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## 15. Where Is Deaf HERstory?

ARLENE BLUMENTHAL KELLY

ONE OF THE MOST EFFECTIVE WAYS in which dominant groups maintain their power is by depriving the people they dominate of the knowledge of their own history.<sup>1</sup> This is well understood by Frantz Fanon, a leader of the Algerian resistance against the French in the 1950s, who wrote in his *Wretched of the Earth* that "colonialism is not satisfied with merely holding a people in its grip . . . but by a kind of perverted logic, it turns to the past of an oppressed people, and distorts, disfigures, and destroys it."<sup>2</sup> Members of oppressed communities are frequently deprived from appreciating their own historical experiences and the glory of the actions of their own people. Because of this lack of appreciation, the colonized are kept powerless. Instead this glory should come alive to those living in the present and future in order to reduce the dominance of the others.

Women have long understood this deprivation. In 1404, Christine de Pizan, chronicler of great women, wrote to bring her readers "out of the ignorance which so blinds your own intellect."<sup>3</sup> Philosophers also have long trivialized women. Christine de Pizan suggested that women who did not know their history were like a field without a defense.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, knowing their historical experiences allowed women to become like a strongly constructed city wall.<sup>5</sup>

In the mid-nineteenth century, American women began to archive their history. Most notable was Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony's six volumes of *History of Woman Suffrage* completed in 1881.<sup>6</sup> Meant to be an arsenal of facts for the next generation of scholars, these volumes were unfortunately largely ignored. In 1933, historian Mary Beard wrote that an accurate understanding of the past required an analysis of women's experiences and this analysis needed to be conducted with as much attention as historians devote to the experience of men.<sup>7</sup>

Five decades later, historian Gerda Lerner suggested four stages in writing women's history, each stage more complex than the last. The first stage is known as "compensation history" in which historians seek stories about women who succeeded in their actions. Examples are Amelia Earhart, the solo airplane pilot in the 1930s demonstrating courage, and Zora Neale Hurston, an African American folklorist who brought life to independent black women. The next stage is "contribution history" in which women's contributions to topics, issues, and themes of the day are described. For example, the women behind Jane Addams's Hull House project in Chicago aided in promoting Progressive reforms of the day. The third stage of writing women's history moves to understanding what actually happened, thus prompting us to rewrite our own history. For example, we were taught in schools to believe that American slaves were given adequate

diets when in truth, male slaves were better fed than their female counterparts even if the women were pregnant. This rewriting process forces a new perspective on social relations between the sexes. Finally, the fourth stage challenges Women's Studies scholars to see gender as a social construction where people apply new meanings to their historical experiences and live on the basis of these constructions.

This essay then challenges us to ponder how Deaf Studies can benefit from the history of the field of Women's Studies. It is interesting to note that both fields emerged after a sense of historical consciousness was engendered. While women have been long aware of their "less than equal" position in society as exemplified by the 1848 Woman's Suffrage convention in Seneca Falls, New York, it was not until 1960 that the field of Women's Studies began in San Diego.<sup>8</sup> Likewise, while Deaf people have been long aware of their own historical experiences, it was not until 1965 when William C. Stokoe, Dorothy S. Casterline, and Carl Croneberg proclaimed American Sign Language (ASL) as a bona fide language that a new sense of awareness emerged.<sup>9</sup> Understanding the intricacies within ASL brought forth pride in their own language. This awareness and pride allowed a new insight into the Deaf historical experience, leading to a heightened sense of consciousness among Deaf people. The field of Deaf Studies eventually emerged.<sup>10</sup> But a plethora of questions remains to challenge both this field and its scholars. They may be answered by exploring the feminist standpoint and epistemology and methodology. Will this yet new awareness remove the longstanding oversight of the Deaf female experience in the field of Deaf Studies? What about removing dominance, also known as audism, still so prevalent?

### The Feminist Standpoint

The field of Women's Studies has been concerned with both methodology and epistemology since its inception. Debates were plentiful. One of the debates led to a key point known as the feminist standpoint. Feminist theorist Nancy C. M. Hartsock offered that this standpoint, while not simply an interested or informed position, posits a duality of levels of reality reflecting the relations of humans among each other and with the natural world.<sup>11</sup> Consciousness plays a major role in developing a standpoint. Having knowledge produces awareness. For example, in 1848 Marx and Engels published a treatise in which they proposed equality across various social classes.<sup>12</sup> Differences in wealth and property should not, they argued, separate people. Instead, people of all social stations in life should be treated equally. This concept of equality across class was later understood as Marxism. Picking up on this Marxist thread, Hartsock develops the feminist and women standpoints, which are invariably presented in introductory Women's Studies courses:

The "feminist standpoint" is a self-conscious perspective on self and society that arises out of a class (or gender) grouping's critical awareness of itself and its location in relation to the system it lives in. The "women's standpoint" is that the perspective arises out of a class's or gender's received and unanalyzed engagement with its material environment, as seen through the worldview of the dominant group.<sup>13</sup>

This suggests that when women analyze their position in the society, in the world, they become aware of their existence as an oppressed population. This consciousness, or awareness, allows them to explore their historical experiences of oppression. They see how and by whom they were and are discriminated against. Due to these enlightened women's position within the sexual division of labor and sexist oppression, they then have greater insights as researchers of other women.<sup>14</sup> These women then assume a feminist standpoint. They see through a different lens in rewriting women's history. On the other hand, there are women who, by virtue of not knowing their own history, do not realize that they are being oppressed or discriminated against. They accept their lot, thus assuming the women's standpoint as described by Hartsock.

