



THE HONORS PROGRAM

Salary Differentials Based on Gender and Deafness at the Pennsylvania School for the Deaf, 1840 to 1900

*An Honors Capstone Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
Graduation with University Honors*

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ABSTRACT

Salary differences based on gender are generally known to exist and particularly within the educational workplace; however, deafness can also be a factor in a pay difference. This study investigates the stereotype of white, hearing male dominance as well as the assumption of increased discrimination after the triumph of oralism at the Milan Congress of 1880 so that deafness resulted in greater salary discrimination than gender. Sources include archival documents of financial records and annual reports from the school to Congress of the Pennsylvania School for the Deaf (PSD) from 1840-1900. The surprising results of the study add to historical understanding of oppression in the mid-nineteenth century to the turn of the twentieth century in deaf schools; in particular the results suggest that gender had a greater impact on salary than deafness throughout this period. Perhaps because the reverse is true today, the common assumption has been that deafness has always had a greater negative impact on salary, and particularly so after the Milan Congress. This study analyzes the evidence of discrimination that contradicts these common assumptions about the impact of gender and deafness discrimination in residential schools for the deaf.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ADA	Americans with Disability Act
PSD	Pennsylvania School for the Deaf
PSAD	Pennsylvania Society for the Advancement of the Deaf

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INTRODUCTION

Education in the United States has passed through multiple eras of pedagogy.¹ Deaf education is no different. Formal deaf education in the United States started with European boarding schools and has grown from there.² What separates deaf education from general education is the deaf community that developed around deaf education. Deaf Culture resulted by creating a deaf space, even though it was in an educational setting.³ The common assumption has been that the establishment of deaf education and deaf autonomy comprised a Golden Age for deaf history, soon ended by intensified discrimination resulting from the Milan Congress.

If any other form of discrimination is considered within deaf life, it is usually assumed to play a secondary role to deafness. In part to test this assumption, this study explores the effects of deafness and gender on their salary in schools for deaf students. These schools are made for people who are deaf and often employed by deaf people. Is a place that is for deaf people discriminated against by people who are hearing above all other forms of discrimination? This study focused on pay differentials of men and women as well as deaf and hearing persons in the latter half of the nineteenth century at the third residential school established in 1820, Pennsylvania School for the Deaf (PSD). The hypothesis of this study challenged the standard assumption that deafness is the greater influence on discrimination and not gender.

¹ Wayne J. Urban and Jennings L. Wagoner Jr, *American Education: A History*, 4th ed. (Routledge, 2008).

² John Vickrey Van Cleve and Barry A. Crouch, *A Place of Their Own: Creating the Deaf Community in America* (Gallaudet University Press, 1989).

³ Ibid.

Methodology

This research analyzes financial records at the Pennsylvania School for the Deaf (PSD) from 1840 to 1900 in order to determine what pay differentials may have existed between deaf and hearing men and women during this period. The records are housed in the Gallaudet Archives. The primary sources utilized are the Annual Reports (a publication for Congress), PSD salary reports, and PSD account books.⁴

Correlating these sources involved recording the employee names from the Annual Reports from 1840 to 1900. After recording the names, I transferred their salaries from the account books and the salary reports. Once the data was collected and correlated in this way, I calculated the salary in overall totals and medians compared by gender and deafness. Such calculations included partial groupings by gender and then by deafness, followed by an integration of gender and deafness. To understand and explain results, I also compared salaries on an individual basis.

⁴ A.L.E. Crouter, *Annual Report* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, 1884).

HISTORIOGRAPHY

Historically within the United States, males have been paid more in the educational workplace compared to women. Although addressed to some extent more recently, this differential continues. Along with a gender pay gap, people who are deaf also have endured a pay differential in education. However, little is known about specific historical differentials between deaf and hearing men and women in education.

History of Deaf Education in the Context of American Education

Joel Spring wrote a comprehensive historical analysis of the development of American education entitled *The American School: 1642-1985* published in 1986. Spring notes that American education began in 1609 with young boys in a religious context. Eventually education involved young women in the early 1700s, but their education was based on in-home education from their mothers in household care. From that point, the main issue has been whether to group by ability or not.¹

Similarly, education for the deaf, including at PSD, began on a religious basis. According to Douglas Baynton in *Forbidden Signs* students needed to communicate with God, even if that method was through a signed language, and educating students in sign language began.²

According to Meredith Blair's thesis *Original Foundations: The Role of Christian Denominations In the Development of the American Deaf Community 1817-1917*, without religion deaf people very well may be ignored and shunned due to their inability to communicate and express religion until they had a signed language to do so.³ Blair supports Douglas Baynton

¹ Spring, Joel. *The American School: 1642-1985*. United States. New York: Longman. 1986.

² Douglas C. Baynton. *Forbidden Signs: American Culture and the Campaign Against Sign Language* (University Of Chicago Press, 1998).

³ Meredith Blair. *Original Foundations: The Role of Christian Denominations In the*

claim in *Forbidden Signs* that God could understand all languages and a signed language was one that could be equally understood by God and signed education was the method of choice.⁴

One difference in deaf education history from general education history is that, by the time schools for deaf children were established, both males and females were attending school.⁵ A second difference is that grouping focused on communication mode rather than solely academic aptitude—oral versus manual. However, some sense of general ability often attached to these two modes in a hierarchy of an oral mode over a manual mode.⁶

Like Spring, Wayne Urban and Jennings Wagner created a cumulative history, *American Education: a History*. But unlike Spring, their study does not focus merely on the curriculum and the specifics of education, but also who the educators were. They show that many educators in America from pre-colonial times until the mid 1800s were male. Even in the 1800s, women were scarce in the education field at first, with the first women hired only the 1840s.⁷ Eventually education would become a female dominated field due to the outbreak of the Civil War when males left their teaching positions to join the armed forces. The Pennsylvania School for the Deaf began in 1820s with a similar preference for male educators. Women were simply dorm mothers and caretakers. However, the gender reversal because of the Civil War did not occur at PSD since the first woman was not hired until 1868.⁸

Development of the America Deaf Community, 1817-1917, 2006.

⁴ Baynton, *Forbidden Signs*.

⁵ A.L.E. Crouter, *Annual Report* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, 1884).

⁶ Cleve and Crouch, *A Place of Their Own*.

⁷ Urban and Jr, *American Education*; Baynton, *Forbidden Signs*.

⁸ Baynton, *Forbidden Signs*.

Deaf Education in the Context of American Deaf History

Deaf History in the United States traditionally starts with Martha's Vineyard, but there are existing arguments stating evidence of deaf history started long before, and winds its way back to France to Thomas Gallaudet and Laurent Clerc.⁹ In her anthology, *Deaf World: A Historical Reader and Primary Sourcebook*, Lois Bragg discusses all aspects of deaf culture;¹⁰ however, indicating its centrality in Deaf life, Bragg devotes significant space on the history of oralism, the power it obtained in the deaf schools, and the conflict it created within the Deaf community. Oral methods refer to training deaf students to speechread and use their voice rather than sign. Manual or signed language indicates educating deaf students entirely in sign language and promoting the use of the signed language. During the early nineteenth century, at the start of public deaf education, Deaf schools mainly educated deaf pupils by signed language, but when oral methods arose, controversy arose as well.

Before the rise of public education in the early 1800s, several deaf students of wealthy families, most often in the South, started their education with private tutors.¹¹ The tutors often enforced the oral method to their students. In addition to private means, parents of deaf children sent their children abroad to the Braidwood Academy, an oral school, located in Edinburgh, Scotland.¹² Eventually the grandson of the Braidwood Academy founder, John Braidwood, came to the United States to start a school. Parents of deaf children, especially the Cobbs and Bolling families, were excited that their children would be educated closer to home. Unfortunately,

⁹ Urban and Wagoner Jr, *American Education*.

¹⁰ Lois Bragg, *Deaf World: A Historical Reader and Primary Sourcebook* (New York University Press, 2001).

¹¹ Hannah Joyner. *From Pity to Pride: Growing Up Deaf in the Old South*. Gallaudet University Press. (Washington DC: 2004).

¹² John Vickrey Van Cleve and Barry A. Crouch, *A Place of Their Own: Creating the Deaf Community in America* (Gallaudet University Press, 1989), 21.

Braidwood proved to be a drunk, and many considered him a fraud because of his alcohol-induced incompetence. Nevertheless, Braidwood developed a relationship with the Bolling family who consistently supported Braidwood regardless of his schemes because they continued to believe his promise to educate their children. Braidwood opened a deaf school inside the Bolling Mansion in Virginia with Cobbs in March of 1815, but the Cobbs School closed shortly after it opened because of Braidwood's alcoholism.¹³

After the Braidwood and Bolling failure, public deaf schools began to be the main source of deaf education. The first permanent school for the deaf was established in Hartford, Connecticut in 1817 as The American Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb. This time the communication mode was manual.

Deaf schools are central in the history of Deaf culture not only because of the controversy over the mode of communication. John Vickrey Van Cleve and Barry Crouch in their work *A Place of Their Own: Creating the Deaf Community in America* published in 1989 focus on the importance of schools, in addition to Martha's Vineyard, as a "place of their own." There a critical mass of Deaf people could build deaf autonomy.¹⁴

James Debee in his biography of Laurent Clerc published in 1995 discusses the importance of having a deaf person establish education for deaf people because he can directly relate to the students he would soon serve.¹⁵ Clerc was not the only deaf teacher.

Hearing parents Samuel and Jane Tillinghast had six children, two of whom were deaf. The Trist family had one deaf son, Thomas Jefferson Trist. All three young students started their oral education through private tutors. Once schools opened, they attended and learned signed

¹³ Ibid. 26–27.

¹⁴ John Vickrey Van Cleve and Barry A. Crouch. *A Place of Their Own: Creating the Deaf Community in America* (Gallaudet University Press, 1989).

