Seattle Disability Activism

Historic Context Study

December 20, 2024

Prepared by Heritage Conservation Consultants, LLC
Gail Dubrow and Laura Leppink

For the Seattle Department of Neighborhoods
Michael de Lange, Project Manager

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Executive Summary

Executive Summary

The Seattle Department of Neighborhood's Historic Preservation Program conserves the city's heritage through its historically meaningful places. For too long the historic preservation movement neglected the histories of marginalized communities and failed to include cultural resources associated with them in the National Register of Historic Places. Having been awarded a Certified Local Government Grant from the National Park Service via Washington State's Department of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, the City of Seattle is working with consultants and communities to identify places significant in disability activism history. This historic context study on disability activism is the first, but not the last effort by the Seattle Department of Neighborhoods to engage people with disabilities and their communities in the process of planning for the preservation, interpretation, and commemoration of Seattle's heritage.

Disability activism was chosen as the focus of this historic context study to center the agency of people with disabilities. The voices of those who have led and contributed to the struggles that have improved the lives of people with disabilities in the city and region are needed to tell this story. To build on the consultants' research about the city's history of disability activism, the Department of Neighborhoods appointed an advisory committee to ensure that the individuals and organizations central to the stories included here provided guidance. The study includes brief profiles of community organizations, key activists, and significant moments in the civil rights and social justice movements within the larger narrative of disability activism.

Four major themes in Seattle's history of disability activism frame this study. These themes make it easier to understand change over time in activist approaches, goals, and progress toward equity. These themes include, One: The Rise of State Institutions for People with Disabilities; Two: The Rise of Disability Activism in the Progressive Era; Three: Civil Rights Era of Disability Activism; and Four: Activism in the Disability Justice Movement. The themes follow a rough chronological order, but the developments they encompass often extend to subsequent periods. Following the theme study, the consultants made recommendations in consultation with the Department of Neighborhoods for future action to conserve, interpret, and commemorate properties associated with the history of disability activism. Finally, the appendices include a list of resources, relevant properties, and provisions for future reader comments and errata.

The study itself does not enact laws or designate places, but it is a first step to fully integrating the important stories of people with disabilities into the City's preservation efforts and enhancing public awareness through place-based commemoration, interpretation, and education.

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- A special thanks is warranted to our community reviewers who contributed useful leads about potential contacts and resources for documenting this history. They were knowledgeable about aspects of disability history the consultants otherwise might have overlooked taking the study in original directions.
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Land Acknowledgement
Department of Neighborhoods

We acknowledge that this study documents stories that happened on Indigenous land, the traditional territories of Coast Salish peoples. We further acknowledge that the concepts of disability discussed are rooted in the settler colonial culture that founded the City of Seattle.

Project Scope

Periods of Disability Activism History

To better define the scope of this project, the consultants have referred to scholars and activists in disability studies and disability history.[1] These sources provide the national context and a basis for understanding the more specific histories tied to Washington State and the City of Seattle. In defining the relevant time period for this project, scholars consistently point to the long history of disability activism and rights, well before what we now think of as the Civil Rights era of the 1950s to 1990s.[2] This legacy of early disability activism history is essential to understanding how the Disability Rights Movement has built upon itself over time, going from a narrower focus on basic rights to appropriate education, healthcare, and work, to one that includes universal accessibility and full agency, and participation in cultural and community life.

The four themes listed below reflect how the focus of disability activism has evolved over time. Under each theme, which is roughly organized chronologically, the consultants document Seattle's history of disability activism. This thematic organization cuts across disabilities, making it possible to perceive wider patterns in the development of social movements by and for people with disabilities. In addition to disability studies and disability history scholarship, we also use the descriptions and definitions as outlined in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UNCRPD) to frame our work, which identified accessibility and full participation in all aspects of life as fundamental human rights.[3]

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[1] We have drawn on key disability historians in both broadly framing this project as well as providing context for each theme. Resources we have drawn on can be found in the Resource List at the end of the report.

[2] Perri Meldon, "Disability History: The Disability Rights Movement," Telling All Americans' Stories Disability History Series, National Park Service, accessed April 4, 2024, https://www.nps.gov/articles/disabilityhistoryrightsmovement.htm; Institute on Disabilities, "Disability Rights Timeline," Temple University, accessed April 4, 2024, https://disabilities.temple.edu/resources/disability-rights-timeline.

[3] Department of Economic and Social Affairs, *Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD)*, United Nations, accessed September 16, 2024, https://www.un.org/development/desa/disabilities/convention-on-the-rights-of-persons-with-Disabilities.html.

Thematic Framework

The consultants organized this study into four themes that focus on the struggles and resulting activism advanced by people with disabilities in Seattle and Washington State in their efforts to secure basic human and civil rights. Although the themes are organized chronologically, they are not confined to discrete periods because depending on the disability and broader social factors, movements overlapped and extended into subsequent periods. The themes include, One: The Rise of State Institutions for People with Disabilities; Two: The Rise of Disability Activism in the Progressive Era; Three: Civil Rights Era of Disability Activism; and Four: Activism in the Disability Justice Movement.

Theme One is foundational, addressing the rise of state institutions for people with disabilities. While these institutions were driven by broader social reform movements, they do not necessarily fit the study's explicit focus on disability activism. Yet, because the state's definition of who was considered disabled and its treatment regimes shaped the lives of all who existed outside of the normative standard of able bodied and able minded citizens, the rise of state institutions seeded disability activism across the long arc of the 20th-century.

Theme Two addresses the rise of disability activism beginning in the Progressive Era, a period marked by organizations fighting for the rights of people with particular disabilities, especially the blind and deaf. This period also saw the introduction of benefits for veterans with disabilities, and the rise of the eugenics movement, especially its impact at state institutions.

Theme Three is the largest section covering the Civil Rights era of disability activism. This era is characterized by the myriad of disability advocacy organizations, including those working across different disabilities. Sub-themes include Connecting Federal, State, and Local Activism; Deinstitutionalization; Community Care in Group Homes and Small-Scale Residential Settings; Accessible Design; LGBTQ+ Healthcare & Community Response to HIV/AIDS Crisis; Transportation and Accessible Municipal Services; Disability Advocacy Organizations including Parental Advocacy and Activism, State-Level Protection and Advocacy for People with Disabilities, Mental Health Services, and DeafBlind Services.

Theme Four brings this document up to the time of this study's publication by highlighting some of the values, organizing principles, and practices of the Disability Justice Movement from the 1990s to the present. While movements arising in previous eras continued to operate, providing employment, education, housing, and other services for people with disabilities, in its most recent iteration, the movement for disability justice can be characterized by several distinctive features not typically prevalent in the Civil Rights Era.

Framing Disability Conceptually

Framing Disability Conceptually

The consultants want to recognize the wide range of disabilities, both chronic and temporary, that make it impossible to address each in the depth it deserves. As articulated by nationally recognized scholars in disability history, disability is a complex concept that is difficult to define.