The feminist standpoint is further characterized by philosopher of science Sandra Harding.<sup>15</sup> She argues that objectivity is maximized not by *excluding* social factors from the production of knowledge—as the Western scientific method has purported to do—but precisely by "starting" the process of inquiry from an *explicitly social* location: the lived experience of those persons who have traditionally been excluded from knowledge production (for example, women).<sup>16</sup> By exploring women's experiences as a starting point, rather than as a foundation, standpoint epistemology seeks to produce a more *generally* useful body of knowledge.

Like most women, or more specifically feminists, many Deaf people assume duality in their lives. As both women and Deaf people live and study and work within the mainstream culture, both groups also possess a certain sense of affinity amongst themselves, a sense of survivorship, to succeed in life. While socioeconomic status and ethnic backgrounds in each of the two cultures vary tremendously, there is a common group identity.<sup>17</sup> For women, their commonality is tied to their gender. For Deaf people, the commonality lies in language rather than in the inability to hear. For example, most Deaf people prefer the company of their Deaf friends over their own hearing blood relatives on account of communication accessibility.<sup>18</sup>

Another dual experience shared between these two groups is a history of social discrimination based on presumptions held by the mainstream society, such as lower intellectual skills.<sup>19</sup> Inability to perform on the job, as imagined by the mainstream society, was also seen as an obstacle for both women and Deaf people. For example, the female informants in my ethnographic research remembered being dismissed from their places of employment or being denied a salary raise simply because they were Deaf, not because they were women.<sup>20</sup> Personally, while working as a backroom clerk at the Tucson Public Library, I was passed over for promotion to the front desk clerking several times. According to the interviewees, this happened because of my inability to use the telephone. Thus being deaf was an obstacle for my promotional opportunities.

The Deaf standpoint may need to be established and defined in order to answer research questions in the field of Deaf Studies. One of the primary concerns is a body of knowledge of and a sense of understanding about Deaf history. Does this knowledge exist for many Deaf people? If so, how is this achieved? In schools? From watching storytellers? How do these storytellers know Deaf history? Can we begin to say that the Deaf standpoint is a perspective on self and society that arises out of a minority language grouping's critical awareness of itself, of its language, of its history, and in relation

to the system in which it lives? And in contrast, is the deaf standpoint a perspective based on unanalyzed passivity? Is having a standpoint truly essential? We may, however, want to explore aspects of Deaf epistemologies before establishing and defining the Deaf woman standpoint. What constitutes the duality of being Deaf and female? It then becomes useful to look at epistemology and methodology, which can assist with our exploration here. Additionally, the field of Deaf Studies should also be concerned with the production of accountable Deaf knowledge.

### Epistemology and Methodology

Hartsock urges the study of epistemology and methodology in order to establish a standpoint.<sup>21</sup> In addition, Sandra Harding, as cited in Liz Stanley's "Methodology Matters," suggests that epistemology is concerned with investigating and presenting facts away from other social influences such as masculine assumptions and ways of working.<sup>22</sup> Social scientists Norman Denzin and Yvonna Lincoln define epistemology as a way of exploring *how we know* the world, and the relationship between the inquirer and the known.<sup>23</sup> In general, it is a subdiscipline of philosophy concerned with the validation of knowledge.<sup>24</sup> For example, in cultural anthropology, epistemology helps justify factual knowledge gleaned from fieldwork, historical reconstruction, and comparative studies on human cultures. In short, epistemology allows us to look at knowledge and how much power it can engender for those being researched.

Methodology, on the other hand, focuses on *how we gain* knowledge about the world.<sup>25</sup> It is more concerned with goals and procedures of inquiring and gaining knowledge.<sup>26</sup> In other words, it is a path to achieve an understanding of goals. British sociologist Liz Stanley encourages asking questions such as "what makes an idea 'feminist' or not?" "how can the field be taken more seriously within the academy?" "why is 'gender' a concept so difficult to understand?" and "why are some ideas feminist, and others not feminist?" Methodology then becomes important because it enables asking questions and answering these questions.<sup>27</sup> Methodology also enables the production of a body of knowledge. Methodology deals with knowledge rather than opinions and feelings.<sup>28</sup> For example, it determines how our research should proceed and what the goals of inquiry are. Method implies systematization of procedure leading to the goal of clarity.<sup>29</sup> Selecting a method to answer epistemological questions can defamiliarize the anthropologist of the culture being studied. Instead a new lens, or a new perspective, develops.