¹⁵ James DeBee, *Laurent Clerc* (Debee Communications, 1995).

language.¹⁶ David Tillinghast attended the New York School for the Deaf and after graduation became a teacher there. Thomas Jefferson Trist attended the Pennsylvania School for the Deaf where he too became a teacher.¹⁷

While hiring deaf teachers seems progress, letters indicate discrimination nonetheless, particularly in the matter of pay. In letters that have been collected from the Tillinghast family, David complained about his salary. David claimed that teachers who were hearing made a minimum of one hundred dollars more than he did. David eventually left his post at the New York School for the Deaf to teach at the new state school in North Carolina. Tom, David's older brother, followed suit and became a teacher at the North Carolina School as well. It is unknown whether they received salaries equal to hearing colleagues or if other reasons explained the relocation such as proximity to family.

Edmund Booth was another deaf teacher at the American School for the Deaf starting in 1831.¹⁸ Booth started his career as a substitute teacher but eventually gained full time employment with his own class. Like Trist, Booth criticized the lack of inequality in salary. Booth stressed that his salary of two hundred fifty (250) dollars a year was not sufficient funds to live on. When the legislative committee denied the request for a salary increase, Booth resigned from his teaching position in 1834.¹⁹

This same period of the mid to late nineteenth century saw another force at work that affects the issue of pay differentials for both hearing status and gender: the rise of oralism.

¹⁶ Hannah Joyner, *From Pity to Pride: Growing Up Deaf in the Old South* (Gallaudet University Press, 2004).

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Harry G. Lang, *Edmund Booth: Deaf Pioneer* (Washington, D.C.: Gallaudet University Press, 2004).

¹⁹ Ibid.

Many researchers in the field of Deaf history have studied the transition from manual methods to oral methods. Susan Burch in *Signs of Resistance* discusses the causes and the challenges that deaf people faced between 1900 to the end of the Second World War in 1945. Of the variety of topics Burch discusses, she includes this controversy over deaf education. Deaf people were not welcoming to the idea of being forced to learn to speech and speechreading, and Burch argues sympathetically of those in favor of the manual method and the value of the original language of deaf people.²⁰ Burch expresses the opinion that restricting the use of sign language to students outside of class was and is unacceptable because not only do the students rely on sign language for full communication, but the teachers, in order to communicate effectively, should as well.²¹ Similarly, Douglas Baynton's doctoral study, *Foreigners in Their Own Land*, and his book, *Forbidden Signs*, both challenged the dominant hearing bias against signed language.²²

At the root of all of the debate and challenge of oralism were the teachers themselves. Contrary to Burch, Baynton argues that at the start of deaf education some teachers were deaf. What is underplayed in discussions of this start of deaf education is its patriarchal nature. Both the successful Hartford school and the failed Cobbs School began with male teachers.²³ Mason Fitch Cogswell, Thomas Gallaudet and Laurent Clerc who founded Hartford, now known as the American School for the Deaf, were all males.

When the rise of oralism took root in deaf schools, there was a dramatic gender switch that Baynton stressed in *Forbidden Signs*. With the rising tide of oralism resulting in the demand

²⁰ Susan Burch. *Signs Of Resistance: American Deaf Cultural History, 1900 to World War II* (NYU Press, 2004).

²¹ Ibid.

²² Baynton, *Forbidden Signs*.

²³ Van Cleve and Crouch, *A Place of Their Own*.

for more teachers, women became employed in the new oral positions. Baynton argues that women were best fit for the position due to their motherly nature and more patient attitude. Economically, hiring women was also cheaper.²⁴ The other important bias certainly is a bias toward hearing teachers, only this time female.

Cultural preparation for this shift in gender appears in the period leading up to the Civil War. Emily Abel's anthology *Hearts of Wisdom: American Women Caring for Kin, 1850-1940* covers the roles of women prior to the Civil War through the times leading up to the Second World War.²⁵ Abel discusses how antebellum mothers conformed to the "new" oral ways of deaf education. Abel uses stories of a mother of deaf children to show that doctors and educators dismissed deafness and encouraged mothers to pursue an oral method for their children.²⁶ Regardless of the differences that led to the Civil War, both the North and the South embraced oralism. This shift had profound consequences on the possibility of hiring deaf teachers, male or female.

As time passed and the deaf education method debate boiled, many deaf schools strayed away from hiring deaf teachers, and rapidly began to hire hearing women. The schools began to enforce the oral method, or speech education. Deaf teachers were unable to speak so they were unsuitable to teach the oral lessons. The deaf teachers who were previously employed were allowed to continue their occupations, but still for nearly half of the hearing male teachers yearly wages. Sometimes, deaf women had to fight against gender discrimination as well as deafness.

²⁴ Baynton, *Forbidden Signs*.

²⁵ Emily K. Abel, *Hearts of Wisdom: American Women Caring for Kin, 1850-1940* (Harvard University Press, 2000).

²⁶ Ibid.

Gender Pay Differentials in American Education Today

Research on gender pay differentials can be tied to two different theories of why the pay gap exists. The gap can be related to “occupational crowding” or “taste.” Occupational crowding occurs when several people attempt to obtain the same particular position for a number of varying reasons. Taste, is on the part of the employer. The “taste” theory is where nepotism is most obvious. In Solberg and Laughlin’s study “The Gender Pay Gap by Occupation: A Test of the Crowding Hypothesis,” they researched the two theories and what is the more common cause of the gender pay gap in 2007. Solberg and Laughlin’s study included all benefits that are part of compensation for employees. Their research found that once all aspects of compensation are compiled, women are even more underpaid compared to men even in female dominated fields. The fields they considered female dominated are clerical fields and social sciences, which includes education.

Women have long struggled to gain equality in the workplace. In 1989 Patricia Smith Butcher organized a collection of periodicals written by women who were activists for women’s rights, the women argue to become educators as well as become employed in other clerical positions. Typical educators in the early and mid 1800’s were elite white, educated, landowning males. Male teachers became increasingly difficult to retain in growing times of opportunity. Women eventually became teachers in the elementary level, and throughout Patricia Smith Butcher’s periodicals they gain positions in higher education.²⁷ Even though they have made an increase in employment opportunities, their salary is still minimal and only pennies compared to men.

²⁷ Patricia Smith Butcher. *Education for Equality: Women’s Rights Periodicals and Women’s Higher Education, 1849-1920*. (New York: Greenwood Press: 1989).

Sheila Rothman, a journalist for *The Washington Post*, wrote an article “Women’s Place in the World of Work” published November 1, 1978 analyzing the improvements for women in the new workforce. Rothman wrote her article in the midst of the feminist movement that showed encouragement for the increased number of women in the workforce. According to Rothman, women in the workplace increased sometimes at rates of almost triple. Regardless of the amount of women in the workplace, women were still considerably underpaid even with the female reform milestones. Rothman’s research demonstrated that regardless of the improvements for women in the new workforce a gender bias would remain over a century later.²⁸

²⁸ Sheila Rothman “Women’s Place in the World of Work.” *The Washington Post*. November 1, 1978.

Disability and Deaf Discrimination in Pay Differentials Today

In 1900, laws supporting disability rights were not a priority, but the debate over oralism and manual education was a priority. Later in the twentieth century disability rights emerged and laws defining “disability” were created. In terms of how deafness is treated in the public eye, it is categorized as a “disability.” Relevant discrimination studies thus often include not only deafness, but also disability as a whole although some studies at least break down numbers by disability.

Disability covers a variety of different characteristics in people, but the government has defined “disability” in three key ways as part of the legislation meant to address discrimination: (1) has a physical or mental impairment that substantially limits one or more "major life activities," (2) has a record of such an impairment, or (3) is regarded as having such an impairment.²⁹

The two laws that directly impact people with disabilities are the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 and the 1990 Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA). The Rehabilitation Act stated that deaf and hard of hearing are covered under affirmative action as well as the employers are required to use technology that gives access to information. The ADA states that reasonable accommodation must be provided to persons with disabilities and they are covered by equal employment opportunities.³⁰ When deaf people sometimes need accommodations to interact with their employer, co-workers and the general public, they fall under the disability category and may seek protections or remedies because of this categorization. For example, if the employer

²⁹ Tom Harkin, *Americans with Disabilities Act*, 1990; John Brademas, *The Rehabilitation Act*, 1973.

³⁰ Harkin, *Americans with Disabilities Act*.

can fiscally provide an interpreter or other necessary communication devices is required by reasonable accommodation for deaf employees, this law obligates the employer to do so.

Regardless of the milestones of legislation, recent studies show that discrimination persists. In “New Developments in Disability and Employment Discrimination,” Saucedo-Garcia and Kleiner argue that discrimination is most evident in court cases related to disabled persons being wrongfully terminated or unfairly compensated without equal benefits. According to the U.S. Department of Labor Office of Disability Employment Policy in 2012, 20.7% of the working population is workers considered disabled while 13.6% of the unemployed population are people considered disabled. For deafness in particular, 39,602 people were employed while 1,690,324 were unemployed in the United States as a whole.³¹

As these statistics indicate, many disabled people, and deaf people in particular, are either not working or are underemployed.³² However, while many may recognize some forms of discrimination like underemployment, they are not fully aware of its implications nor of unequal pay for the same work. Disabled persons cannot discover this discrimination due to confidentiality of terms and conditions that forbid them from matters like compensation with coworkers. Marta Russell, an independent journalist on disability, published an article “Disablement, Oppression, and the Political Economy” which focuses on the economic oppression of disabled people. Russell concludes that people know why they are oppressed but do not notice the long term, subtle effects such as pay discrimination. Russell focused specifically on how the political economy (value of work) can be a factor in disabled persons’

³¹ *U.S. Department of Labor Statistics*, 2012.