> Saying that one studies disability history may appear to be a straightforward, uncomplicated assertion, but its meaning, like that of so many other things in history, is open to interpretation. Disability history lends itself to a broad array of topics and concerns, precisely because the term "disability" defies easy definition. No consensus on what clearly delimits disability has emerged, perhaps because human bodies and the societies within which they live are by their nature unstable…The possible definitions are compounded when we begin to think across the span of human history. Disability historians draw attention to multiple ways of experiencing disability and the historical forces–and individual agency–that shape those experiences, while also acknowledging and analyzing commonalities that persist over time.[4]

Disability Studies scholars offer a reminder that disability identity is influenced by context and that the difference between disabled and non-disabled is fluid. Disability history reveals that institutionalization included the confinement of BIPoC people for exhibiting behaviors regarded as "uncivilized," the institutionalization of LGBTQ+ people for non-conforming behavior, and efforts to discipline those deemed "undesirable." Disability scholars also tell us that disability as an identity is not monolithic.[5] Experiences of disability can change over time, and each disabled and non-disabled person experiences disability and ableism differently. The intersections of race, class, gender, sexuality, and other categories of social analysis must be kept in mind to prevent any particular disability alone from becoming the predominant lens for interpreting the city's disability histories.[6]

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[4] Michael Rembis, Catherine Kudlick, and Kim E. Nielsen, "Introduction," in *The Oxford Handbook of Disability History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018).

[5] Mia Mingus, "Changing the Framework: Disability Justice, How our communities can move beyond access to wholeness," *Leaving Evidence*, February 12, 2011, accessed September 2, 2023, https://leavingevidence.wordpress.com/2011/02/12/changing-the-framework-disability-justice/.

[6] For more information on the intersectionality and disability see: Kimberlé Crenshaw, "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics," *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 1, no 8 (1989): 139-167, https://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1052&context=uclf; Akemi Nishida, "Understanding political development through an intersectionality framework: Life stories of disability activists," *Disability Studies Quarterly* 36, no. 2 (2016), https://doi.org/10.18061/dsq.v36i2.4449; Gail Dubrow and Donna Graves, "Taking Intersectionality Seriously," *Public Historian* 41, no. 2 (2019): 290–316.

Terminology

Past terminology used to label people with disabilities has also been used to demean them. For that reason, we take great care to use terminology that is free of outmoded stigmas and judgements and which recognizes the full humanity of people with disabilities. We recognize definitions or conceptions of disability and its causes have changed dramatically over the course of the 19th and 20th centuries, in many cases removing or lessening stigmas attached to outmoded moral, medical, and charity models of disability. This study recognizes the material reality of many forms of disability while continually accounting for social and cultural beliefs that created barriers to equitable treatment for those labeled "disabled" in any time period. We adopt vocabulary for discussing disability recommended by contemporary scholars and activists, for example, preferring the terms such as "people with disabilities" rather than "handicapped." Outmoded and stigma-laden terms such as "lame," "indigent," or "dumb" are only used when quoting primary sources or in an organizational name used in the period.[7]

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[7] See the following reference material here for more information on historic terminology and preferred terms for speaking and writing about disability: Rachel Adams, Benjamin Reiss, and David Serlin, eds., *Keywords for Disability Studies* (New York, NY: New York University Press, 2015); United Nations Disability Inclusion Strategy, *Disability-Inclusive Language Guidelines*, United Nations, https://www.ungeneva.org/sites/default/files/2021-01/Disability-Inclusive-Language-Guidelines.pdf; Labib Rahman, "Disability Language Guide," Stanford Disability Initiative Board, accessed September 16, 2024, https://disability.stanford.edu/sites/g/files/sbiybj26391/files/media/file/disability-language-guide-stanford_1.pdf; ADA National Network, "Guidelines for Writing About People With Disabilities," accessed September 16, 2024, https://adata.org/factsheet/ADANN-writing; National Disability Rights Network, "Communicating About People with Disabilities," September 8, 2020, accessed September 16, 2024, https://www.ndrn.org/resource/communicating-about-people-with-disabilities/.

Interpretive Models of Disability

Activists and scholars in Disability Studies and history have developed several interpretive models illuminating the varied approaches and assumptions framing work in the field. Because these frameworks have shifted and changed over time and may be operating simultaneously, a critical reading of historical sources points to the value of clearly articulating the interpretive models of disability underlying source material.

These models "present a certain way of viewing disability based on people's perceptions, beliefs, and experiences rather than research data…[and] definitions and conceptualizations of disability presented in models reflects the worldview of specific time periods and cultures."[8] The consultants apply these models as a way to understand historical perspectives on disability and to craft a more equitable approach to interpreting the history of disability activism. This study primarily draws on the Medical, Moral, Charity, Social, Human Rights, and Environmental models, while also considering how they intersect.

These models underlie the historical development of various disability rights movements and may be present in any given era. We recognize that disability is not merely a social construction but often a physical and/or medical reality. Nevertheless, it is important to advance the notion that people of all abilities have a right to equal justice.

Medical Model

The medical model of disability is also referred to as medicalization or biomedical model of disability. Essentially, the medical model seeks a "fix" or "cure" for impairments rather than changing the environment to remove barriers or seek acceptance of human differences. The critique of the medical model does not deny the real medical needs and interventions people may need but instead asks people to see an individual as more than their diagnosed impairment. However, reducing disability to the subjects of treatment, cures, and fixes is too narrow a framework for understanding disability. The medical model is one of the most common conceptualizations of disability but risks characterizing any deviation from the average or "normal" as in need of correction. As outlined in *Disability in Higher Education*, the medical model makes the following assumptions:

A. "Disability is located only in the body,
B. a person's problems are caused by the person's impairment,[9]
C. disabled persons are "victims" who must learn to handle the circumstances they face,

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[8] Nancy J. Evans, Ellen M. Broido, Kirsten R. Brown, and Autumn K. Wilke, *Disability in Higher Education: A Social Justice Approach* (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 2017): 54.

[9] Rephrased, this point might read: the disabled person is the cause of their own problems and bears personal responsibility for solving them.

D. how disabled persons view themselves and compare themselves to others centers around their disabilities, and
E. people who have disabilities need help and support."[10]

In Theme One, the medical treatments provided in state-run institutions such as Northern State Hospital between (1912-1973) reflected a medical model for treating insanity. Over time, various scientific explanations were posed, and medical treatments were administered in an effort to eliminate the sources of patients' mental illnesses.[11] Not all of the methods worked. More recently, the rise of specialized hospitals to treat children with disabilities reflects the medical model of disability, which presumes disability is something to be treated through the medical system and is sufficient as a remedy societally.

