 1995: 182). The proliferation of publications points to the enthusiasm for such papers as ways of sharing news in the deaf community, creating jobs for deaf artists and journalists, training for deaf students, and raising money for the deaf community. It also reflects the difficulties in sustaining such papers. It was difficult to break even, many fell into financial collapse, and some were absorbed into each other.

Early papers were not originally aimed at a deaf readership but were rather geared toward supporters or potential supporters of the deaf cause but this soon changed. *A Magazine Intended Chiefly for the Deaf and Dumb*, which was established in 1873 and edited by the Reverend Samuel Smith (of the RAADD), was the first British magazine intended principally for the deaf themselves and included “Pictures from Scripture History”, sermons, explanations of scripture doctrine, “The Lives of Good Men” (especially those that were deaf), and long compositions by deaf readers, especially on religious topics (*A Magazine Intended Chiefly for the Deaf and Dumb* 1873: 1-16). Early American publications to be edited by deaf people included the *Deaf Mutes Friend* edited by William B. Swett and William M. Chamberlain, which included stories told by the former to the latter in ASL and then translated by Chamberlain to written English (Edwards 2012: 110). The first British magazine to be edited by a deaf person was the *Deaf and Dumb Herald, and Public Intelligencer* which was edited by Ralph Clegg, who had been deaf from childhood. The editorship was self-consciously deaf emphasising the benefits of it being edited “by one of their own flock” (*The Deaf and Dumb Herald* 1876: 1 and 32).

As Jennifer Esmail has argued, “[t]he print culture of deaf periodicals was transatlantically entwined,” and, from their earliest days, these magazines had a transnational scope (Esmail 2013: 24). Back in 1843, the *Edinburgh Quarterly Messenger* encouraged publications from Continental Europe and the USA, and later on, extracts appeared about the deaf community further afield particularly Australia (*The Edinburgh Quarterly Messenger* 1843: 1; *The Deaf and Dumb Magazine* 1880: 182-4; *The British Deaf Mute* 1895: 168). In 1891, its first year of existence, the Leeds-based *Deaf and Dumb Times* published contributions from teachers of the deaf stationed in Britain,

Australia, China, Nova Scotia, Paris and California (*The Deaf Chronicle* 1891: 12). *The Deaf Chronicle* also had global ambitions starting its editorials 'To our readers throughout the world' (*The Deaf Chronicle* 1892: 1). The *American Annals for the Deaf* was perhaps the most widely read paper internationally and is still in existence today. Considerable intertextuality meant that information was repeated and a deaf community woven transnationally. Articles roamed over a wide variety of topics from the manualism/oralism debate, the reports from schools, to biographies of significant members of the deaf community.

Some deaf people, however, felt that it was not satisfactory for deaf people to always be what historian of American deafness R.A.R. Edwards describes as a "scattered and minority culture in a hearing world" (Edwards 2012: 112). During the nineteenth century, deaf identity also started to express itself in terms of a desire for a land of their own where deaf people could live together free from hearing influence altogether. In the 1820s Laurent Clerc, the so-called "Apostle of the Deaf in America", had suggested using some of the land Congress had given in Alabama to the American Asylum to use as a location where deaf people could settle (Krentz 2000: 161). In the 1830s, a group of graduates of the American Asylum talked of purchasing land "out west" so that they could continue living close to each other (Krentz 2000: 161). Acting as a 'sort of secret society,' they had planned 'to form a nucleus around and within which others of our class might in process of time, gather' (Booth to Flournoy in Krentz 2000: 177). Martha's Vineyard, where there was a high concentration of deaf people and where deaf and hearing people used sign language, already existed and was an inspiration for some (Groce 1988). In Australia there were several schemes (some of which were realised) for large scale deaf farms, where the deaf could live collectively (Flynn 1984: 45-65). There were also deaf separatist movements throughout the nineteenth century in Britain and in France (Krentz 2002: 161-4).