Epistemological and methodological concerns are common in social and behavioral sciences, and the humanities. Ethnography is a popular methodology in cultural anthropology. Participation and observation, interviews and fieldnotes play crucial roles in gaining knowledge about other cultures. Often reflexive, these lead the researcher to understand her own culture as well as allowing an introspective look at the researcher as she explores the researched. Both the researcher and researched become informed of issues revealed in the process. Being informed can further enlighten the society at large. On the other hand, in sociology, symbolic interactionism links meanings to social positions or problems, explores how people negotiate their social positions in the activities of daily production, views the society in terms of processes rather than structures, and

sees how people carve out areas of autonomy.<sup>30</sup> Women's Studies scholars often prefer ethnography as one of the methodologies.

How do epistemology and methodology work for the field of Deaf Studies? How do these two create a standpoint? This field is interdisciplinary in nature, embracing but not limited to linguistics, history, sociology, anthropology, and literature. Each of the mentioned disciplines has its own epistemology and methodology, or at least a specific focus. Thus, what is epistemology for Deaf Studies? What about methodology? Can this field adopt one? Or should it be as flexible as its interdisciplinary nature? Should Deaf Studies scholars adopt whichever method fits their specific needs? How important are epistemology and methodology for this field? If so, for whom? How about a Deaf, or a Deaf woman, standpoint? Do we need to develop a Deaf standpoint before we can proceed with a Deaf woman standpoint?

In addition, we need to address how the role of the Institutional Research Board (IRB) at most institutions of higher education can either hinder or boost the field of Deaf Studies. The sole purpose of the IRB is to protect both the researcher and the researched, and that is commendable. Yet we need to explore how their procedures are formulated. Traditionally, most IRB-approved research is not geared to cultural research. Examples are psychology and audiology, to name a few. While historians and sociologists are often required to submit to IRB regulations, the questions in IRB application forms ask about possible harmful consequences to the subject(s). Why aren't IRB concerns more cultural? Perhaps it is time for a paradigm shift in this arena so that we can begin to have a Deaf epistemology and Deaf methodology, thus a Deaf (and Deaf woman) standpoint. Yet I have one more area of concern—omission of Deaf people in historical texts—that needs attention.

### Marginalization in Historical Texts

Rarely do we find mention of Deaf people, specifically Deaf women, in generic history texts. We need to now look at how marginalized people are overlooked in such texts. Black Studies scholar Maulana Karenga says that "History is the struggle and record of humans in the process of humanizing the world, i.e., shaping it in their own image and interests."<sup>31</sup> Historically, members of minority groups are overlooked in mainstream historical texts. Karenga says that society often imposes limitations on the defense and development of human life at various historical points.<sup>32</sup> Typically the historical approach includes dredging up old records; providing objective, not interpretive, descriptions of events and/or persons; and overlooking the catalyst(s) behind events. There are tendencies not to have a personal contact(s) with the biographee, and to focus on the "white male," excluding members of diverse cultures. Thus because history tends to be written by men of wealth and leisure, the historical approach is usually from "the white gaze," for example, imposing the white subjectivity on the history of African Americans.<sup>33</sup>

Most American history texts discuss slavery from the white male perspective, or lens. Rarely do these texts reveal exactly how life was for the slaves. Oftentimes, slaves are presented as passive domicile servants living in harmony with their white owners. We do not read about their hunger, their hardships, their being at the mercy of the slave

owners. In time, Black Americans, inspired by the civil rights movement in the 1960s, sought to bring their own images and interests to their history.

Likewise, the role of women is given minimal attention in most historical texts. They are often regulated to the background, in the roles of daughters, sisters, wives, or mothers. Their names often appear as an afterthought. Rarely do we know about their lives. Archival holdings of many famous women are often listed under their husbands' names. In the early 1970s, two Women's Studies professors, Sherna Gluck and Daphne Patai, were frustrated by the glaring absence of women in generic historical texts and began to record using the oral history methodology. The research in the field of Women's Studies then became "research by, for and with women."<sup>34</sup> This new consciousness brought forth an explosion of literature on women.