Moral Model

The moral model of disability, also known as the morality or religious model, has one of the longest histories and conceptualizes impairment as the result of a person's "sins" or moral failures. Although this model is less popular today, its impacts can still be traced to contemporary language, culture, and beliefs. For example, "when individuals are viewed as having played a direct role in their impairment, such as those with AIDS, Type 2 diabetes, obesity, or addictions…it is viewed as acceptable to blame these individuals for their disabilities and even to exclude them from protection under the Americans With Disabilities Act Amendments Act."[12]

The moral model operated both positively and negatively at state-run institutions whenever judgments about worthiness were involved. It applied equally to blaming inmates for the causes of their confinement and to rewarding soldiers for virtuous but incapacitating service. The state's earliest carceral institutions, prisons especially, blamed inmates for causing their predicaments. On the other hand, state-run institutions, such as the Washington Soldiers' Home and Colony, reflect a positive moral ascription of worthiness toward those who served their country.

Charity Model

The charity model of disability identifies the individual as having a problem and tends to view persons with disabilities as dependents or victims while centering their impairment in defining their identity. In this model, people with disabilities are often seen as in need of care and services due to their passivity and suffering, and regarded as the responsibility of the family,

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[10] Michelle Fine and Adrienne Asch, "Disability beyond Stigma: Social Interaction, Discrimination, and Activism," as cited in Nancy J. Evans, Ellen M. Broido, Kirsten R. Brown, and Autumn K. Wilke, *Disability in Higher Education: A Social Justice Approach*, 57-58.

[11] Sydney Brownstone, "The Lost Patients of Washington's abandoned psychiatric hospital" *Seattle Times*, July 16, 2023, accessed June 24, 2024, https://projects.seattletimes.com/2023/local/lost-patients-WA-abandoned-psychiatric-hospital/.

[12] Nancy J. Evans, Ellen M. Broido, Kirsten R. Brown, and Autumn K. Wilke, *Disability in Higher Education: A Social Justice Approach*, 56.

community, and society to provide them with resources. Charitable approaches to care and advocacy have shaped the lives of children and adults with intellectual and developmental disabilities, particularly because they have been regarded as incapable of advocating for themselves. Seattle Goodwill and Easterseals are examples of organizations founded on the charity model. Over time, people with disabilities served by these types of organizations have challenged the patronizing and disempowering aspects of their approach.

Social Model

The social model of disability was developed in reaction to the individualistic perspective central to the medical and moral models. This model regards disability as a socially constructed phenomenon implemented within social policies, spaces, and systems.[13] As the Disability Advocacy Resource Unit summarizes, the Social Model "Asserts that the limitations experienced by people with disability are the result of inaccessible systems and processes in mainstream society."[14] The social model assumes collective responsibility to create environments supporting full participation no matter what type of disability someone may have. In this report, Theme Three: Civil Rights Era of Disability Activism reflects the emergence of a social model of disability in its challenges to discriminatory policies and practices in housing, transportation, and other public services. Ida Daly's advocacy for securing a Handicapped Center and building affordable and accessible housing reflects the rise of the social model of disability. Paul Kirk's design for Center Park was an early example of efforts to address disability by providing access.

Human Rights Model

The human rights model is based on the social model of disability and shares the premise that society needs to change to advance inclusion, equity, and justice.[15] It is rooted in the principle that accessibility is a human right. This model was developed in the context of the 2006 United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UNCRPD). This approach sees people with disabilities as having their own agency as individuals, change-makers, citizens, and rights holders. Like the social model, it seeks to transform unjust systems and practices, rather than individual impairment. The human rights model is best reflected in more recent examples in Theme Four: Activism in the Disability Justice Movement. While few physical spaces have been designed to mirror the values asserted in this model, many

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[13] Disability Advocacy Resource Unit, "Understanding models of disability," January 31, 2019, accessed September 16, 2024, https://daru.org.au/daru-publication/how-we-talk-about-disability-matters/.

[14] Disability Advocacy Resource Unit, "Understanding models of disability."

[15] Disability Advocacy Resource Unit, "Introducing the human rights model of disability," January 31, 2019, accessed September 16, 2024, https://daru.org.au/daru-publication/how-we-talk-about-disability-matters/introducing-the-human-rights-model-of-disability/.

events in the arts and culture arenas subscribe to principles and practices associated with inclusion. The rise of Disability Studies, including at the University of Washington, reflects the human rights model. Similarly, temporary programming for "Crip" art, theater, and dance performances typically employ best practices in an intersectional approach to accessibility.

Environmental Model

"The Environmental Model of disability places the "problem" of disability in the individual's physical environment and postulates the environment can cause, define, or exacerbate disability. Mitigation, therefore, of the consequences of disability requires addressing disabling, unresponsive, or insensitive environments. Curb cutouts for persons who use a wheelchair, grab bars in a bathroom for persons with limited coordination or mobility or crossing signals that chirp for persons with visual impairments are all examples of environmental adaptations that can help promote functioning in persons with disabilities."[16] In Theme Four: Activism in the Disability Justice Movement, the Seattle Children's PlayGarden embraces this model to create an environment that is accessible to all.

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[16] Michael Gerald, "Four Models of Disability," Coloplast, accessed July 15, 2024.

Major Themes

Theme One: The Rise of State Institutions for People with Disabilities

The last quarter of the 19th century witnessed the rise of state-funded and administered institutions for people with disabilities, including those considered "feeble," deaf, "mute," blind, or "insane." The 1889 transition from being an organized incorporated territory of the United States to admission to the Union triggered the rise of Washington State policies and programs that assumed responsibility for the care and/or education of people with disabilities. In the terms of the day, people with purported "defects" were among those for whom institutions were developed. Among the earliest established institutions were asylums for the "unfriended insane," whose care was the responsibility of the territorial government and later Washington State. Because these residential institutions served the entire state, they were not located in Seattle; however, Seattleites who were considered "feeble-minded," "insane," or otherwise "defective" were placed in these facilities. These ideas often intersect with other forms of discrimination and marginalization, such as gender, sex, class, and indigeneity.[17]

While the rise of institutions cannot be considered disability activism *per se*, the process of defining who was and was not "defective" was deeply shaped in this period. Consequently, the subject of state institution-building is essential to the long history of disability activism. As Perri Meldon has written, in the context of providing an overview of the Disability Rights Movement for the National Park Service,

> Treatment and perceptions of disability have undergone transformation since the 1900s. This has happened largely because people with disabilities have demanded and created those changes. Like other civil rights movements, the Disability Rights Movement has a long history. Examples of activism can be found among various disability groups dating back to the 1800s.[18]

This theme provides a basis for understanding subsequent movements to distinguish asylums for the incorrigible from schools for the educable; develop regimes of treatment and

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Properties bolded in orange are included in Appendix B: Properties Significant in Seattle Disability Activism History.

[17] For more on medical discrimination based on gender see Elizabeth Comen, *All in Her Head* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2024); on intersections of disability and sexual orientation are addressed by Margot Canaday, *The Straight State: Sexuality and Citizenship in Twentieth-Century America* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2009); on eugenics and class are covered in Molly Ladd-Taylor, *Fixing the Poor: Eugenic Sterilization and Child Welfare in the Twentieth Century* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2017) and Edwin Black, *War Against the Weak: Eugenics and America's Campaign to Create a Master Race* (Washington, D.C.: Dialog Press, 2012).