³² Marta Russell. “Disablement, Oppression, and the Political Economy.” *Journal of Disability Policy Studies*. Vol. 12. No. 2. (2001).

long-term financial well-being. She³³ and Livermore, in their research “Long-Term Poverty and Disability Among Working-Age Adults,” found that little focus is paid to the long-term affects that happen to discrimination. Their research found that most people who have a disability and working are still under the poverty line. The poverty line shifts every year, and in the year of 1997 when they conducted their research, these researchers found that in the short-term disabled people are not necessarily under the poverty level line. The difference appears when looking over time: there it becomes clear that the disabled group make significantly less than the general working population, which can ultimately result in a long-term financial crisis without its ever being noticed.

Deaf people are not an exception. Many deaf people become educators in residential deaf schools, but without research—besides the current study—into the actual differentials in salary from their hearing counterparts, it is hard to know if the discrimination is occurring in both present and past times. The research on PSD reveals that salary differentials in the latter half of the nineteenth century parallel the discrimination that is recognized in society currently. Studying salary differentials is a start to landmark research that can promote awareness towards discrimination towards not deaf people, but women in the United States.

³³ This is the author’s last name.

Pennsylvania School History

The Pennsylvania School opened in 1820 as the Pennsylvania Institute for the Deaf and Dumb (and later changed to Pennsylvania School for the Deaf). All schools opened using the signed language as a means for instruction, but eventually the Pennsylvania School would switch the focus to oral methods of education. By 1883, just 60 years later, the Pennsylvania School for the Deaf became an oral school. And this change directly impacted the ability of the school to serve as a space for developing Deaf autonomy. “Deaf Autonomy and Deaf Dependence: The Early Years of the Pennsylvania Society for the Advancement of the Deaf” written by Reginald Boyd and John Vickrey Van Cleve stress that in the early start of the Pennsylvania School for the Deaf (PSD) deaf people were both assisted by hearing coworkers and superintendents, but at the same time, highly oppressed.³⁴

Van Cleve and Crouch expand on this shift of education within PSD. Some students were allowed to communicate with signed languages and others in strict oral form. According to the Annual Reports of the school, it was not until the school opened the separate oral school in 1883 that the majority of women began to educate deaf students. The female teachers within PSD were typically the teachers of the oral method and not the manual classes or the vocational training classes. Generally the few remaining deaf teachers, both hearing and deaf, taught the manual classes. The vocational classes ranged in content, and were mostly taught by male teachers, both hearing and deaf.

As numbers of deaf children enrolled at PSD increased due to an outbreak of spotted fever, or meningitis, the demand for more oral teachers rose. Deaf schools in the end of 1870s

³⁴ Reginald Boyd and John Vickrey Van Cleve, “Deaf Autonomy and Deaf Dependence: The Early Years of the Pennsylvania Society for the Advancement of the Deaf,” in *The Deaf History Reader* (Washington, D.C.: Gallaudet University Press, 2002), 153–173.

through the turn of the century, opened day schools to ensure minimal use of signing.³⁵ When schools shifted to a pure oral method—strictly speech and lip-reading—the staff was entirely female. Following the general trend in other deaf schools in the United States, in 1883, when the oral method became dominant at the Pennsylvania School for the Deaf, all the instructors were female, including the principal.

Even though the transition to oral methods was beneficial to women, it was not a welcomed by the members of the deaf community, particularly because these women were hearing. Boyd and Van Cleve make the assertion that oral methods were a hindrance to deaf education rather than a benefit.³⁶ Leaders of the Pennsylvania deaf community in the late nineteenth struggled with oralists to preserve the need for education in sign language for deaf students.³⁷ Many of the same leaders worked at PSD and saw the transformation from sign to oral methods and rejected the change. A long time employee and teacher of PSD, Jerome Elwell, left his teaching position due to the change to oralism.

³⁵ Baynton, *Forbidden Signs*.

³⁶ Boyd and Van Cleve, “Deaf Autonomy and Deaf Dependence: The Early Years of the Pennsylvania Society for the Advancement of the Deaf.”

³⁷ Ibid.

Salary Discrimination in Pennsylvania School for the Deaf

Regardless of the fact that hearing women dominated the oral school, their salary was nowhere near comparable to their male counterparts, deaf or hearing. Baynton noted that once the Pennsylvania School for the Deaf employed a female as the principal of the oral education division, she was still underpaid with a grand total of \$500 annual salary while males were making almost a thousand more for the same responsibility totaling \$1,500.³⁸

In December 1921, a deaf journalist from the *Silent Worker*, Alexander Pach, reported that, although schools were thriving in terms of enrollment, gaps in pay persisted. A longtime photographer and journalist, Pach published frequently in *The Silent Worker*. When Pach investigated salary discrepancies in deaf schools, specifically The New York School and the New Jersey School, people noticed. Pach observed that there were significant pay difference between teachers in deaf schools and oral schools. The teachers in oral method schools were already paid significantly more than those who taught in the deaf institutions, but there was no mention of a gender bias in pay, only the hearing status.³⁹ No specific evidence exists for PSD in particular, but this general trend suggests it may have existed at PSD in particular.

This study aims to discover what pay differentials existed at PSD among four groups: deaf women, deaf men, hearing women, and hearing men.

³⁸ Baynton, *Forbidden Signs*.

³⁹ Alexander Pach. "With The Silent Workers," *The Silent Worker*, December 1921.

GENDER

In 1840 the total number of employees at the Pennsylvania School for the Deaf was six. Although they were not all hearing (one was deaf), all six were male. The school remained dominated by male employees in the instruction fields until 1868. This first female hiring occurred approximately forty years behind the rest of American education who began hiring women in 1840.¹ By the turn of the century in 1900, the total number of teachers was fifty, still both hearing and deaf but, in addition, both male and female.

In 1868 the first female, Sophia Knabe, also deaf, was employed as a teacher. The feel of the school changed drastically more because she was female because deaf men already were employed as teachers. Knabe was a student at PSD before she began her career as a teacher.² She was originally employed as an aid in the dorms before her promotion to a teaching position. After Knabe's employment as a teacher there was a steady increase in the hiring of female teachers, and by the decade of the 1880s women were the majority of the teachers. By this decade, hearing women were hired to teach the oral classes rather than the manual classes due to their patient motherly nature.³ Knabe was the exception in teaching on the manual side. Even though women generally were hired to teach students in the higher status oral method while men generally were hired to teach students in the lower status manual method, men were still paid more compared to women.

Figure 1.1 represents the combined salaries for each gender where the blue bars represent the male salary total for each decade of 1840-1900, and the red bars represent the female salary total for these same decades. Figures 1.2 and 1.3 represent the same information numerically.

¹ Baynton, *Forbidden Signs*.

² Joyner, *From Pity to Pride*.

³ Baynton, *Forbidden Signs*.

Figure 1.2 represents the combined salaries of males, and Figure 1.3 represents the combined salaries of females.

Figure 1.1: Men vs. Women Salary in PSD 1840 to 1900

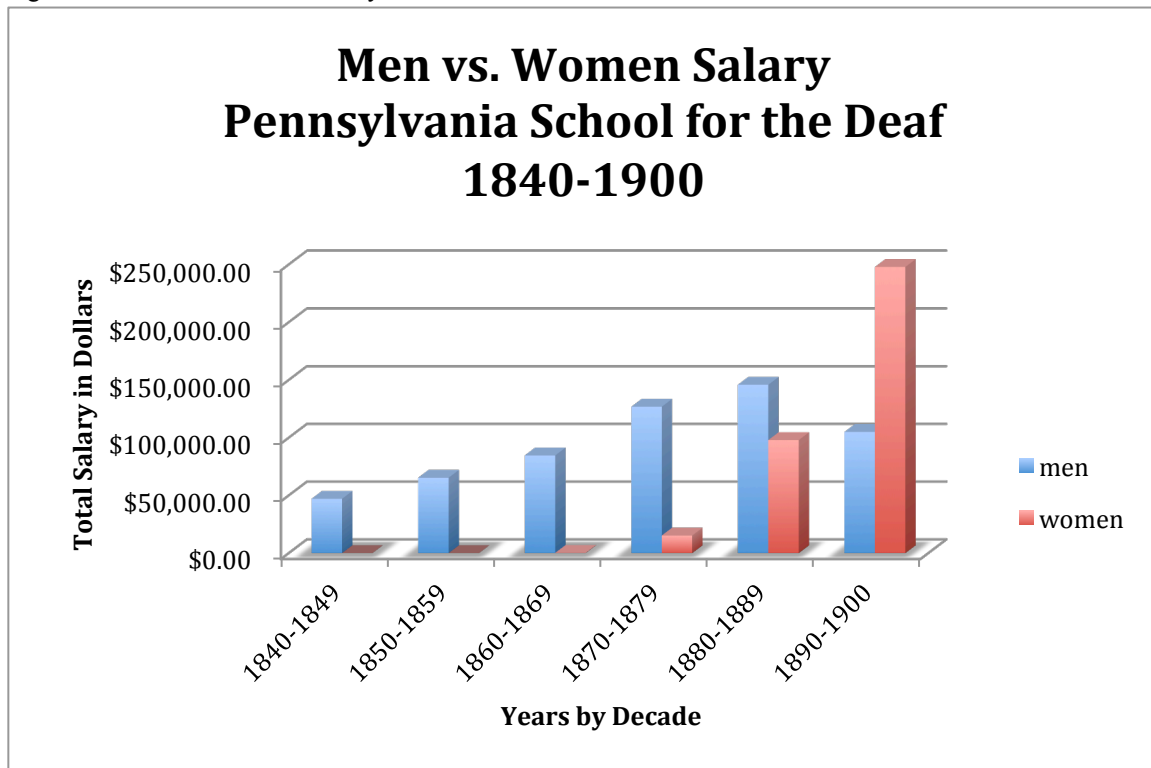


Figure 1.2: Combined Male Salaries by Decade in Dollars

1840-1849	1850-1859	1860-1869	1870-1879	1880-1889	1890-1900
\$47,057.5	\$65,312.5	\$84,612.25	\$126,793.51	\$145,843.29	\$104,949.98