But not all was rosy even then. Women's history focused on the Caucasian population. Classism was clearly at work here then. Feminists Audre Lorde, bell hooks, Angela Davis, and Patricia Hill Collins, however, lamented the absence of their black sisters in this field of Women's Studies, historically and theoretically.<sup>35</sup> Their laments, presented in lectures and essays, moved some women including Carol Berkin and Leslie Horowitz, Linda Kerber and Sharon De Hart, and Sandra Opdycke to write inclusive historical accounts.<sup>36</sup> It would be fair to also say that such inclusiveness is not always evident even in the twenty-first century. For example, cultural historian Marilyn Yalom failed to include Asian and African women in her research on wives.<sup>37</sup>

How can the role of historical studies help with the development of epistemology and methodology? As mentioned earlier, there is a dearth of mention of Deaf people in history texts. But for Deaf women, the dearth is even greater. Come to think of this: have you ever encountered Deaf people in history texts? I have not, not in mainstream academic historical textbooks. Unless you can prove me wrong. But seriously, there have been many famous people who were deaf and made significant contributions to the society: music composer Ludwig van Beethoven (1770–1827), Texan spy Erastus Deaf Smith (1787–1837), sociologist Harriet Martineau (1802–76), inventor Thomas Alva Edison (1847–1931), astronomer Annie Jump Cannon (1863–1941), anthropologist Ruth Fulton Benedict (1887–1948), Girl Scout founder Juliette Gordon Low (1860–1927), to name a few. They were not exactly members of the Deaf community, but they were audiotically deaf. For example, Benedict, a classmate and colleague and possibly lover of Margaret Mead, studied various Native American tribes and taught at Columbia University. Oftentimes, their being deaf is not even mentioned.

How about other significant Deaf people: educator Laurent Clerc (1785–1869), poet John Carlin (1813–91), writer Laura Redden Searing (1840–1923), professional baseball player William Hoy (1862–1961), publisher Robert Palmetto McGregor (1849–1926), activist Fred Schreiber (1901–85), among many others? These were culturally Deaf people who, at one time in their lives, attended state residential schools for the Deaf and made significant social contributions. For example, Searing, a former student at the Missouri School for the Deaf, was sent to cover Washington, D.C., during the Civil War, and interviewed and befriended many politicians including President Abraham Lincoln and General Ulysses S. Grant.

Can the field of Deaf Studies benefit from the insights raised by Lorde, hooks, Davis,

and Collins? What can we begin to do about this absence of Deaf people in history texts? Whose responsibility is it? What do we do about it? What do we need to do to convince the mainstream academic society that many Deaf people merit a mention in such texts? Furthermore, what is the standpoint epistemology, if any, for the study of Deaf women? If we do know these standpoints, how do these overlap (or not)? We now explore the challenges posed by the omission of Deaf women in historical texts and materials.

### Deaf HERstory?

When I began to teach the Deaf Women's Studies course in 1997, I already knew of the great dearth of reading materials by, about, and for Deaf women. But I took up this challenge, not for myself but for students to become aware of this omission. What I had found in the way of reading materials barely scratched the surface, in comparison with the wealth of materials available in Women's Studies. Ingenuity was the name of this game. It then became illogical to require my students to purchase several books when we would read just one chapter from each book. For the first two course offerings, I compiled some articles from journals and books into a notebook and placed them on reserve in the university library. Unfortunately, most of these readings were outdated.

In addition to this challenge was the fact that oftentimes most of the students were rarely knowledgeable about Women's History. This compelled me to focus the first month of the course with an overview on Women's History, starting with the 1848 Seneca Falls Convention. We ended this unit with a tour of the Sewall-Belmont House, which was the headquarters of Alice Paul's National Woman's Party.<sup>38</sup> Having done this, we moved to explore the social role of Deaf women. Again this required creativity on account of scant sources. For the last two course offerings, a new addition made to the Deaf Women's Studies curriculum, the students were required to select a book written either by or about a Deaf woman, review it, and discuss it in class. Their reviews were then showcased in a book display case at the university library, encouraging the students to want to read other books as reviewed by their peers.

To date, there is only one book about the history of Deaf American women by two Deaf women.<sup>39</sup> While I do praise this effort, this is a less than satisfactory attempt because it is an archival work listing Deaf women with data such as birth/death dates, achievements, and anecdotes. It sorely lacks a theoretical framework. A more recent development had emerged from Canada, which again is an archival listing with personal anecdotes.<sup>40</sup>

In 2001, upon invitation to Kentucky's Gallaudet University Alumni Association chapter's annual Gallaudet/Clerc Day celebration, I was asked to speak about Thomas H. Gallaudet and Laurent Clerc. Instead I decided to shift the focus to six influential Deaf women of the nineteenth century, those who lived during the Gallaudet/Clerc era. However, I faced many obstacles in preparing my presentation about Alice Cogswell (1805–30), Eliza Boardman Clerc (1792–1880), Sophia Fowler Gallaudet (1798–1877), Alto Lowman (1869–1912), May Martin (1869–1908), and Agatha Tiegel Hanson (1873–1959). I was already well aware that there are very scant historical documents on Alice prior to her graduation from the Connecticut Asylum for the Education and

Instruction of Deaf and Dumb Persons (CAEIDDP) and none between her graduation and early death. All we know of Alice is her childhood, her few years at the Asylum, and her early death. Nothing is known of her six years after graduation.<sup>41</sup> In addition, there are no photographs of Alice, but a silhouette that has appeared in many texts. Furthermore, we do not know much about Mrs. Cogswell, Alice's mother, who is relegated to the background.