[18] Perri Meldon, "Disability History: The Disability Rights Movement."

punishment; and ultimately close carceral institutions and develop community-based alternatives providing more humane living conditions for people with disabilities.

During the last quarter of the 19th century, newspaper accounts raised Seattleites' awareness of the construction of institutions for people with disabilities in the midwest and further east. Oregon's efforts to establish institutions preceded those in Washington. Washingtonians looked to developments elsewhere in the country to find their own solutions for how to care for those whose impairments of body, mind, and character made them eligible to be wards of the state. These developments occurred in tandem with the emergence of state and regional census-taking that enumerated the number of blind and deaf citizens potentially eligible for institutionalization or education at state expense.

Ideas about criminality were fused with the notion of defectiveness, blurring the line between categories of disability and risk to the general population. So, too, the category of pauperism acquired a stigmatized identity in contrast with self-supporting, hearty citizens able to work for a living. Biased ideas about the characteristics of racialized groups heavily influenced the varied experiences of Washingtonians at state institutions. These concepts were promulgated under the rubric of "scientific racism," advanced "an ideology that appropriates the methods and legitimacy of science to argue for the superiority of white Europeans and the inferiority of non-white people whose social and economic status have been historically marginalized."[19] Not unlike the establishment of asylums during the transition from territorial to state government, boarding schools, established by missionaries and the federal government were instrumental in enforced the assimilation of native people. In Snohomish County, the **Tulalip Boarding School**, established by Catholic missionaries and operated by the federal government after 1905, deeply affected the development and enculturation of indigenous children.[20] The conditions there resulted in many unexplained deaths, currently the subject of inquiry and a call for reparations by descendents.

The physicians and other elites instrumental in the establishment of state institutions for the "feeble-minded," blind, deaf, and indigent largely subscribed to beliefs consistent with scientific racism. Moreover, those who did not subscribe to societal norms or were unable to support themselves fell under the category of "defectives," requiring support from the state to survive. The earliest asylum established in Washington State was the

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[19] National Human Genome Research Institute, "Eugenics and Scientific Racism," May 18, 2022, accessed June 30, 2024, https://www.genome.gov/about-genomics/fact-sheets/Eugenics-and-Scientific-Racism.

[20] Emilie Miller, "Tulalip Boarding School opens in Snohomish County on January 23, 1905," December 8, 2023, Essay 22863, HistoryLink.org, accessed November 3, 2024, https://www.historylink.org/File/22863.

St. John's Lunatic Asylum near Fort Vancouver, which was managed under state contract by the Catholic Sisters of Charity of Providence.[21] In 1861, they were charged with "the care, keeping, and medical treatment of the territory's insane."[22]

The Sisters were succeeded in 1865 by James Huntington and W. W. Hays, who won the new state contract, opened the make-shift **Monticello Territorial Asylum** near Longview.[23] Poor conditions at the state asylum were covered in news reports toward the end of the 19th century instigated early concern for the care of people housed in territorial institutions.[24] These reports were taken up by national institution reformer Dorthea Dix. Dix wrote from Washington, D.C., in 1869 to Washington Territorial Governor Alvan Flanders and former Governor Elwood Evans about the care of the people housed in the asylum run by J.M. Huntington.[25] In the published letter about the territorial asylum Dix wrote, "The reports state that provision and care are both inadequate…and that the patients suffer through want of intelligent, liberal care and humane direction."[26] As a result of Dix's advocacy, along with lasting damage from a historic 1867 flood, the patients of the Monticello Territorial Asylum were moved to the repurposed **Fort Steilacoom** in 1871, forming the new **Insane Asylum of Washington Territory**.[27] With statehood in 1889, the insane asylum was renamed the **Western Washington Hospital for the Insane**.[28]

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[21] St. John's Lunatic Asylum is included in Appendix B: Historic Properties by Theme. "St. John's Lunatic Asylum," *Oregonian*, October 29, 1863, 4; Mary Green, "Earliest Women's Group Organized Here was for Taking Care of the Sick," *Columbian*, July 31, 1953, 5.

[22] Starlyn Stout, "Care for the "Unfriended Insane" in Washington Territory (1854-1889)," January 30, 2022, HistoryLink.org, accessed June 17, 2024, https://www.historylink.org/File/21395.

[23] The Monticello Territorial Asylum is included in Appendix B: Historic Properties by Theme; Starlyn Stout, "Care for the "Unfriended Insane" in Washington Territory (1854-1889)."

[24] "Insane Asylum Monticello W.T.," *Pacific Tribune* 7, no 37 (November 1867): 2; "A Letter From the Keepers of the Territorial Insane Asylum," *Vancouver Register* 4, no. 9 (December 12, 1868): 2;

[25] "Miss Dix on the Insane," *Weekly Pacific Tribune* 9, no 35, (November 13, 1869): 2.

[26] "Miss Dix on the Insane," *Weekly Pacific Tribune*, 2.

[27] Starlyn Stout, "Care for the "Unfriended Insane" in Washington Territory (1854-1889)"; Washington State Department of Social and Health Services, "History of Western State Hospital," accessed June 17, 2024, https://www.dshs.wa.gov/bha/division-state-hospitals/history-western-state-hospital. Images of the asylum are located at the Washington State Historical Society.

[28] The hospital remains in operation today. An article from 2022 discusses the continued controversy around the facility and state-level discussions about mental health care. Esmy Jimenez, "How big changes at WA's Western State Hospital fit into Gov. Inslee's plan to 're-imagine' mental health," *Seattle Times*, March 26, 2022, accessed October 24, 2024, https://www.seattletimes.com/seattle-news/mental-health/how-big-changes-at-was-western-state-hospital-fit-into-gov-inslees-plan-to-reimagine-mental-health/; Washington State Department of Social and Health Services, "History of Western State Hospital."