The most well-known demand for a separatist deaf territory came from John Flournoy, a slave-owner from Georgia, who, in 1855, proposed that a "Deaf State" should be created in the United States. Outraged at the discrimination he faced as a deaf man and by the passing of recent legislation in Georgia "to make deaf and dumb people idiots in the law and to provide them guardians," Flournoy wanted to 'secure the government and offices of a small territory or State, to the mute community" (Flournoy in Krentz 2002: 165). In a pamphlet circulated to deaf people across North America and Europe he demanded that deaf people purchase land in the American West and establish their own state there, "colonizing some small territory…with a population of mutes" (Flournoy in Krentz 2002: 165). In the ongoing discussion various places were named potential sites for the deaf state, which he believed could be the size of Rhode Island or Connecticut (Flournoy to William Turner 1856 in Krentz 2002: 166). He variously discussed this scheme as the creation of a "deaf state", "empire", "colony" or "commonwealth". The scheme attracted much attention in the deaf press and was extensively debated for the rest of the century. Deaf people wrote both in support of and against the deaf territory, which some mockingly suggested might be called Deaf-Mutia or Gesturia (Flournoy's own choice was Gallaudetia) (John Carlin to Laurent Clerc in Krentz 2002: 192; Flournoy in Krentz 2002: 199). Criticism notwithstanding, Flournoy felt convinced of the "practicability and utility" of the scheme (Flournoy in Krentz 2002: 184).

Whilst Flournoy's plan never got off the ground, another plan for a deaf colony did make some progress. In 1884 Jane Groom, a deaf British woman, travelled to Canada with ten deaf men, intending to settle a 'colony' for the deaf in the Canadian North West (Cleall 2016: 39-61). Groom

had been a missionary to the deaf in London and, horrified by the discrimination and poverty she encountered there, determined to help deaf people start anew in Canada. "I have noticed so much distress among the deaf and dumb", she wrote, "that I feel perfectly sad at witnessing it, and I am sure that nothing can be done for them here to establish them satisfactorily. My opinion on this subject is that the only scheme to accomplish their ultimate well-being is to carry out my scheme of emigration to Canada" (Jane Groom quoted in HH, 6). Over the next ten years, Groom settled twenty-four more deaf settlers and their families in Canada, much to the outrage of local white settlers who claimed that the 'deaf mutes' would be unable to support themselves and would soon be reliant on charity. There were also other traditions of deaf settlement in the Canadian prairies, including a steady flow of deaf homesteaders to Saskatian during the early twentieth century. From 1905 the Deaf homesteaders inaugurated the tradition of the annual picnic, which helped them to maintain a deaf community. Cliff Carbin notes that there were so many deaf people proportionately that "the merchants, lawyers, doctors, farmers and even the 'red-coated' Policemen in the area learned to converse with these labourers by using the manual alphabet and some signs" (Carbin 1996: 238). This demonstrates that the deaf people were able to exercise some degree of cultural power, dictating the terms of communication as well as indicating that they there were considerable numbers of them.

International conferences were another way of establishing a global deaf community. In 1834, a new annual tradition had been founded in France: a banquet, to honour the birthday of Abbe de L'Epee. The banquets were celebrations of signed languages and an opportunity to celebrate a shared deaf history and heritage (Mottez 1993: 143-4). Right from the start, the banquets had an international element with visitors invited from the deaf communities in Britain, Italy and Germany. Women, however, were excluded until the 1880s (Mottez 1993: 145). Eighteen international meetings of deaf people were held across Europe and North America between 1873 and 1912 (Murray 2007: 60).[1] The largest was the 1893 Chicago meeting which had 1000 delegates but the 1905 Liege conference and 1912 Paris Conference had the largest number of nations represented by participants at 19 countries each (Murray 2007: 60). The Congresses created forums through which to share and explore issues of common concern including the two highly contentious topics of inter-deaf marriage and deaf education (Murray 2007: 257-259). The experience of participating in these grand gatherings could be transformative. The congresses offered a space where deaf people, all too aware of their habitual position as a minority group in a hearing world, could "enjoy the privileges of temporary majority status" as large numbers of deaf people gathered together (Murray 2007: 43). They offered an opportunity of giving visibility and public validation to sign language, bestowing on it the authority of an official at an international gathering. Continuity of delegates from one Congress to the next offered the opportunity for acquaintances and connections made at these gatherings to be consolidated into real friendships and transient communities. Perhaps most significantly, there arose at these congresses the possibilities for deaf people to contemplate shared experience with other deaf people that overrode national affiliations. As historian Joseph Murray puts it, "[a]t these Congresses, Deaf leaders found points of comparison in one another's lives, a commonality of experience lacking in interactions with their national auditory counterparts" (2007 66). Whilst other

[1] International meetings of deaf people were held in Berlin (1873), Vienna (1874), Dresden (1875), Leipzig (1878), Prague (1881), Stockholm (1884), Paris (1889), Hannover (1892), Chicago (1893), Geneva (1896), London (1897), Stuttgart (1899), Paris (1900), St Louis (1904), Liege (1905), Hamburg (1911), Rome (1911) and Paris (1912) (Murray 2007: 60).

identities would usurp and intersect with feelings of deafness at other points, the congresses offered an opportunity to privilege that aspect of identity in the “here and now” (Murray 2007: 66).