In developing this presentation, I realized that I was guilty of an archival compilation of birth and death dates, and one or two lines of achievements. Most of the information came from Holcomb and Wood's *Deaf Women*. In an attempt to improve the presentation, I went to the Gallaudet University Archives to seek more information about these six women's achievements. Along with the three archivists there, we could find only their obituaries. Not much was said about their achievements beyond being students. For example, Elizabeth and Sophia were mentioned among the earliest students at CAEIPPD. Additionally, the three archivists and I already knew that in 1890 May Martin suggested that Gallaudet University establish a student-run newspaper known as *The Buff and Blue*. Although her brainstorm, she was not selected as the editor-in-chief. Instead a man was chosen. This factual information was not even in the May Martin file, but in the *Buff and Blue* file.

Because of such scantiness in this presentation, I fleshed it out with the history of the 1887 admittance of women to the college. This first group of women included Ella F. Black (Indiana), Georgianna Elliott (Illinois),<sup>42</sup> Anna L. Kurtz (Indiana), Hattie A. Leffler (Pennsylvania), Alto May Lowman (Maryland), and Margaret Ellen Rudd (Nebraska). Again, the archivists and I dug into files, coming up somewhat empty-handed except that Lowman was honored as the first female graduate of the college.<sup>43</sup> Nevertheless, the presentation was quite a hit in Kentucky, prompting the audience into thinking about their Deaf foremothers who may have made social achievements or contributions. I also hope that there has been some action since, perhaps in the way of school or class projects, searching the Kentucky School for the Deaf library and archives, as well as interviewing their Deaf retired employees and graduates.

Few other published works about Deaf women tend to focus on the management of motherhood in terms of language acquisition.<sup>44</sup> These pieces emerged from research projects studying how Deaf mothers, regardless of the hearing status of their offspring, can be linguistic and cultural role models for hearing parents with deaf infants. For example, my 1995 chapter described how a Deaf mother used fingerspelling with her daughter from five weeks old to four years old.<sup>45</sup> Other journal articles and dissertations about Deaf women address educational, employment, and social issues.<sup>46</sup> In addition, it is interesting to note that only three authors mentioned in this endnote are Deaf themselves: Kelly, Jauregui, and Singleton.

While there are several dissertations with Deaf women at their centerpieces, there are only two known ethnographic dissertations that explore directly the meaning of the term "gender" among Deaf women.<sup>47</sup> Both Doe and I set out to interview a small pool of Deaf women to learn how they construct the social meaning of gendered terms such as "gender," "sex," "feminism," and "patriarchy." Doe's informants were Canadians who attended Deaf residential schools. My ASL teacher-informants had various educational

experiences, ranging from being the only Deaf student in a public school to attending an oral program to having lived their entire childhood in a state residential school. One of the commonalities among all of my informants was graduating from Gallaudet College.<sup>48</sup> Yet, and in spite of the eight years' gap in Doe's and my works and the distant locations of research, we both reached the same conclusion: "gender," "sex," "feminism," and "patriarchy" were not actively part of their vocabularies. Does this linguistic omission indicate a lack of historical knowledge? In addition, both groups of women identified themselves primarily as Deaf persons rather than Deaf women.

Additionally, not only are Deaf women or Deaf people often overlooked in mainstream publications, but literature about them also tends to be "degendered." That is, Deaf women are rarely given significant space. Pedagogical research in the education of deaf children rarely separates the sexes. We do not know, for example, if there are different learning strategies for deaf girls and boys, whereas we do know this difference from research conducted on hearing adolescents.<sup>49</sup> It would be interesting if researchers would take upon themselves to explore if there are any significant differences between deaf girls and deaf boys. In spite of its attention to issues of marginalization and oppression by the dominant hearing culture, the field of Deaf Studies has yet to include the study of the Deaf female experience.

#### New Directions?

The Deaf women's view of themselves as Deaf persons rather than as Deaf women leads me to wonder if the serious absence of Deaf women, or even Deaf people, in generic historical texts is responsible for this perception. Had they been aware of achievements made by other Deaf women, especially in the late nineteenth century, would they have a different self-perception? How do we bring forth this awareness?