The State established the **Eastern State Hospital** and **Northern State Hospital** once demand exceeded capacity.[29] This included the Eastern State Hospital, established in 1891 in Medical Lake. Thomas Kirbride's mid-19th century architectural approach to mental institutions, which came to be known as the Kirkbride plan, was the basis for Eastern State Hospital's design.[30] This approach, which prevailed in psychiatric hospital design of the era, featured residential wings that radiated outward from the center and a hierarchy of space that positioned the "most acceptable" inmates at the center, reserving the more private spaces for those whose behavior deviated from norms. At Eastern State Hospital, separate wings for women and men reflected Kirkbride's system.[31]

In 1909, Washington State purchased 826 acres for the Northern State Hospital in Sedro-Woolley; the hospital opened to patients in 1912. Saunders and Lawton designed the building using the Spanish Colonial Revival style. The Olmsted Brothers landscape architecture firm, formed by the sons of Fredrick Law Olmsted, designed the grounds. Superior courts, including those in King County, held authority to declare patients insane.[32] Once declared insane, they were removed to Northern State Hospital. The site included patient and staff housing, a dedicated reservoir, lumber mill, quarry, steam plant, and more than 700 acres of farming and livestock operations.[33] The hospital reflected national trends by operating as a working farm and site of agricultural labor. This labor was intended to transform patients into productive contributors to their communities. The hospital operated from 1912 to 1973.[34]

Medical treatment of patients at the Northern, Eastern, and Western State Hospitals reflected contemporary ignorance about the causes of what they called or its potential cures. Doctors at Northern State, for example, "attempted various treatments in the '30s based on the idea that mental illness had bacterial origins, as syphilis had ravaged patients' brains. Doctors began removing thyroids, appendixes, and tonsils, hoping to eliminate the sources of their patient's mental illness."[35] Similarly, doctors at the Northern State Hospital "deliberately infected patients with malaria, thinking the fever would wipe out madness,"

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[29] Washington State Department of Social and Health Services, "History of Western State Hospital."

[30] "Carla Yanni, *The Architecture of Madness: Insane Asylums in the United States* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007).

[31] Angel L. Rios, "A Hospital For Washington's Insane: Changing the Way Washington Cared For the Mentally Ill," Spokane Historical, Public History Program of Eastern Washington University, accessed June 24, 2024, https://spokanehistorical.org/items/show/731.

[32] The Cultural Landscape Foundation, "Northern State Hospital," accessed June 24, 2024, https://www.tclf.org/landscapes/northern-state-hospital.

[33] Sydney Brownstone, "The Lost Patients of Washington's abandoned psychiatric hospital."

[34] "Northern State Hospital, 1909-1959, Sedro-Woolley," October 2010 NR & WHR Nominations/Listings, Washington State Dept. of Archaeology & Historic Preservation, accessed June 24, 2024, https://wadahp.wordpress.com/2010/10/25/october-2010-nr-whr-nominationslistings/img_1184/.

[35] Sydney Brownstone, "The Lost Patients of Washington's abandoned psychiatric hospital."

subjected patients to ineffective hydrotherapy, and induced comas through insulin therapy.[36] Forced sterilizations followed as the eugenics movement sought to prevent reproduction by those categorized as "defective." Its epileptic ward was the setting for highly publicized cases of patient abuse.[37] Unfortunately, the credibility of patients who complained about these conditions was discounted based on their disability.

The earliest state institutions rarely distinguished between types of disability. But over time, they began to differentiate between those who would be sent to state schools to be educated and those confined to state institutions. In 1886, the **Washington School for Defective Youth** was established in Vancouver and originally included blind, deaf, and mentally impaired residents.[38] Children throughout Washington State were sent to Vancouver's residential School for Defective Youth for their education, relieving local schools of the responsibility to educate children with disabilities. This would not change until the post-World War II era.

In 1892, the Washington School for Defective Youth separated its programs and facilities for the mentally impaired from those for the blind and deaf. A bill to appropriate new funding was passed in 1911, leading to the construction of new girls' and boys' dormitories. Later, in 1913, the school's departments for the blind and the deaf were legally separated, leading to the design of facilities specifically for each population.

The complex sat on 13 acres, and according to the National Register Nomination, included buildings dating from 1911 to 1919. Notable buildings include the Girls' and Boys' Dormitories (1911), Administration Building (1915), and Industrial Arts Building (1919), all of which were constructed of unreinforced masonry faced with brick.[39] The nomination form acknowledges the architectural contributions of German-born architect Julius Zittel, who was appointed Washington State Architect in 1912, but it fails to recognize the contributions of deaf architect Olof Hanson, who designed the boys' and girls' dormitories. While the administration building survives, the dormitories were demolished in the 1990s.

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[36] Sydney Brownstone, "The Lost Patients of Washington's abandoned psychiatric hospital."

[37] "Kyler Case Ends With Not Guilty Verdict," *The Bellingham Herald*, October 31, 1928, 1 and 5.

[38] Washington School for Defective Youth is included in Appendix B: Historic Properties by Theme; Jane Morrison and Caroline Gallacci, "Washington School for Defective Youth (Washington School for the Blind," December 1, 1992, Heritage Trust of Clark County, Washington State Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, National Park Service, https://catalog.archives.gov/id/75612114.

[39] Jane Morrison and Caroline Gallacci, "Washington School for Defective Youth (Washington School for the Blind)."

While stigma was attached to some groups of people with disabilities, state services for veterans with disabilities were a reward and benefit for valued social contributions and perceived sacrifices. The **Washington Soldiers Home** in Orting, opened in 1891, was the first of four soldiers' homes established in the state for honorably discharged Washington veterans, as well as their wives and widows.[40] The site originally included cottages for couples and barracks for single men. The residents were enlisted to perform much of the maintenance on the property. The **Washington Veterans Home** in Retsil, near Port Orchard, opened in 1910 to relieve overcrowding at the Orting home, and included a hospital on site.[41] Although it originally only admitted single veterans, it began admitting their widows three years later.[42]

The era of state institution-building for people with a wide array of disabilities always generated critiques of the conditions under which they were confined. Newspaper accounts, from the late 19th century onward, frequently reported inspections detailing the need for improvement. However, the mid-20th century marked a new era of concern about these institutions. Eventually, it would lead to the rise of the deinstitutionalization movement.[43]

While deaf and blind citizens valued the solidarity they forged in separate institutions, which fed social advocacy movements led by and for people with disabilities after the turn of the century, those housed in asylums for the insane, prisons, homes for delinquent children, and other purely carceral environments saw few benefits from institutionalization. Schools for the disabled, such as for blind and deaf people, would be subject to critiques of separate but hardly equal education, leading to public school integration. The movement for community based shelter and services was intended as an alternative to confinement in asylums and prisons. These issues are taken up in subsequent themes.

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[40] Muriel Furney, *A Comprehensive History of the Washington Soldiers' Home and Colony, Centennial Edition, 1891-1991*, Washington Soldiers' Home and Colony, Department of Veterans Affairs, State of Washington (Orting: Washington Veterans Home Print Shop, 1991), https://www.dva.wa.gov/sites/default/files/2020-02/Orting%20History.pdf.

[41] Donna Bogumill, ed., "Washington Veterans Home: 1910-1980," Washington Veterans Home, Department of Veterans Affairs, State of Wasington, accessed June 24, 2024, https://www.dva.wa.gov/sites/default/files/2020-02/History%20book%20Retsil_0.pdf; "Washington Veterans Home Frederick Law Olmsted National Historic Site," National Park Service, accessed June 24, 2024, https://www.nps.gov/places/washington-veterans-home.htm.

[42] Donna Bogumill, ed., "Washington Veterans Home: 1910-1980."

[40] "History of care for the insane," *Tri-City Herald*, December 31, 1978, 16.