Conclusion

Writing in 1897, a contributor to the deaf periodical, the *British Deaf Monthly*, reflected on the huge leaps forward deaf education had seen in the nineteenth century: 'Really, we exaggerate little, if at all, if we say that the deaf have made more progress during the past sixty years, than the world at large in the past 60,000!’ Continuing in an imperialist vein, the author states: “Barely a hundred years ago, the deaf and dumb were generally, and not unjustly regarded as little, if at all, better than savages. At the present day, the educated deaf are recognized by all persons of intelligence, as their equals” (*British Deaf Monthly* 1897). Whilst we might be wary of so triumphantalist a narrative chartering ‘progress’ and ‘civilisation’, the nineteenth century certainly saw a huge amount of change in the way in which deafness and deaf people were represented, treated and saw themselves. This chapter has traced some of these changes by examining ways in which deafness was represented and treated by hearing people, the vitriolic debate over sign language, and the way in which deaf people constituted themselves in the public sphere.

References

Aarons, D. and P. Akach (2002), “South African Sign Language: one language too many?” in *Language in South Africa*, edited by Rajend Mesthrie, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ackers, John (1880), “Historical Notes on the Education of the Deaf”, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 8: 163-71.

A Magazine Intended Chiefly for the Deaf and Dumb (1873), 1(1).

Anon (1864), *Children of Silence or the Story of a Deaf and Dumb Child*, London: William Macintosh.

Atkinson, Alexander (1865), *Memoirs of My Youth*, Doncaster: Deaf History Society (2001).

Baynton, Douglas C. (1992), “‘A Silent Exile on this Earth’: the metaphorical construction of deafness in the nineteenth century’”, *American Quarterly*, 44 (2): 216-243.

Baynton, Douglas (1996), *Forbidden Signs: American culture and the campaign against sign language*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Bell, Alexander Graham (1884) *Memoir Upon the Formation of a Deaf Variety of the Human Race*, New Haven.

Binham, H. B. (1945), *Essays by the Pupils at the College of the Deaf and Dumb, Rugby, Warwickshire,* London: Longman.

Board of Education (1901a), *Special Reports on Educational subjects: vol 4, educational systems of the chief colonies of the British Empire* (Dominion of Canada; Newfoundland; West Indies), London.

Board of Education (1901b), *Special Reports on Educational subjects: vol 5, educational systems of the chief colonies of the British Empire* (Cape Colony; Natal Commonwealth of Australia; New Zealand; Ceylon; Malta), London.

Branson, Jan and Don Miller (2002), *Damned for Their Difference: The Cultural Construction of Deaf People as Disabled*, Washington: Gallaudet University Press.

British Deaf Monthly, 1897.

Carbin, Clifton F., edited by Dorothy L. Smith (1996) *Deaf Heritage in Canada: A Distinctive, Diverse, and Enduring Culture*, Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson.

Carpenter, Mary Wilson (2009), *Health, Medicine and Society in Victorian England*, California: Praeger.

Census Report (1861).

Cleall, Esme (2015a) "Deaf connections and global conversations: deafness and education in and beyond the British Empire, c. 1800-1900", *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History*, 16 (1).

Cleall, Esme (2013), "'Deaf to the Word': gender, deafness and Protestantism in nineteenth-century Britain and Ireland', *Gender and History*, 25 (3): pp. 590–603.

Cleall, Esme (2015b) "Orientalising Deafness: race and disability in imperial Britain", *Social Identities*, 21 (2015): 22-36.

Cleall, Esme (2016), "Jane Groom and the Deaf Settlers: empire, emigration and the agency of disabled people in the late nineteenth-century British empire", *History Workshop Journal*, 81 (1): 39-61.