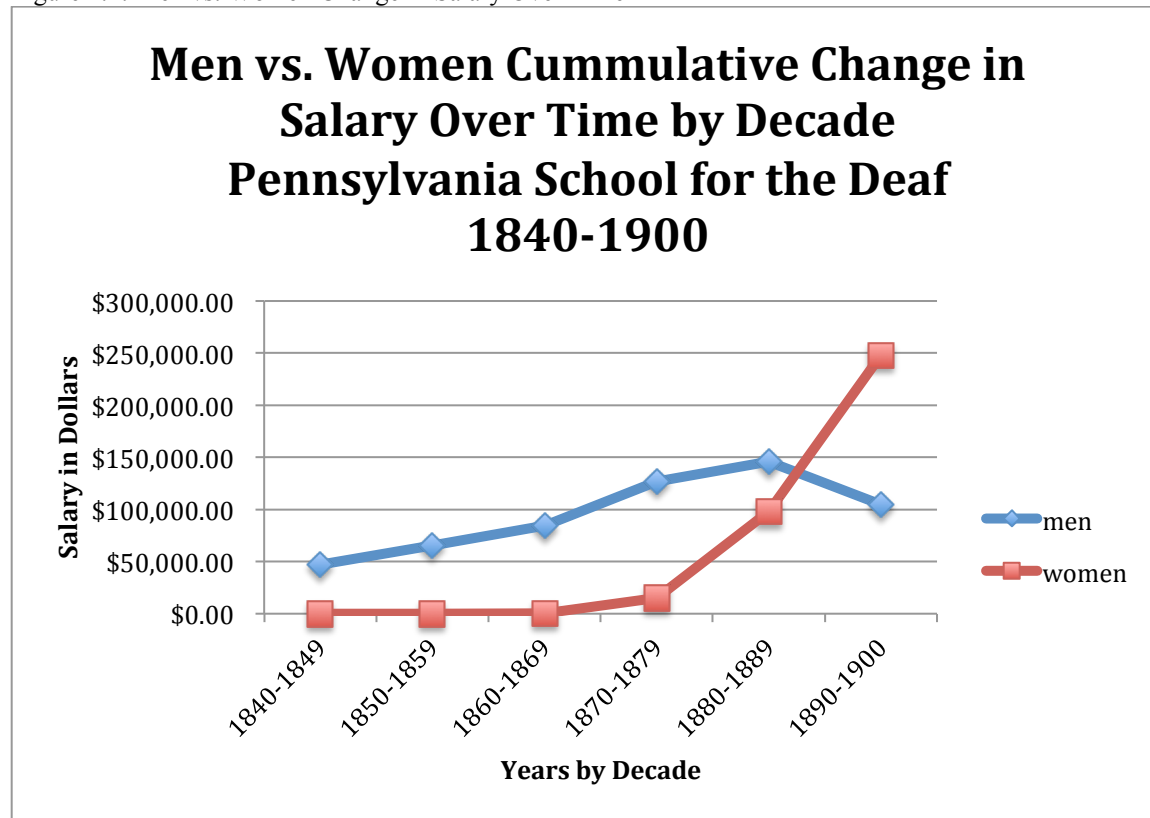
Figure 1.3: Combined Female Salaries by Decade in Dollars

1840-1849	1850-1859	1860-1869	1870-1879	1880-1889	1890-1900
\$0	\$0	\$250	\$15,267.67	\$97,942.02	\$247,851.62

In Figure 1.4, we see the obvious shift in the gender dominance of the school. Men in quantity outnumbered women for a majority of the selected time period of 1840 through 1900, but in the 1880s women became the majority. Even though women had an advantage in overall

employed, men were still outnumbering their total combined salaries.

Figure 1.4: Men vs. Women Change in Salary Over Time



As Figure 1.4 indicates, for the first twenty-eight years, 1840-1868, there is no salary entered for women, therefore leaving men to dominate the field, which is consistent with typical teaching situations at the time in both general education and deaf education. When looking at the initial pay of a newly hired male teacher in this period, the new hires begin their salary within a range of fifty to seventy-five dollars per quarter (pay was dispensed every three months). In 1868, Sophia Knabe was hired as a teacher with the same initial salary of fifty dollars, the only two years of gender equality in pay, particularly remarkable because she was not only female but also deaf.

Women were steadily hired into the field of deaf education every year after 1868, eventually making them the dominant group of educators for the school in this study's last

decade of 1890 to 1900 as the graph represents. With this female majority, salary discrimination becomes more apparent. Rather than hiring at equal pay rates, men began to be hired with a larger initial rate whereas women remained at the same initial salary as Sophia Knabe, a salary disparity further exacerbated by smaller and sporadic increases compared to what males enjoyed.

In the preceding decades starting with the 1840s men saw their salary increase twenty-five dollars at the end of each year in December. The increases for women were so sporadic and significantly smaller that no pattern emerges except the overall disparity. The increases for men were annual until a specific limit was reached, which explains flattening of salaries for some male teachers over time. A salient fact is that this limit was much higher than any woman's salary ever reached. Moreover, some women's salaries did flatten, but at a lower level than men's salaries, indicating a set lower ceiling for women's salaries. One qualification of these general trends is that salaries for both men and women did decrease at times and then go back up for no discernible reason. However, these fluctuations do not affect the overall trend.

Along with salary increase, there were several changes made in the decade of 1880 through 1889 that affected the operation of the entire school as well as salaries in particular. In all the decades leading to this period, teachers were paid a lump sum salary every three months, and students were educated continuously with out a recess. In the year 1885, there is a drastic change to the structure of the school. Rather than students attending school twelve months out of the year and teachers being paid every three months, the school shifted to the traditional school system. Students were granted a summer recess, and teachers began to be paid on a monthly basis. This shift followed practices in education generally.⁴

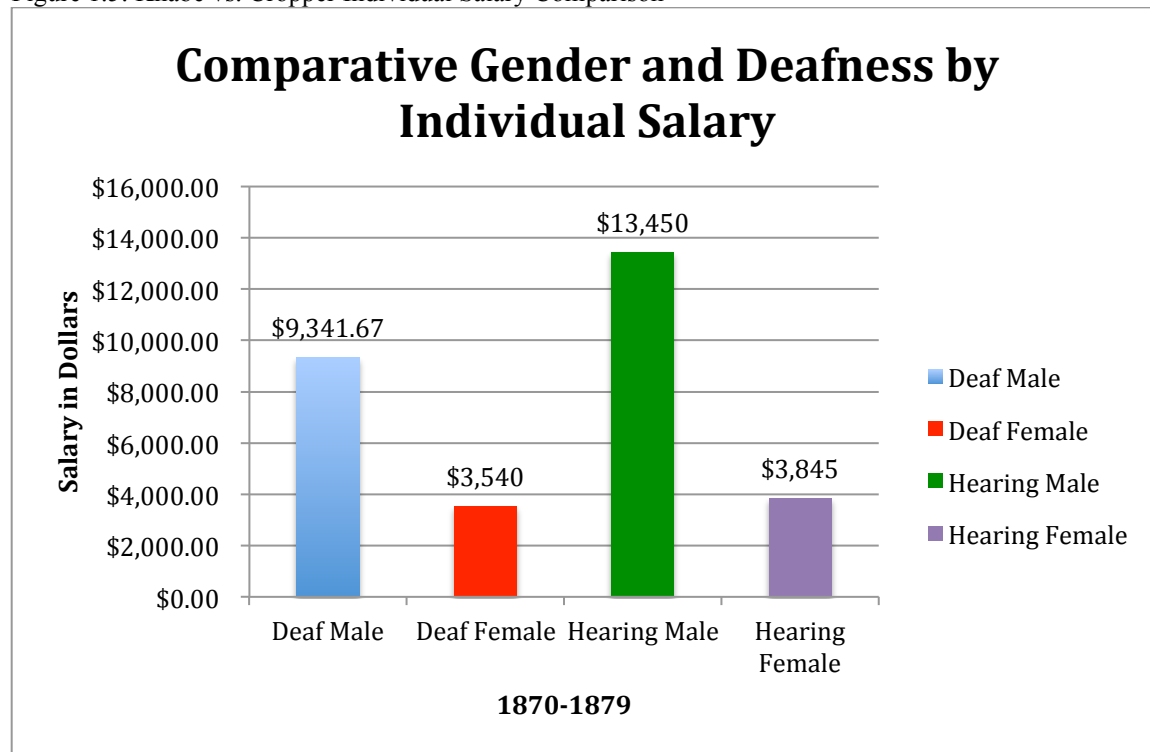
In the same year of 1885, a change in salary is noticeable as well. Teachers were no

⁴ Urban and Wagoner Jr., *American Education*.

longer hired at the minimum rate, but at various rates. Men were always hired at higher rates than women, but more women were hired overall making it appear, when salaries are combined, that women were at an equal salary or at a higher salary individually and this pattern continued through 1900. More representative salary differences can be identified by comparing individual salaries of four teachers hired around the same time: one deaf woman, one deaf man, one hearing woman, and one hearing man. Figure 1.5 compares the salary of Sophia Knabe who was the first deaf teacher and PSD alumni and Rebecca Cropper, the first hearing female hired to PSD. It also compares the salary of Thomas Jefferson Trist, a deaf male teacher, and Benjamin Pettengill, a hearing male teacher. Figure 1.5 demonstrates that in this single decade, if only hearing and deaf women compared or only hearing and deaf men are compared, deafness seems the basis of discrimination. But when comparing cross-gender, it becomes apparent that gender causes a primary differential then compromised by discrimination on the basis of hearing/deafness. One interesting divergence from the overall trend of this decade (as well as current practice) is that, in the following decade, Knabe's salary surpassed Cropper's after Knabe married Trist.