Theme Two: The Rise of Disability Activism in the Progressive Era

The Progressive Era, stretching from approximately 1890 until 1930, created widespread social reform and political activism in the United States, including movements to improve living, learning, and working conditions for people with disabilities. This theme covers the many social movements that arose in this era with the intention of improving the lives of people with disabilities. Some of these movements continued to advocate for the rights of people with disabilities well beyond World War II.

Treating Tuberculosis

In Washington State, leadership in understanding the causes and treatment of tuberculosis was advanced by the **Western Association for the Prevention and Relief of Tuberculosis**.[44] The organization went on to form chapters at the local and county levels. The anti-tuberculosis movement organized traveling clinics, public health programs, exhibits and booths at county and state fairs, and advocated for the construction of new sanatoriums. These institutions included the **Pulmonary Hospital of Seattle** (1908), Firland (1913), **Mountain View** (1914), and others. Firland was the largest tuberculosis sanatorium.[45]

The Anti-Tuberculosis League of King County established Firland in Richmond Highlands, which was then operated as a city facility. Daniel Huntington, the city architect, designed it in a distinctive English half-timber style. Contemporary ideas about the appropriate treatment for the deadly lung disease were expressed in its open-air cottages and expansive grounds[46] Firland's design was based on the "rest cure," which removed patients from paid employment, isolated them from families and neighbors to reduce contagion, and emphasized the healing qualities of sunlight and fresh air and regimes for retraining the body. One of the unusual features of the sanatorium was its many accommodations for people weakened by the illness; hence, it contained ramps rather than stairs, and buildings were connected by tunnels. Vegetable gardens and orchards served the residential facility as an extension of its healthful orientation. The property

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[44] The archives of the American Lung Association of Washington includes an extensive historical note on the development of sanatoriums in the state. *American Lung Association of Washington photograph and architectural drawing collection, approximately 1910-1978*, Collection Number: PH0670, University of Washington Libraries, Special Collections, https://archiveswest.orbiscascade.org/ark:80444/xv90902.

[45] The Pulmonary Hospital of Seattle was established in 1908, Firland in 1913, and Mountain View in 1914.

[46] Paula Becker, "Firland Sanatorium," September 4, 2002, Essay 3928, HistoryLink.org, accessed October 29, 2024, https://www.historylink.org/File/3928.

is currently owned by CRISTA Ministries, and two of the site's original hospital buildings, the Henry Administration Building and the Detweiler Building, are listed on the Washington Heritage Register.[47]

Deaf and Hard-of-Hearing Advocacy Organizations

Schools for the deaf, hard-of-hearing, and blind in Vancouver featured clubs and societies for their students.[48] In the years after school attendance, alumni established fraternal and social organizations such as the National Association of the Deaf (NAD), established in in 1880, **Puget Sound Association of the Deaf (PSAD)**, established in 1900, and the Washington Association of the Deaf, established in 1909. These organizations provided a structure for leadership, participation, and public advocacy. Among the issues advanced by these groups were: advancing fair employment conditions in the Civil Service as an alternative to corrupt bidding and labor practices; advocacy of government regulations to mitigate dangerous and unsafe industrial practices; and muckraking journalism to expose the most egregious conditions in public institutions such as asylums and residential schools. In Seattle, the 1902 formation of the PSAD advanced a Progressive agenda for the rights of deaf and hard-of-hearing people. The organization fought for equity in the educational, political, employment, and other realms.

Established in 1880, the National Association of the Deaf (NAD) advocated for sign language in a period shaped by the predominance of oralist practices. NAD's annual conventions and working committees provided vehicles for advancing the agendas of deaf and hard-of-hearing people while building a national network primed for action. The 1902 relocation of national leaders Olof and Agatha Hanson from Minnesota to Seattle seeded the growth of the PSAD, where the couple played a leading role as officers.[49] Later they would become involved

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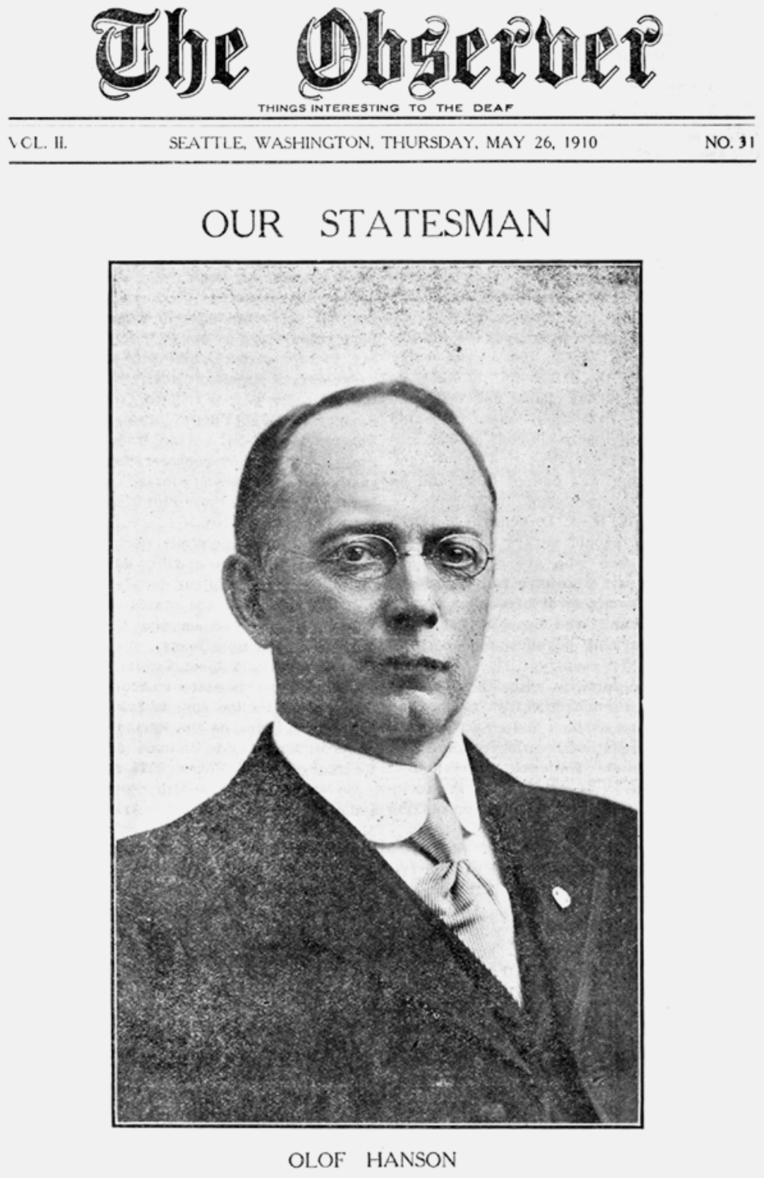
[47] "Kyle Roquet, "Firland Sanatorium - Henry Admin. Building and Detweiler Building (Hospital); King's Garden," Washington Heritage Register, Washington State Department of Archaeology and Historic Preservation, accessed October 29, 2024, https://www.dahp.wa.gov/sites/default/files/FirlandSanatorium.pdf.