With apologies to my colleagues Lane, Hoffmeister, and Bahan who coauthored together, I profess much disappointment that their 1996 *Journey into the Deaf-World* has only one paragraph on page 162 discussing Deaf women. Historians Van Cleve and Crouch have written a widely read and popular historical account of the development of the American Deaf community.<sup>50</sup> I have yet to meet a Deaf Studies scholar who has not read this text. Still, this text was written from a hearing white male perspective. More recently is Wayne Coffey, which is indeed a fascinating read, however, written by a hearing white man.<sup>51</sup> As I look at my own bookshelves at home, I find so few books written by culturally Deaf women: Padden, Holcomb and Wood, Jankowski, Brueggemann.<sup>52</sup> Most Deaf-related historical texts on my shelves are written by hearing men: Battison, Winefield, Schuchman, Sacks, Schein, Lane, Preston, Baynton, Wrigley, Armstrong, Stokoe, among other books that focus on Deaf Culture as well.<sup>53</sup> Some of the ASL teacher-informants interviewed for my dissertation also lamented the high number of hearing people writing our histories.

In teaching the Deaf Women's Studies course, I am always faced with the dilemma of a lack of substantial reading materials on Deaf women. How do we improve this sorry lacking state of literature on the Deaf female body? One idea is to encourage Deaf women to donate, or will, their written materials, photographs, and artwork, especially

journals, to the Gallaudet University Archives or their state residential school for the Deaf. This would encourage young Deaf Studies scholars to research and to publish to expand the repertoire of historical texts to be available to future generations to come.

Furthermore, curricula for most of the Introduction to Deaf Studies and Deaf Culture courses seem to be based on a white male construction. An exploration of current materials shows a glaring omission of the Deaf female experience. Not only is that missing, but also the diversity within the Deaf community, such as Black people, Hispanics, Asians, Gay/Lesbians, Native Americans, and now women. Why this omission? In other words, why should white hearing people, or men, care about us? Write about us? Include us in historical texts? How have the others been writing about us? Why are they doing that? What new directions should we undertake, to encourage the inclusion of the Deaf female experience, the Deaf experience even, in generic historical texts?

In writing this essay, I realize that I posed more questions than answers. But then I hope these questions bring forth more food for thought for you.

### Notes

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6. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, *History of Woman Suffrage*, 6 vols. (New York: self-published by S. B. Anthony, 1881).
7. Kerber and De Hart, *Women's America*, 4.
8. While the beginnings of the women's movement in America can be traced to 1848 when Stanton and Anthony organized the first Woman's Rights convention in Seneca Falls, it took over a century for Women's Studies to emerge. Women began to reconsider their social roles during the Vietnam War era. Student radicals then organized "teach-ins," rallies, and marches and closed down college campuses. Women were active participants in these activities; however, many felt dismissed by their male compatriots: Sandra Opdycke, *The Routledge Historical Atlas of Women in America* (New York: Routledge, 2000). Women typed and filed while men made public statements; women offered suggestions and men made policy; women cooked and cleaned antiwar offices. The women's movement and Women's Studies then emerged first in San Diego in 1970, setting the stage for a new paradigm in cultural studies programs: B. Luebke and M. E. Reilly, *Women's Studies Graduates: The First Generation* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1997).
9. William C. Stokoe, Carl G. Croneberg, and Dorothy S. Casterline, *A Dictionary of American Sign Language on Linguistic Principles* (Washington, D.C.: Gallaudet College Press, 1965).
10. For the history of the Deaf Studies field, see Charles N. Katz, "A Comparative Analysis of Deaf, Women, and Black Studies," *Deaf Studies IV Conference Proceedings: Visions of the Past - Visions of the Future* (Washington, D.C.: Gallaudet University College for Continuing Education, 1996), 133-48; Arlene Blumenthal Kelly, "A Brief History on the Field of Deaf Studies," *Disability Studies Quarterly* 18, no. 2 (1998): 118-24.
11. Nancy Hartsock, "The Feminist Standpoint: Developing the Ground for a Specifically Feminist Historical Materialism," in *Discovering Reality: Feminist Perspectives on Epistemology, Metaphysics, Methodology, and Philosophy of Science*, ed. Sandra Harding and Merrill Hintikka (Boston: D. Reidel, 1983), 283-310.
12. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Manifesto of the Communist Party* (New York: International Press, 1948). It is interesting to note that the first woman convention in Seneca Falls was held in 1848, the same year that the Manifesto of the Communist Party appeared. Note that the Manifesto came out in 1848, but it was not for another one hundred years that it became available in English.
13. Nancy Hartsock, *The Feminist Standpoint Revisited and Other Essays* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1998), 285-88.
14. Diane L. Wolf, "Situating Feminist Dilemmas in Fieldwork," in *Feminist Dilemmas in Fieldwork* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1996), 13.
15. Sandra Harding, *Whose Science? Whose Knowledge? Thinking from Women's Lives* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991).
16. E. Hirsch and G. A. Olson, "Starting from Marginalized Lives: A Conversation with Sandra Harding," *JAC* 15, no. 2 (1995): <http://www.jac.gsu.edu> (site now discontinued; last accessed June 13, 2006).
17. Ila Parasnis, ed., *Cultural and Language Diversity and the Deaf Experience* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 13.
18. This phenomenon is discussed in various texts but not limited to the following: Carol Padden and Tom Humphries, *Deaf in America: Voices from a Culture* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988); Parasnis, *Cultural and Language Diversity and the Deaf Experience*; Harlan Lane, Robert Hoffmeister, and Ben Bahan, *A Journey into the Deaf-World* (San Diego: DawnSignPress, 1996); Arlene Blumenthal Kelly, "How Deaf Women Construct Teaching, Language and Culture, and Gender: An Ethnographic Study of ASL Teachers" (PhD diss., American Studies, University of Maryland, College Park, 2001).
19. Parasnis, *Cultural and Language Diversity and the Deaf Experience*, 13.
20. Kelly, "How Deaf Women Construct Teaching, Language and Culture, and Gender," 254-56.
21. Hartsock, *Feminist Standpoint Revisited*.
22. Liz Stanley, "Methodology Matters!" in *Introducing Women's Studies*, ed. Victoria Robinson and Diane Richardson (New York: New York University Press, 1997), 209.
23. Norman Denzin and Yvonna Lincoln, *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage, 1994), 99.
24. Thomas Schweizer, "Epistemology: The Nature and Validation of Anthropological Knowledge," in *Handbook of Methods in Cultural Anthropology*, ed. H. Russell Bernard (Walnut Creek, Calif.: Alta-Mira Press, 1998), 39.
25. Denzin and Lincoln, *Handbook of Qualitative Research*, 99.
26. Schweizer, "Epistemology," 40.
27. Stanley, "Methodology Matters!" 198.
28. Ibid.
29. J. Fernandez and M. Herzfeld, "In Search of Meaningful Methods," in Bernard, *Handbook of Methods in Cultural Anthropology*, 93.
30. Sherryl Kleinman, Barbara Stenross, and Martha McMahon, "Privileging Fieldwork over Interviews: Consequences for Identity and Practice," *Symbolic Interaction* 17, no. 1 (1994): 40.
31. Maulana Karenga, *Introduction to Black Studies* (Los Angeles: University of Sankore Press, 1993), 70.
32. Ibid., 71.
33. G. Lipsitz, "Listening to Learn and Learning to Listen: Popular Culture, Cultural Theory, and American Studies," *American Quarterly* 42 (1990): 615-36.
34. Sherna Gluck and Daphne Patai, *Women's Words: The Feminist Practice of Oral History* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 1.
35. Their issues were raised in the following works: Audre Lorde, "The Master's Tools Will Never