Investigating the reason for this divergence is beyond the scope of the current case study but could possibly include tenure, experience, and professional training. Although this Figure 1.5 displays a small sample and cannot account for other factors for the divergence, it nevertheless demonstrates an overall stark trend beyond all other possible factors, a trend that persists throughout all five decades of this study, namely, that greater discrimination occurs with gender than with deafness.

Figure 1.5: Knabe vs. Cropper Individual Salary Comparison



In conclusion, evidence from these five decades indicates that gender discrimination is minimal at the beginning of female employment in 1869, but becomes more and more evident towards the twentieth century (See Fig. 1.4). During this time period women are the majority of teachers, but their pay is not equivalent to male teachers. A majority of women rarely received increases in their salary unlike their male counterparts. Women also could not earn more through promotion since most did not hold positions of power, which were in administration; those were reserved for men. Moreover, the two women who did hold an administrative position did so as principals of elementary education, a position in title but not authority since they were only allowed to carry out instructions from a male superior, most often the superintendent.⁵ Men held not only the desired teaching positions but also almost all the administrative positions. A male always held the top superintendent and principal positions, leaving the decisions of salary and the school

⁵ Crouter, *Annual Report*.

operation entirely in the hands of a male authority. As a result of this marginalization, gender discrimination becomes especially evident in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, both in the positions that women were allowed to hold and in their salaries.

DEAFNESS

Between the years 1840 to 1900, the employment opportunity at PSD reveals a clear bias towards hearing teachers. In 1840, of the six teachers only one was deaf. The pattern of hiring more hearing teachers only increased throughout the last part of the century, and in 1900, out of fifty-three teachers, only three were deaf. Thus, as the total number of teachers increased, the ratio only became worse, going from six to one (6:1) in 1840 to seventeen to one (17:1) in 1900. In short, hearing teachers' domination of the education of deaf pupils was in place in 1840 and remained in place until the twentieth century.

The PSD Annual Reports had minimal information related to hearing status. Hearing status was discovered by researching the United States Census every decade beginning with 1840 and ending with 1900. The Census recorded every employee and pupil that attended the school. It was common in the nineteenth century for faculty and staff to board at the school. The Census recorded the role of the people living at the school, along with their hearing status. The collected data, expressed as ratios, revealed the obvious preference for hearing teachers.

Not only were hearing teachers hired far more often than deaf ones, but also they were paid more. Although gender will affect these numbers in important ways, first, Figure 2.1 represents the salary difference in comparison of hearing status without accounting for gender.

Figure 2.1: Hearing vs. Deaf at PSD 1840 to 1900

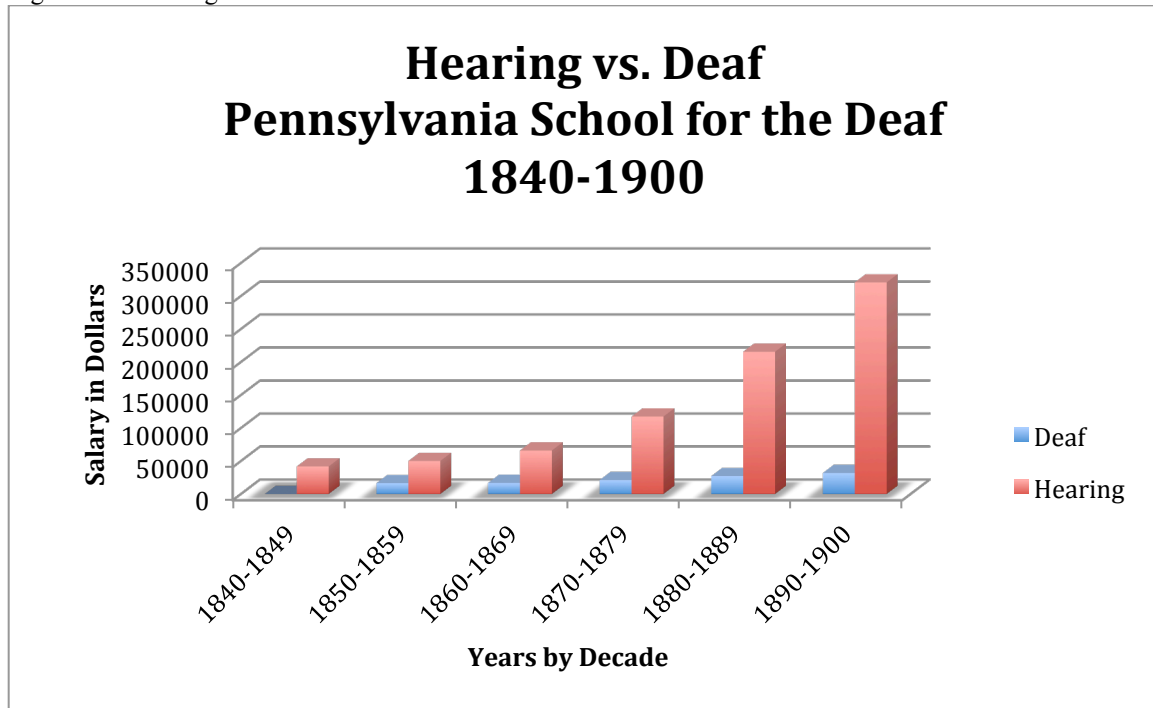


Figure 2.2: Combined Deaf Salaries by Decade in Dollars

1840-1849	1850-1859	1860-1869	1870-1879	1880-1889	1890-1900
\$10,672.50	\$16,387.50	\$16,712.50	\$21,116.67	\$27,021.66	\$31,780

Figure 2.3: Combined Hearing Salaries by Decade in Dollars

1840-1849	1850-1859	1860-1869	1870-1879	1880-1889	1890-1900
\$41,695	\$49,925	\$65,837.25	\$117,279.51	\$215,456.98	\$320,521.60

A major portion of the difference in salary in Figure 2.1 exists because of the inequality in numbers. Since evidence already has demonstrated a gender gap, a comparison between deaf and hearing males might help clarify the profile of discrimination based on deafness. In fact, when the top deaf male salaries are compared with the top hearing male salaries at the start of each decade, the results (Figures 2.4 and 2.5) demonstrate a similar disparity based on deafness, or, put another way, a salary bias toward hearing males. The exceptions are 1850 and 1900 for reasons discussed below. The exceptions aside, this

bias exists even when more of the hearing males were more recent hires than deaf staff with more years.