[48] For more context on d/Deaf history see: Brian H. Greenwald, and Joseph J Murray, "Special Issue, Assessing the Field of Deaf History: Scholarship, Pedagogy, and Public History Introduction," *Sign Language Studies* 17, no. 1 (2016): 5–11; Douglas C. Baynton, *Forbidden Signs: American Culture and the Campaign against Sign Language* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); Glenn B. Anderson and Lindsay M. Dunn, "Assessing Black Deaf History: 1980s to the Present," *Sign Language Studies* 17, no. 1 (2016): 71–77; Robert Sirvage, "DeafSpace," in *The SAGE Deaf Studies Encyclopedia*, (Thousand Oaks California: SAGE Publications, Inc, 2016); Susan Burch, *Signs of Resistance: American Deaf Cultural History, 1900 to World War II* (New York: New York University Press, 2002).

[49] "Woman Orator of the Deaf," *Seattle Star* 14, no. 128 (July 29, 1912): 8.

with the **Washington Association for the Deaf**, established in 1909.[50] They also were instrumental in the publication of a newspaper, *The Observer* (1909-1915), by and for deaf people in the region.[51] The organizations, publications, meetings, and social gatherings ensured venues for deaf citizen participation and debate over political issues important to the community. This organizational structure brought Seattleites into a wider network of activists dedicated to improving the lives of deaf and hard-of-hearing people.



The Observer

THINGS INTERESTING TO THE DEAF

VOL. II. SEATTLE, WASHINGTON, THURSDAY, MAY 26, 1910 NO. 31

OUR STATESMAN

OLOF HANSON

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[50] "Washington Association for the Deaf Formed Yesterday at State School," *Columbian*, June 1, 1909, 1; "Washington Association of Deaf Adjourned Last Night," *Columbian*, June 2, 1909, 1; "P.L. Axling Among Representatives to Colorado Convention," *Wenatchee Daily World* 4, no. 277 (June 2, 1909): 1; *Kansas Star*, May 1, 1910, 5; "Deaf of State to Meet in Spokane," *Spokane Chronicle*, July 15, 1916, 1.

[51] Scanned copies of the *Observer* can be found in the Gallaudet University Archives. "The Observer 1909-1915," Gallaudet University Archives, accessed July 8, 2024, https://gallaudet.edu/archives/archives-collections/the-observer-1909-1915/.

Olof Hanson's Architectural Legacy

America's first deaf architect, Olof Hanson (1862-1933), left his imprint on deaf advocacy organizations as well as the built environment of Washington State. Hanson worked on the **Hotel Savoy** with prominent Seattle architect James Hansen Schack, Sr., then worked with Schack & Huntington, alongside John Graham, on the **First United Methodist Church** in downtown Seattle (ca. 1907-10).[52] Included in Hanson's portfolio is the Beaux-Arts church, with its extensively day-lit basement.[53] The National Register of Historic Places nomination for the church documents Hanson's contributions and points to his instrumental role designing the heating, mechanical and ventilation systems, as well as final interior finishes and details.[54] In Vancouver, WA, Hanson contributed to the facilities at the **Washington Schools for the Deaf and Blind** (demolished). Hanson also designed the **Georgetown School** in 1904 (demolished) and the Snoqualmie School in 1911 (extant), which is listed in the National Register of Historic Places.[55] In Seattle's University District, the houses he designed, including for his own family, are long gone, however, photographic documentation survives.

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[52] "1st Methodist Episcopal Church #3, Downtown, Seattle, WA," PCAD, accessed March 13, 2024, https://pcad.lib.washington.edu/building/6224/; "Hotel Savoy #2, Pioneer Square, Seattle, WA," PCAD, accessed March 13, 2024, https://pcad.lib.washington.edu/building/7027/.

[53] Landmarks Preservation Board, "(former) First United Methodist Church, 811 Fifth Avenue," City of Seattle, accessed March 25, 2024, https://www.seattle.gov/documents/Departments/Neighborhoods/HistoricPreservation/Landmarks/RelatedDocuments/DesRptFUMC.pdf.

[54] Katheryn H. Krafft, "First Methodist Episcopal Church," November 12, 2010, National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, Washington State Historic Preservation Office, accessed November 3, 2024, https://wisaard.dahp.wa.gov/api/api/resultgroup/187185/doc; The First Methodist Episcopal Church is also listed as a Seattle Landmark. "First United Methodist Church," Report on designation: LPB 334/09, June 17, 2009, City of Seattle Landmarks Preservation Board, accessed November 3, 2024, https://www.seattle.gov/Documents/Departments/Neighborhoods/HistoricPreservation/Landmarks/RelatedDocuments/DesRptFUMC.pdf.

[55] Shirley Courtois, "Snoqualmie School Campus," February 7, 1989, National Register of Historic Places Nomination Form, National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, accessed November 3, 2024, https://npgallery.nps.gov/GetAsset/8f79c954-d59b-4888-8dfb-a856e9f88a67.

Deaf and Hard-of-Hearing Advocacy Organizations (Continued)

The establishment of single-disability advocacy organizations also fostered sharp moral distinctions between self-supporting people with disabilities and those who were beggars or wards of the state. This contributed to the formation of a hierarchy of disability in the 20th century, mirroring broader notions about the worthy and unworthy poor. Leaders of the deaf community, such as Olof Hanson, reinforced this hierarchy by waging war on beggars, especially those who pretended to be deaf, who elicited charity rather than making a living through wage labor or employment in a profession. In October of 1909, the *Seattle Union Record* reported that the "deaf-mutes (sic) of the city of Seattle protest[ed] against the professional beggars who pose as deaf and dumb and work on the sympathies of the public."[56] Operating on the premise that "all honest deaf-mutes (sic) work for a living" and are "respectable, hard working people," advocates for the deaf conducted a campaign against "fakirs" who posed as deaf to beg for money. By then, Olof Hanson had been settled in Seattle for seven years and played a role in campaigns involving the mayor and police to remove these "fakirs" from city streets. Deaf leadership was concerned that the public image of hardworking deaf people might become tainted by association with street beggars "performing" disabilities to elicit public sympathy.[57]

At the turn of the century in the US, the ideal pedagogy for educating deaf people was contested. Lip-reading predominated as a learning method, and advocacy of sign language circulated less frequently in Washington State newspapers. Stories about particular institutions, such as Philadelphia's Mt. Airy campus offered examples of what might be possible in Washington State and the Pacific Northwest.[58] In his roles as an officer in deaf advocacy organizations, Olof Hanson promoted the use of sign language and a mixed pedagogy, including manual and oral communication; advocated for compulsory school attendance to ensure the education of deaf and hard-of-hearing children; lobbied for expanded capital construction at schools for the deaf; and created welcoming spaces for sign language speakers in his home, at public meetings, in religious services, and social gatherings with other deaf and hard-of-hearing people.[59]

One unique organization from this period is the **Seattle Hearing and Speech Center (HSDC)**, initially incorporated in 1937 as the Seattle Chapter for the Hard of Hearing and renamed in the 1950s, serves the Puget Sound area by teaching

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[56] "Deaf Mutes Protest," *Seattle Union Record*, October 9, 1909, 4.