Cleall, Esme (2015c), "Producing and managing deviance in the disabled colonial self: John Kitto, the Deaf Traveller", in Emily Manktelow and Will Jackson, *Subverting Empire: deviance and disorder in the British colonial world*, Basingstoke: Palgrave: 126-144.

Cockayne, Emma (2003), "Experiences of the Deaf in Early Modern England", *The Historical Journal*, 46 (3): 493-510.

Davis, Lennard J. (1995), "Deafness and Insight: the deafened moment as a critical modality", *College English*, 57 (8): 881-900.

Dickens, Charles (1865), *Doctor Marigold*, Christmas edition, *All the Year Round*.

Edinburgh Institution (1815), *Report of the Institution for the Education of Deaf and Dumb Children for 1814,* Edinburgh.

Edwards, R.A.R. (2012), *Words Made Flesh: nineteenth-century deaf education and the growth of deaf culture*, New York: New York University Press.

Esmail, Jennifer (2013), *Reading Victorian Deafness: signs and sounds in Victorian literature and culture,* Ohio: Ohio University Press.

Fergusson, Christine (2008), "Sensational Dependence: Prosthesis and Affect in Dickens and Braddon", *Lit. Literature, Interpretation and Theory*, 21:1, 1-25.

Fletcher, W. (1843), *The Deaf and Dumb Boy: with some account of the mode of educating the deaf and dumb*, London: John Parker.

Flynn, John (1984), *No Longer by Gaslight: the first hundred years of the adult deaf society of Victoria,* Melbourne: Adult Deaf Society of Victoria.

Gitter, Elisabeth (1992), "Deaf-mutes and heroines in the Victorian era", *Victorian Literature and Culture*, 20: 179-197.

Gordon, Mr (1831), *Art of Instructing the Deaf and Dumb with Remarks on Existing Institutions for their Relief*, Dublin: O'Flanagan.

Grant, Brian (1990), *The Deaf Advance. A History of the British Deaf Association, 1890-1990*, Edinburgh: Pentland Press.

Greenwald, Brian and John Vickrey Van Cleve (2014) "A Deaf Variety of the Human Race: Historical memory, Alexander Graham Bell, and eugenics," *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era*, 14 (1) 28-48.

Groce, Nora (1988), *Everyone Here Spoke Sign Language: hereditary deafness on Martha's Vineyard*, Cambridge, M.A.: Harvard University Press.

H.H. (1884), *An Evangelist among the Deaf and Dumb,* London.

Holmes, Martha Stoddard (2009), "'Happy and Yet Pitying Tears' deafness and affective disjuncture in Dickens's 'Doctor Marigold'", *Victorian Review*, 35 (2): 53-64.

Holmes, Martha Stoddard (2010), *Fictions of Affliction: physical disability in Victorian culture*, Michigan: University of Michigan Press.

Hugentobler, M. (1880) *Report of the Proceedings of the International Congress on the Education of the Deaf Held at Milan, September 6th-11th 1880*, taken from the English Official Minutes, read by A.A. Kinsey (London, Allan & Co. 1880).

Hutchison, Iain (2007), "'Oralism: a sign of the times? The contest for deaf communication in education provision in late nineteenth-century Scotland", *European Review of History*, 14 (4): 481-501.

Joyner, Hannah (2004), *From Pity to Pride, Growing up Deaf in the Old South*, Washington DC: Gallaudet University Press.

Kinsey, Arthur A. (1880), "On the Education of the Deaf'" a paper written for the International Congress at Milan, September, 1880, reproduced as an appendix in *Report on the Proceedings.*

Kitto, John (1845), *The Lost Senses: deafness,* London: Charles Knight.

Krentz, Christopher (2000), *A Mighty Change: an anthology of deaf American writing*, Washington DC: Gallaudet University Press.

Lane, Harlan (2002), "Do Deaf People Have a Disability?", *Sign Language Studies*, 2 (4): 356-379

Lee, Raymond ed. (2004), *A Beginner's Introduction to Deaf History*, Middlesex: BSHS.

Martins, Catarina S. (2009), "'Do you hear with your ears or with your eyes?': the education of the deaf pupils at Casa Pia de Lisboa (c. 1820-1950)", *Paedagogica Historica* , 45 (1-2): 103-116.