- Dismantle the Master's House," in *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches* (Freedom, Calif.: Crossing Press, 1984), 110–13; bell hooks, *Feminism Is for Everybody: Passionate Politics* (Cambridge: South End Press, 2000); Angela Davis, *Women, Race and Class* (New York: Random House, 1981); Patricia Hill Collins, "The Social Construction of Black Feminist Thought," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 14, no. 4 (1989): 745–73.
36. Carol Berkin and Leslie Horowitz, *Women's Voices, Women's Lives: Documents in Early American History* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1998); Kerber and De Hart, *Women's America*; Opydycke, *Routledge Historical Atlas of Women in America*.
37. Marilyn Yalom, *A History of the Wife* (New York: Harper Collins, 2001).
38. Alice Paul (1885–1977) is credited for forming the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage in 1913, which evolved into the National Woman's Party in 1917. See Shelia Tobias, *Faces of Feminism: An Activist's Reflections on the Women's Movement* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1997); Kerber and De Hart, *Women's America*.
39. Mabel Holcomb and Sharon Kay Wood, *Deaf Women: A Parade through the Decades* (Berkeley: DawnSignPress, 1989). This text is currently out of print.
40. Hilde M. Campbell, Jo-Anne Robinson, and Angela P. Stratiy, *Deaf Women of Canada: A Proud History and Exciting Future* (Edmonton, Alberta: Duval House, 2002).
41. There is only one known text describing the Cogswell family: Betty Young, *The Chain of Love* (Bloomfield, Conn.: P & S Services, 1997).
42. For more information about Georgianna Elliott Hasenstab, see B. E. Kraftt, *A Goodly Heritage* (Columbus, Ga.: Brentwood Christian Press: 1989), which is now out of print. While searching for this reference online, I came up with three listings for her reverend husband, Philip J. Hasenstab, however nothing on Georgianna herself. I ended up e-mailing a request to Archivist Michael Olson for the bibliographic information.
43. Many thanks to archivists Ulf Hedberg, Michael Olson, and Drew Budai.
44. Kay P. Meadow, M. T. Greenberg, Carol J. Erting, and H. Carmichael, "Interactions of Deaf Mothers and Deaf Preschool Children: Comparisons with Three Other Groups of Deaf and Hearing Dyads," *American Annals of the Deaf* 126 (1981): 454–68; Kay P. Meadow, M. T. Greenberg, and Carol J. Erting, "Attachment Behavior of Deaf Children with Deaf Parents," in *Annual Progress in Child Psychiatry and Child Development*, ed. Stella Chess and Alexander Thomas (New York: Brunner/Mazel, 1985), 176–87; Lynne S. Koester, "Intuitive Parenting as a Model for Understanding Parent-Infant Interaction When One Partner Is Deaf," *American Annals of the Deaf* 137 (1992): 362–69; Arlene Blumenthal Kelly, "Fingerspelling Interaction: A Set of Deaf Parents and Their Deaf Daughter," in *Sociolinguistics in Deaf Communities*, vol. 1, ed. Ceil Lucas (Washington, D.C.: Gallaudet University Press, 1995), 62–73; Patricia Spencer and Amy R. Lederberg, "Different Modes, Different Models: Communication and Language in Young Deaf Children and Their Mothers," in *Communication and Language Acquisition: Discoveries from Atypical Development*, ed. Lauren Adamson and Mary Ann Ronski (Baltimore: Paul H. Brookes, 1997), 203–230.
45. I was recently invited to revise this chapter for a 2003 edition of *Odyssey* of which Dr. Jane K. Fernandes is the guest editor. In doing so, I revisited the girl featured in the chapter, now a teenager, to see how early fingerspelling acquisition had aided her academically and socially.
46. Kelly, "Fingerspelling Interaction"; Gaylene Becker and Joanne Jauregui, "The Invisible Isolation of Deaf Women: Its Effects on Social Awareness," *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare* 8, no. 2 (1981): 249–62; N. Jones, "Don't Take Any Aprons to College!" (master's thesis, Gallaudet College, 1982); Janet MacLeod-Gallinger, "The Career Status of Deaf Women: A Comparative Look," *American Annals of the Deaf* 137 (1992): 315–25; Patti M. Singleton, "Leadership Style, Personality Types and Demographic Profiles of Deaf Female Administrators in Educational Programs for Deaf Students" (PhD diss., Administration and Supervision, Gallaudet University, 1994).
47. Tanis M. Doe, "Gender with Deaf Women and Their Sisters" (PhD dissertation, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1993); Kelly, "How Deaf Women Construct Teaching, Language and Culture, and Gender."