Figure 2.4: Highest Paid Deaf and Hearing Male Teachers at Start of each Decade

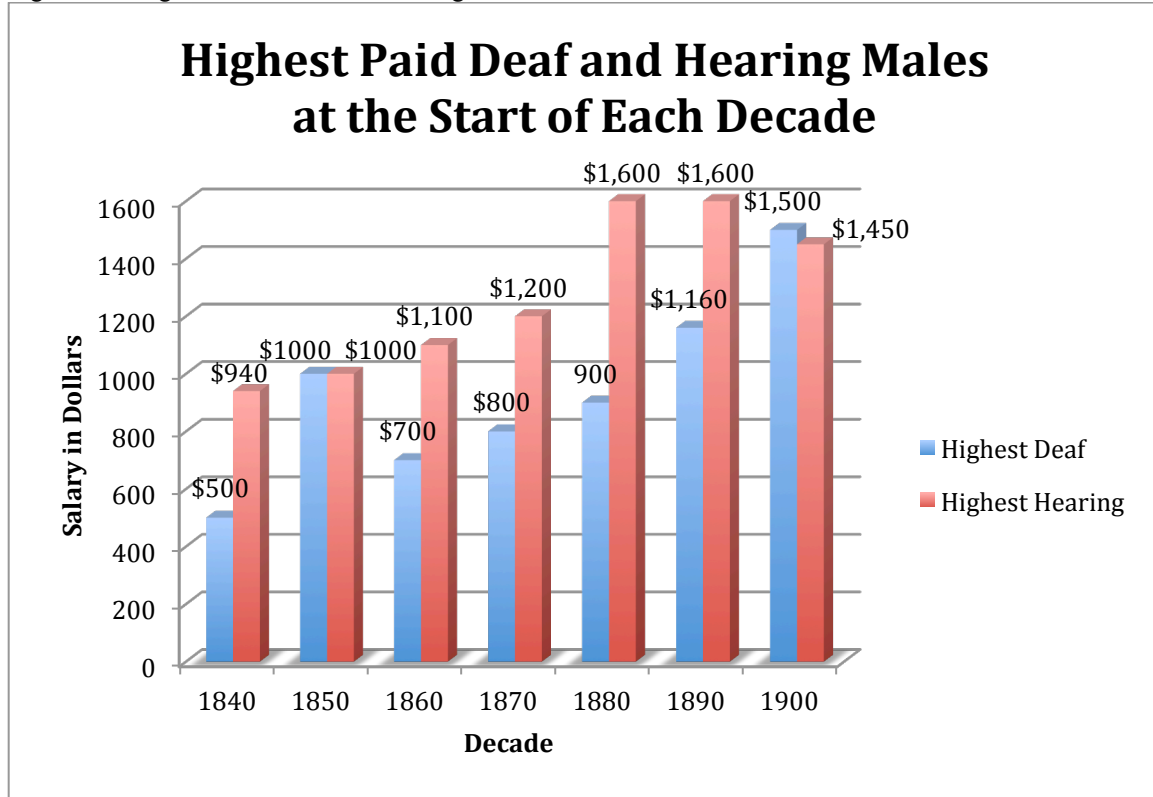


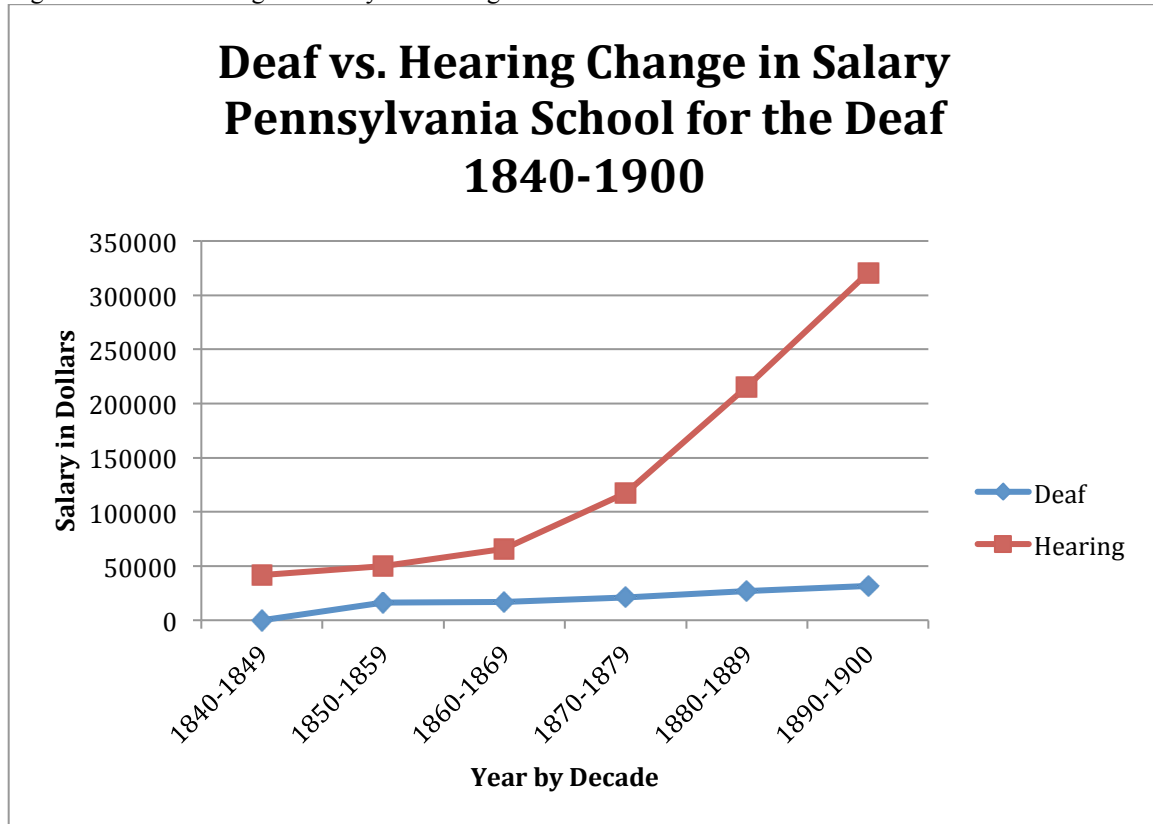
Figure 2.5: Highest Paid Deaf and Hearing Male Teachers at Start of each Decade: Exact Numbers

	1840	1850	1860	1870	1880	1890	1900
Highest Deaf	\$500	\$1,000	\$700	\$800	\$900	\$1,160	\$1,500
Highest Hearing	\$940	\$1,000	\$1,100	\$1,200	\$1,600	\$1,600	\$1,450

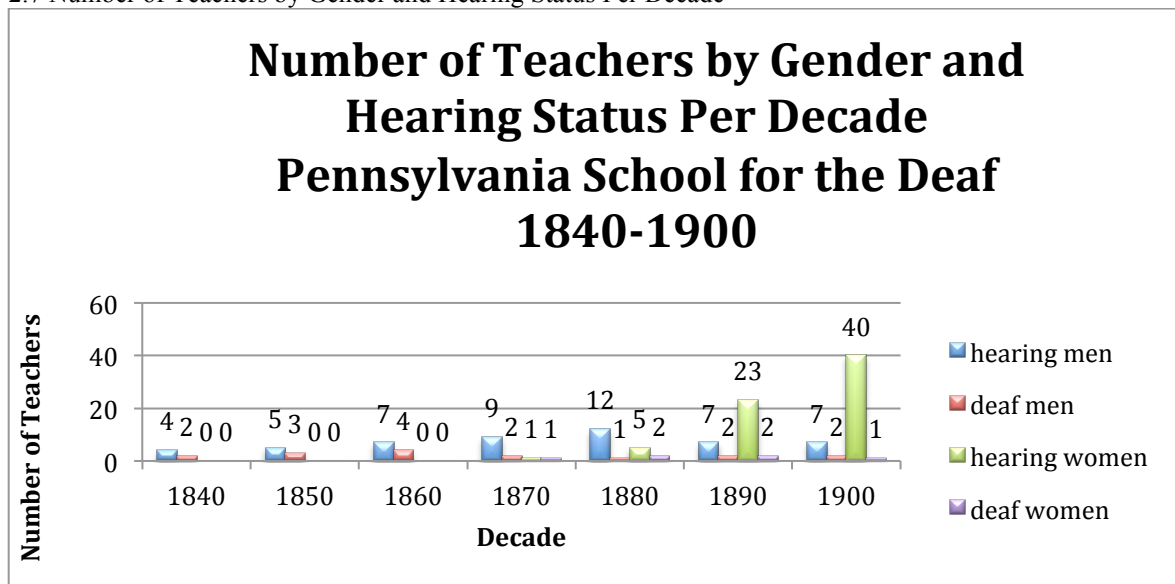
Two data points worth noting from both Figures 2.4 and 2.5 are 1850 and 1900. In 1850, the deaf and hearing top salaries are commensurate, and in 1900, the top deaf salary surpasses the top hearing salary. No discernible reason exists for the 1850 result, but, in 1900, one fact is that the deaf person who secured the higher salary compared to the top hearing male salary was the politically powerful deaf president of the Pennsylvania Society for the Advancement of the Deaf (PSAD). Nonetheless, disparity exists overall,

and is even more evident when measuring changes in salary over time. Figure 2.6 shows these changes over time.

Figure 2.6: Total Change in Salary of Hearing Status 1840-1900



2.7 Number of Teachers by Gender and Hearing Status Per Decade



This widening gap develops even when more and more teachers were getting hired, and most of the new hires were hearing, and most of the deaf teachers were those working in the classroom for many years, indeed for decades—hence, longevity does not seem to offset this widening gap.

Due to minimal employment of deaf people as teachers it is difficult to compare the overall totals to evaluate evidence of pay discrimination. However, it is easy to recognize a shift in salary and discrimination as a cause. The data represents a rapid increase in the salaries of hearing teachers compared to deaf teachers.

A very important realization is that, according to the data, the increase in hearing teachers began before the heat of the controversy over deaf education methods around 1880. The debate between educating deaf students in manual methods or oral methods reached its peak in Milan, Italy at what is now known as the Milan Congress.¹ The Milan Congress adopted two major motions that oralism was more suitable for deaf students compared to manual methods because oral methods would “restore them to a normal social life and...give them greater facility of language.”²

In response to the new declaration that the oral method is the most beneficial method of education for deaf students, more hearing teachers would be needed to educate deaf students. In the case of PSD, experimentation of oral classes began in 1870.³ In Figure 2.7 the increase of hearing teachers began in 1870, paralleling the new addition of

¹ Van Cleve and Crouch, *A Place of Their Own*.

² International Congress on the Deaf, *Report of the Proceedings of the International Congress on the Education of the Deaf, Held at Milan (Milan, Italy, September 6, 1880)*.

³ Van Cleve and Crouch, *A Place of Their Own*.

oral classes. These shifts broadened the already widening gap in salaries between hearing and deaf teachers.

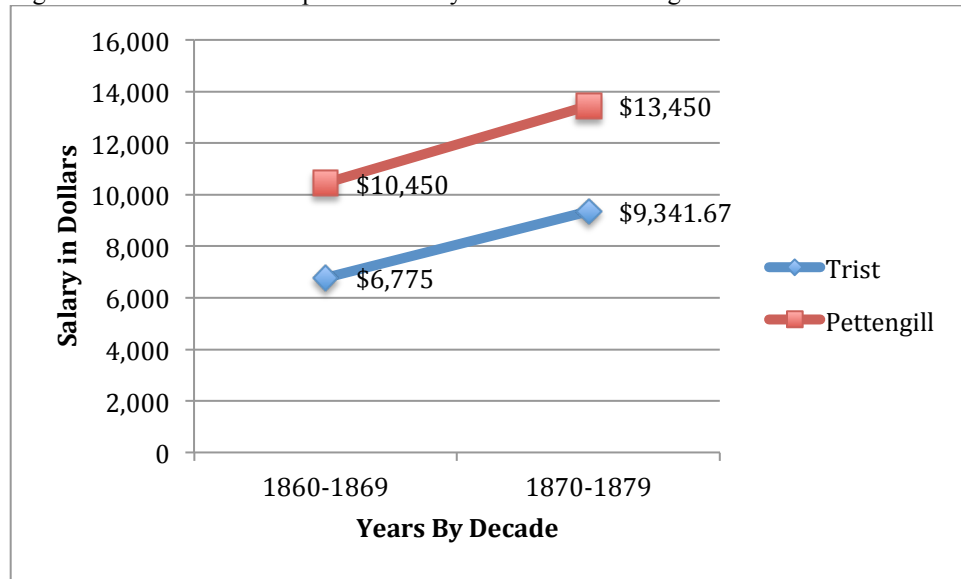
An examination of the initial salary rate of deaf employees compared to hearing employees reveals no change in salary. The initial hiring salary was fifty dollars and merit increases—though differing for males versus females—were applied at the end of the year. The salary differential did not become more pronounced until more deaf employees were hired to teach the few students who were declared unable to learn speech while hearing teachers were hired to teach in oral classes.⁴

The greater number of deaf teachers at PSD at any one time was five, and they taught in the manual division of the school in the decade of 1870 to 1879. One way to disclose discrimination based on deafness is to follow the tenure of Thomas Jefferson Trist. Trist was a deaf man from Virginia who attended PSD and another school prior to his employment. He began to work at PSD in 1856 after he graduated from higher division classes at the New York School. Trist remained a loyal employee at PSD until his death in 1890.⁵ Figure 2.8 represents Trist's salary for the years 1860 through 1879. The selected years were only a sample of his tenure, but used to compare with his longtime hearing peer Benjamin Pettengill who was there during these years.