Miles, M. (2001), "Including disabled children in Indian schools, 1790s-1890s: innovations of educational approach and technique", *Paedagogica Historica*, 37(2): 291-315.

Miles, M. (2004), "Locating deaf people, gesture and sign in African histories, 1450s–1950s", *Disability and Society*, 19: 531-545.

Miles, M. (2000), "Signing in the Seraglio: mutes, dwarfs and jesters in the Ottoman Court, 1500-1700", *Disability and Society*, 15: 115-34.

Miller, Jonathan (1992), "The Rustle of a Star: an annotated bibliography of deaf characters in fiction", *Library Trends*, 41 (1): 42-60.

Mirzoeff, Nicholas (1995), *Silent Poetry: deafness, sign and visual culture in modern France,* New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1995.

Mottez, Bernard (1993), "The Deaf Banquets and the Birth of the Deaf Movement" in *Looking Back: a reader on the history of deaf communities and their sign languages*, ed. Renate Fischer and Harlan Lane, Hamburg: Signum: 143-56.

Murray, Joseph (2007), "'One touch of nature makes the whole world kin': The transatlantic lives of deaf Americans, c. 1870-1924", Unpublished PhD thesis: University of Iowa.

Rée, Jonathan (1999), *I See A Voice: Language, Deafness & the Senses. A Philosophical History* Hammersmith: Harper Collins.

Pemberton, Neil (2009), "Deafness and Holiness Home Missions, Deaf Congregations, and Natural Language 1860-1890", *Victorian Review*, 35(2): 65-82.

Pemberton, Neil (2004), "Holiness, Civilisation and the Victorian Deaf: a social history of signing and speech in late Victorian England, 1865-95", Unpublished PhD thesis: University of Manchester.

Plann, Susan (2007), 'Deaf Lives: nineteenth-century Spanish deaf girls and women', *Sign Language Studies*, 7 (2): 167-176.

President (1880), *Report of the Proceedings of the International Congress on the Education of the Deaf Held at Milan, September 6th-11th 1880*, taken from the English Official Minutes, read by A. A. Kinsey, London: Allan & Co.

Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SPCK) (1864), *To the Deaf who on that Account do not attend Church,* London: SPCK.

Söderfeldt, Ylva (2013), *From Pathology to Public Sphere: the Germany deaf movement, 1848-1914,* Bielefeld: Transcript.

Tait, George (1878), *Autobiography of George Tait, a Deaf Mute*, Halifax: James Bowes and Sons.

The British Deaf-Mute and Deaf Chronicle (September 1895).

The Deaf Chronicle (November 1891), 1 (1).

The Deaf Chronicle (October 1892), 1 (12).

The Deaf and Dumb Herald and Public Intelligencer (April 1876), 1 (1).

The Deaf and Dumb Magazine (December 1880), 8 (96).

The Edinburgh Quarterly Messenger, being a record of intelligence regarding the deaf and dumb, (October 1843), 1.

Tyler, Edward Burnet (1865), *Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilisation*, London: John Murray.

Virdi-Dhesi, Jaipreet (2013) "Curtis's Cephaloscope: deafness and the making of surgical authority in London, 1816-1845", *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 87 (3): 347-377.

Virdi-Dhesi, Jaipreet (2016), "Ear spectacles for the deaf: making and marketing artificial eardrums, 1850-1930", Unpublished paper.

Van Cleve, John Vickrey and Barry A. Crouch (1989) *A Place of Their Own: creating the deaf community in America,* Washington: Gallaudet University Press.

Vision of Britain Census reports. Online resource.

Walsh, T.A. (1890) *Report on the Institution for Deaf-mutes, Bombay, by Mr. T A. Walsh to the Director of Public Instruction, dated 17 Jan 1890. Report on the Institution for Deaf Mutes, Bombay Institution for Deaf-Mutes, Grant Road, 16 Jan 1890.* Education and training of the Blind, Deaf and Dumb and Idiots and Imbeciles in India IOR/L/PJ/6/295, File 202: 14 Jan 1891.

Ward, Tony (2012), "Standing Mute", *Law and Literature*, 24 (1): 3-20.

Winzer, Margaret (1997), "Deaf-Mutia: responses to alienation by the deaf in the mid-nineteenth century", *American Annals of the Deaf*, 142 (5): 363-367.