48. The youngest informant in my study graduated in 1983, three years before the College became a University.
49. Examples include but not limited to Mary Belensky, Blythe Clinchy, Nancy Goldberger, and Jill Tarule, *Women's Ways of Knowing: The Development of Self, Voice, and Mind* (New York: Basic Books, 1986); Christiane Brusselmanns-Dehairs, *Gender Differences in Learning Achievement: Evidence from Cross-National Surveys* (Paris: Bernan Associates, 1997).
50. John Van Cleve and Barry Crouch, *A Place of Their Own: Creating the Deaf Community in America* (Washington, D.C.: Gallaudet University Press, 1989).
51. Wayne Coffey, *Winning Sounds Like This: A Season with the Women's Basketball Team at Gallaudet, the World's Only University for the Deaf* (New York: Crown, 2002).
52. Carol Padden, *Interaction of Morphology and Syntax in American Sign Language* (New York: Garland, 1988); Holcomb and Wood, *Deaf Women: A Parade through the Decades*; Katherine Jankowski, *Deaf Empowerment: Emergence, Struggle, and Rhetoric* (Washington, D.C.: Gallaudet University Press, 1997); Brenda J. Brueggemann, *Lend Me Your Ear: Rhetorical Constructions of Deafness* (Washington, D.C.: Gallaudet University Press, 1999).
53. Robbin Battison, *Lexical Borrowing in American Sign Language* (Silver Spring, Md.: Linstok Press, 1978); Richard Winefield, *Never the Twain Shall Meet: The Communications Debate* (Washington, D.C.: Gallaudet University Press 1987); John Stanley Schuchman, *Hollywood Speaks: Deafness and the Film Entertainment Industry* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988); Oliver Sacks, *Seeing Voices: A Journey into the World of the Deaf* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989); Jerome Schein, *At Home among Strangers: Exploring the Deaf Community in the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Gallaudet University Press, 1989); Harlan Lane, *When the Mind Hears: A History of the Deaf* (New York: Random House, 1984); Paul Preston, *Mother Father Deaf: Living between Sound and Silence* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1994); Douglas Baynton, *Forbidden Signs: American Culture and the Campaign against Sign Language* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); Owen Wrigley, *The Politics of Deafness* (Washington, D.C.: Gallaudet University Press, 1996); Harlan Lane, *The Mask of Benevolence: Disabling the Deaf Community*, 2nd ed. (San Diego: DawnSignPress, 1999); David Armstrong, *Original Signs: Gesture, Sign, and the Sources of Language* (Washington, D.C.: Gallaudet University Press, 1999); William C. Stokoe, *Language in Hand: Why Sign Came before Speech* (Washington, D.C.: Gallaudet University Press, 2001).