⁴ Crouter, *Annual Report*.

⁵ Joyner, *From Pity to Pride*.

Figure 2.8: Individual Comparative Salary of Trist and Pettengill



During his service to the school, Trist began teaching at the standard starting salary of fifty dollars per quarter, and like his hearing (male) coworkers, received a merit increase every year. Trist, however, reached his capping point faster than hearing employees overall though not when compared with Pettingill. Trist's salary remained the same for several increases after 1880 while his hearing peers would obtain a pay increase annually. The person deciding this cap was the superintendent. Shortly after this capping, a new superintendent made disparities even greater for hearing versus deaf employees.

A.L.E. Crouter became principal in 1884 and superintendent/principal in 1885. Known for his strong support for oralism, Crouter increased the salary for hearing teachers, and seldom increased salaries for deaf teachers. Crouter segregated the school into three divisions: advanced, intermediate and manual. The manual division was composed of deaf students who were segregated from the rest of their deaf peers because

they were deemed incapable of learning to speak.⁶ Many deaf teachers were segregated with them.

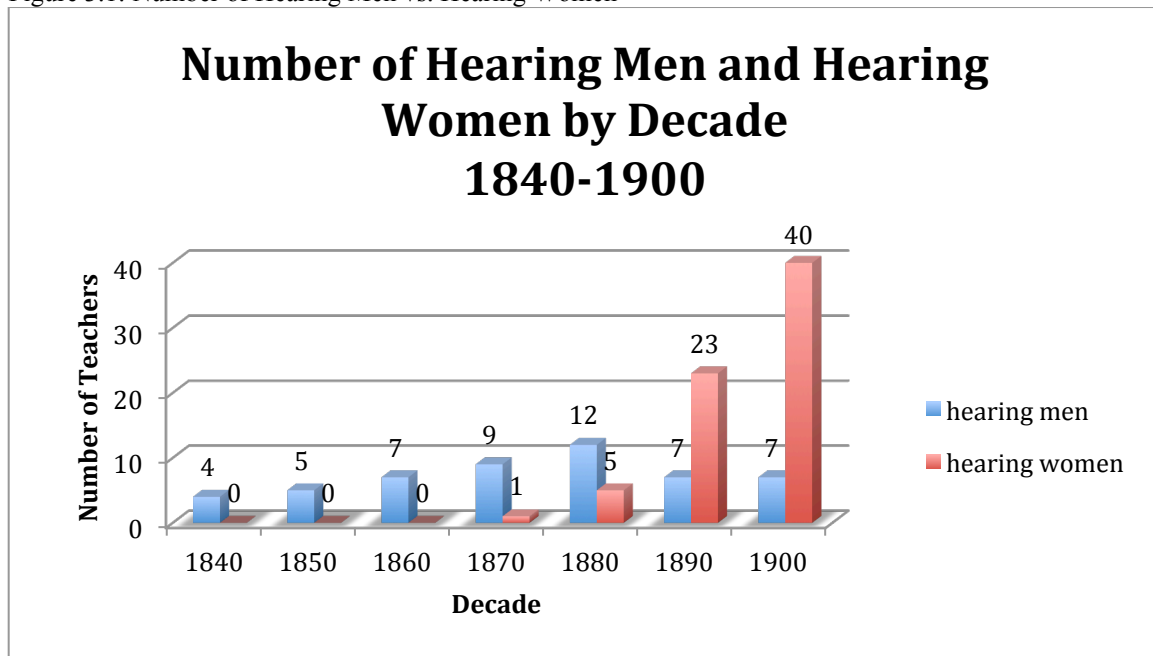
With the segregation of students and teachers, the salary differential rose. Figure 2.6 represents the widening gap over time; deaf teachers realized small increases in their salary compared to their hearing counterparts. The rise of oralism and the supporters of oralism in deaf schools were a possible exacerbation of the salary discrimination between deaf teachers and hearing teachers but, as previous figures demonstrate, disparity and discrimination existed before the rise of oralism.

⁶ Van Cleve and Crouch, *A Place of Their Own*.

GENDER AND DEAFNESS

Previous discussions of gender and deafness implied complications and changes in salary disparities when combined. The following two graphs, Figure 3.1 and 3.2, begin to combine gender and deafness through comparisons of gender in terms of hearing status.

Figure 3.1: Number of Hearing Men vs. Hearing Women



This graph makes clear the increase in the hiring of women that accompanied the rise in oralism. When salaries are combined as a total, hearing women's salaries surpass men's in the last decade, only because of the sheer numbers of women compared to men. A comparison of median salaries, however, reveals the situation for the majority if not all hearing men and women.⁷

⁷ Modes were not helpful because of the small size of deaf faculty and the extremes of variation for reasons other than gender and deafness. However, medians and averages seem to allow a more useful representation of the historical situation of salaries in relation to gender and deafness. Averages and median salaries were very close for both hearing and deaf groupings—particularly so for both hearing and deaf women and at most differing by \$150 for hearing men in one decade.

3.2 Median Salary of Hearing Men vs. Hearing Women

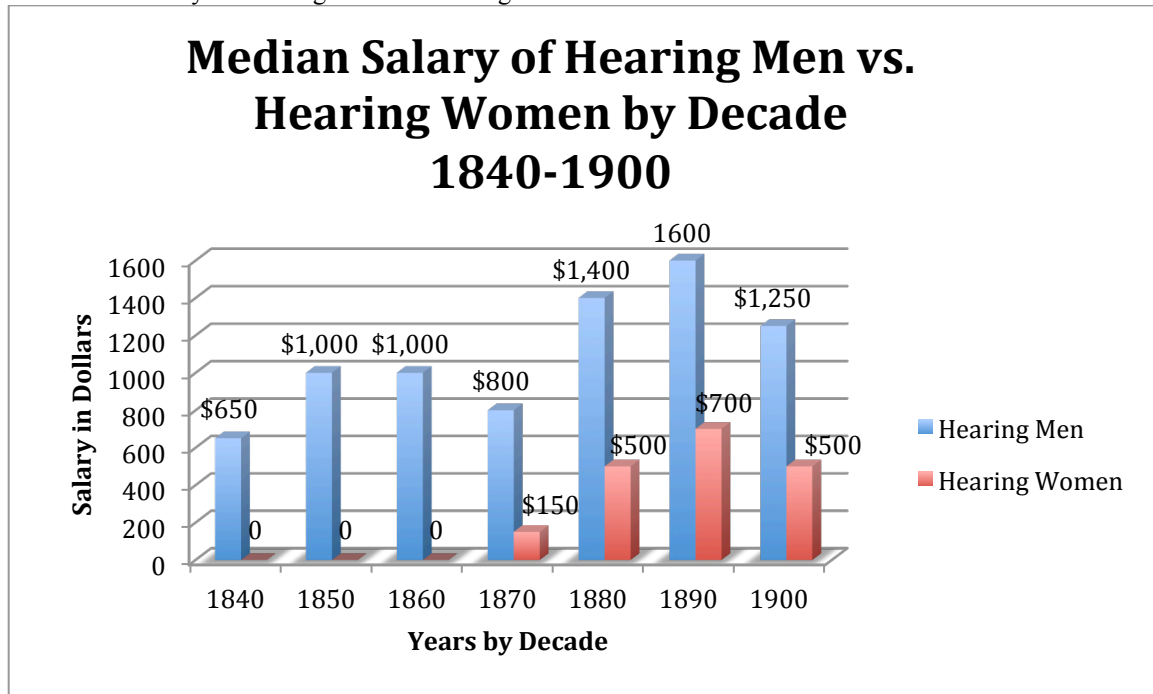


Figure 3.2 shows that hearing men always earned more than hearing women even when more teachers were female as in the decade beginning in 1900.

Figure 3.3 represents the number of deaf men and women that are working at PSD. Figure 3.4 represents the comparison between the salaries of deaf men and women. Deaf men and women were the minority in the class of teachers at PSD, and within the Deaf group, the ratio of men to women was roughly 2:1. The combined salaries of all deaf women and of all deaf men demonstrate that women were the underpaid.

3.3 Number of Deaf Men and Women by Decade

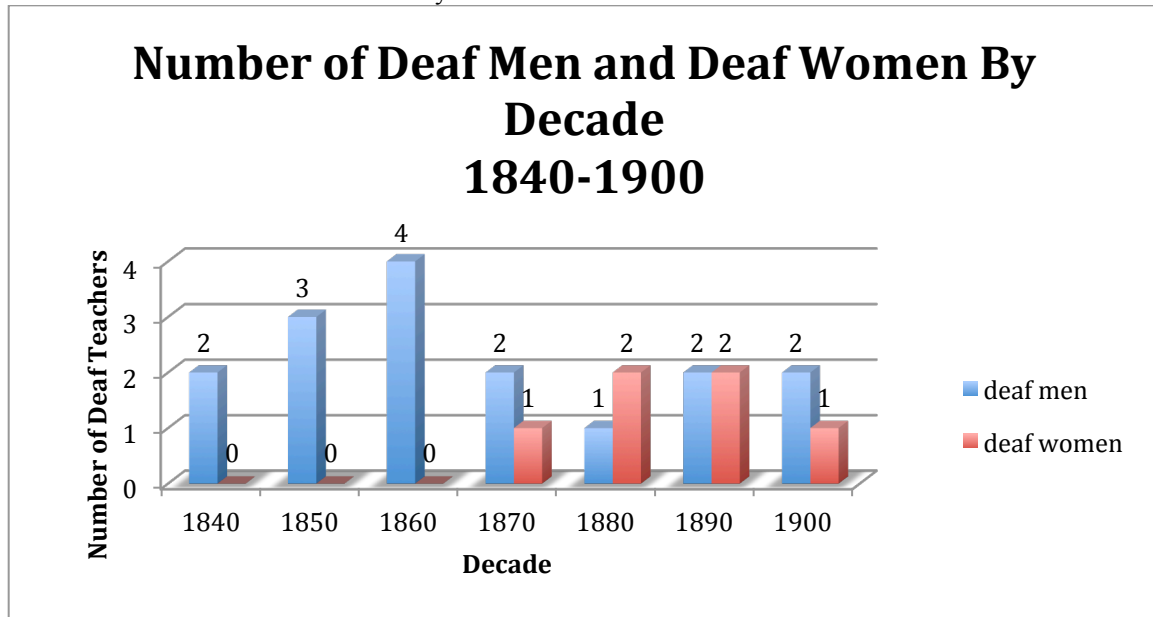
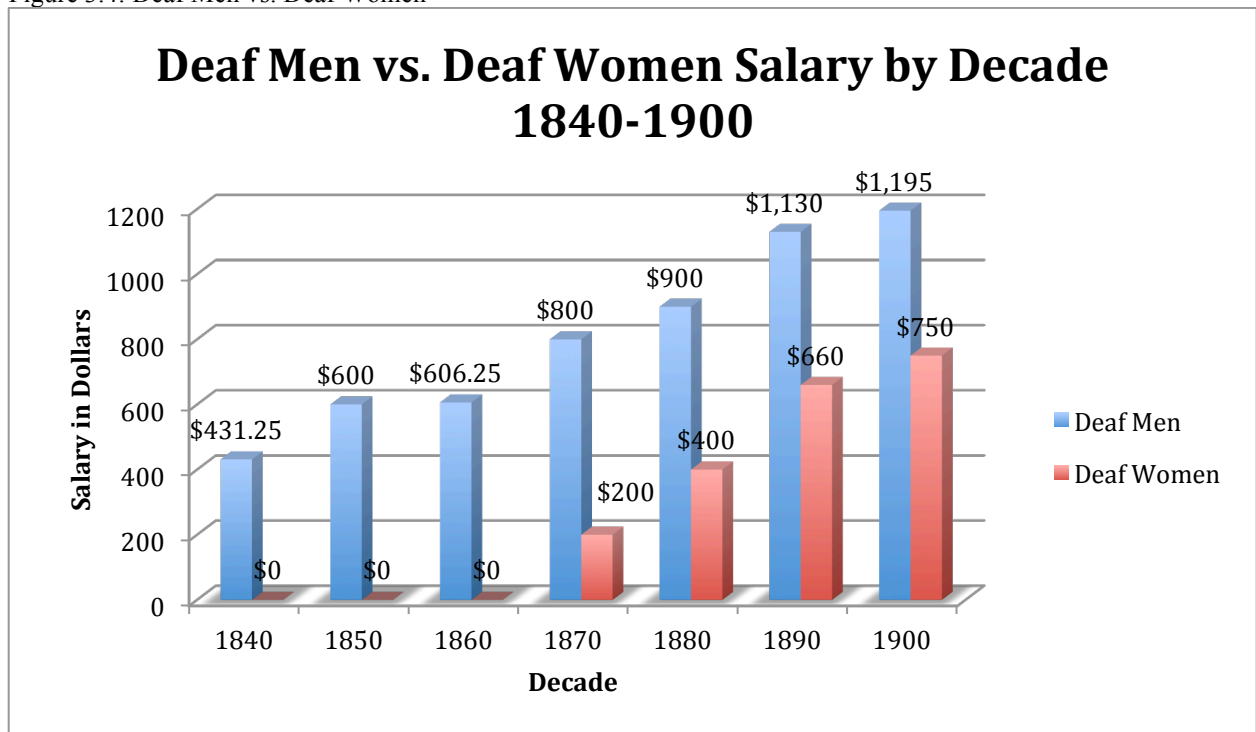


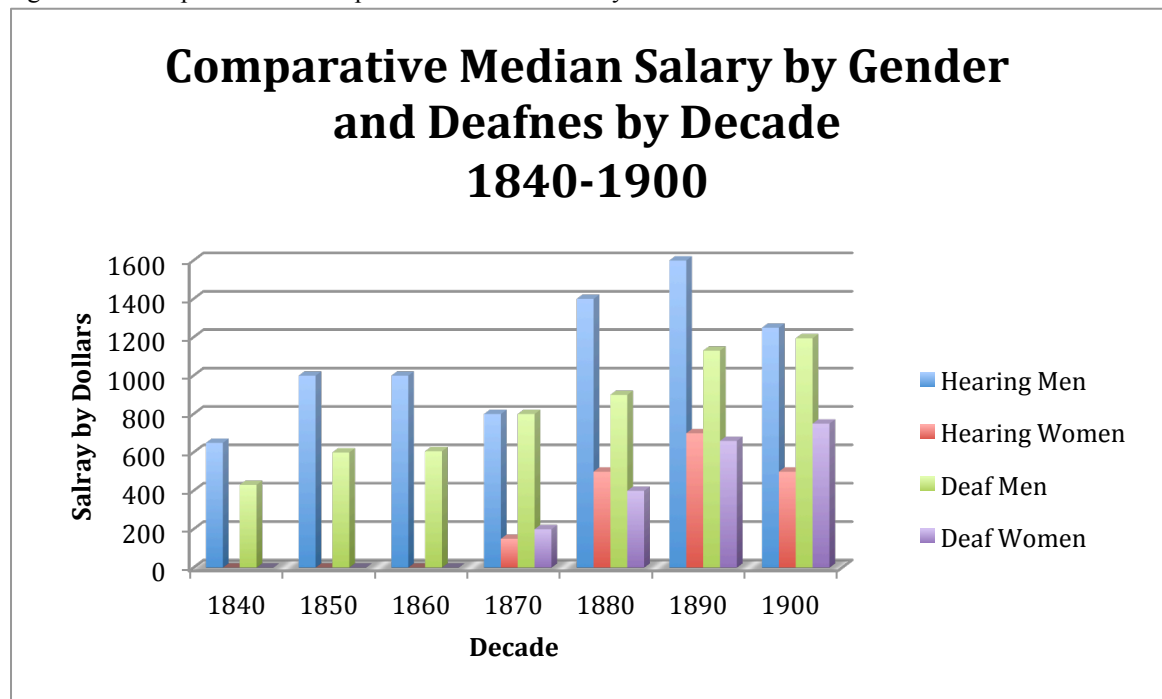
Figure 3.4: Deaf Men vs. Deaf Women



INTERSECTIONS OF GENDER AND DEAFNESS

The transition from male to female dominance in deaf residential schools plays a significant role when investigating discrimination. Women outnumbered men starting in the mid 1880s, but were still underpaid, but when PSD became completely oral, women outnumbered men to the degree that their collective salary was more, but on an individual basis that is untrue. Figure 4.1 is the average of what each teacher would earn in that particular year. The sample was taken from each new decade. The four groups are set in comparison with each other to make a comprehensive representation of the hierarchy that resulted from the pay differentials.

Figure 4.1: Comprehensive Comparison of Median Salary in PSD 1840 to 1900



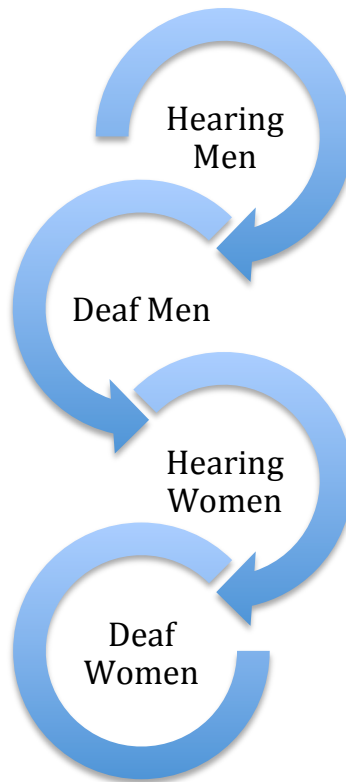
Small sample size skews the results for deaf women. Two decade markers (1870 and 1900) show that deaf women teachers earned more than hearing women reflect the salary of only one deaf woman. In 1870, there is also only one salary of a hearing woman, but it reflects pay for two months of the year since the woman was hired at the end the year.

What is remarkable evidence of discrimination against the deaf woman is that her yearly salary was \$200 while the hearing woman made \$150 in only two quarterly pay periods (half a year). If she had worked the full year, the salary would have reached \$300, fully 30% more than the deaf woman. In 1900, the lone deaf woman earned more than the average of forty hearing women, but that average is skewed by the many new hires of hearing women at the time compared to the lone deaf woman of long tenure.

CONCLUSION

The hypothesis of this study stood against the standard assumption that deafness was the greater influence on discrimination and not gender. The data and analysis validates this hypothesis. The hierarchy in PSD is as follows:

Figure 4.2: Hierarchy of Teachers in Pennsylvania School for the Deaf 1840-1900



The hierarchy shows that there is a primary gender bias resulting in discrimination against women, and a secondary bias resulting in discrimination against deaf people.

Future studies should include all years and more schools. Other variables to consider include tenure or longevity, administration salaries, and teacher credentials.

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