[57] "Declare War on Fakers," *Tacoma Daily Ledger*, June 6, 1913, 13; "National Head of Imposter Bureau Will Lead Discussions on Evil of Pretenders Who Beg," *Sunday Oregonian*, May 23, 1915, 5; *Sunday Oregonian*, June 20, 1915, 40.

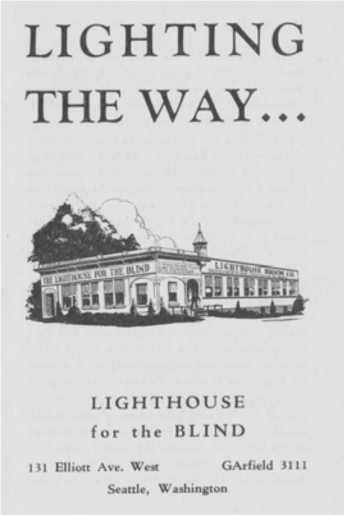
[59] "Deaf Mute will Marry Deaf Mute After Winning Her with Poem," *Seattle Star*, June 2, 1911, 1. In his autobiography, Olof Hanson notes that in 1909, he started a bible class at Trinity Episcopal Church. Based on the date of construction, in 1892 and renovation in 1902 by John Graham, Sr, for whom Hanson worked with on the First United Methodist Church. It is possible that Hanson was referring to Trinity Parish Church, Seattle's first Episcopal church, which is listed in the National Register of Historic Places. Hanson was ordained a deacon in the Episcopal church in 1924.

communication skills to adults and children.[60] The organization started when mothers of deaf and hard-of-hearing children formed a social club with deaf and hard-of-hearing women. Over time, HSDC's programs became more expansive, incorporating both oral and manual communication strategies. Its services for the deaf and hard of hearing have included information and assistance, family support, bilingual instruction, interpreting, audiology and hearing aids, and speech and language therapy.

Newspaper accounts of activities within the deaf community are impressive and speak to the role of Progressive era advocacy organizations in maintaining a distinctive deaf culture with robust opportunities for community members to fully participate in athletic, cultural, recreational, and social activities centered on normalizing sign and oral communication. Holiday gatherings, picnics, excursions, worship services, and political debates were exercised regularly in spaces that were adapted to welcome those with visual or hearing impairments. Meetings maximized communication and participation by those often excluded from a place at the table in other settings.

Blind and Low-Vision Advocacy Organizations

Nationally, the Lighthouse for the Blind and Visually Impaired formed in San Francisco in 1902. The **Seattle Association of the Blind**, established in 1914 and known from 1918 on as the **Lighthouse for the Blind**, brought together blind people with their families and friends to discuss shared problems and concerns, including discrimination in the education, transportation, social, and recreational realms.[61]



[Figure 1] Brochure for the Lighthouse for the Blind (ca. 1935).

[Source: "Brochure for Lighthouse for the Blind, Seattle, circa 1935," MS.COLL.1442, p.1, Manuscript Collection, Museum of History & Industry, Seattle (MOHAI), https://digitalcollections.lib.washington.edu/digital/collection/imlsmohai/id/12184/rec/1.]

Elite philanthropic women such as Nellie Cornish, Julia Ballinger, and Ethel Garrett Eddy were instrumental in building the organization in its early years.[62] The Lighthouse emphasized creating employment opportunities for blind and low vision members. During the early years the Lighthouse's workshops

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[60] Hearing, Speech & Deaf Center, "About Us," accessed September 15, 2024, https://www.hsdc.org/about-us/; Hearing, Speech & Deaf Center, "Service Updates," July 1, 2024, accessed September 15, 2024, https://www.hsdc.org/; "Hearing League to Meet," *Seattle Daily Times*, January 6, 1937, 2. This article also notes their headquarters were located at 317 Bay Building.

[61] For overviews of the Lighthouse's development see Junius Rochester, "Lighthouse for the Blind," Essay 7064, November 11, 2004, accessed May 20, 2024, https://www.historylink.org/file/7064#:~:text=The%20Lighthouse%20for%20the%20Blind,articles%20of%20incorporation%20were%20blind; Lighthouse for the Blind, Inc., "One Hundred Years of Redefining Vision," accessed August 17, 2024, https://lhblind.org/one-hundred-years-redefining-vision/.

[62] Junius Rochester, "Lighthouse for the Blind."

were the main venue for employment. Originally located downtown at 1208 Fourth Avenue, the Lighthouse specialized in producing jigsaw puzzles and baskets, cane chair seats, and kitchen and whisk brooms members sold door-to-door and on Second Avenue. The Lighthouse advanced the Progressive notion that people with disabilities could become self-supporting with the right vocational training and education to advance into selected fields. As such, their strategies depended on maintaining distinctions between self-supporting, productive citizens and those who depended on charity or remaining on the dole to survive.

Because the promise of employment might lead to self-support and independent living, these types of workshops remained a popular resource provided to people with disabilities. They were places employing people with disabilities separately from other workers and emphasized work deemed suitable for people with physical, intellectual, or developmental disabilities. The Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 allowed a lower minimum wage for workers in this setting, falling short of the promise working in these environments would allow for independent living. Critiques of this practice lead to an end to sub-minimum wage for workers with disabilities and organizations like the Lighthouse to pursue more remunerative contracts in the public and private sectors, for example, with Boeing beginning in the 1950s.[63] Officially, the practice of allowing sub-minimum wage compensation for individuals with disabilities or impairment due to age was removed in April 2018 by the City of Seattle, followed three years later in 2021 when the Washington State Legislature ended sub-minimum wage practices and certificates statewide.[64]

[Figure 2] Seattle, WA. Workers at the Lighthouse Broom Company (ca. 1925).

[Source: Webster & Stevens, "Workers at the Lighthouse Broom Company, ca. 1925," 1983.10.433.1, PEMCO Webster & Stevens Collection, Museum of History & Industry, Seattle (MOHAI), https://digitalcollections.lib.washington.edu/digital/collection/imlsmohai/id/6008/rec/18.]

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[63] Junius Rochester, "Lighthouse for the Blind."

[64] Hayat Norimine, "Seattle Outlaws Subminimum Wage for People with Disabilities," April 3, 2018, Seattle Met, accessed September 11, 2024, https://www.seattlemet.com/news-and-city-life/2018/04/seattle-employers-must-now-pay-people-with-disabilities-minimum-wage; "Subminimum Wage Certificates," 2023 Annual Report to the Legislature, Department of Labor and Industries and Department of Social and Health Services, Washington State, https://www.lni.wa.gov/agency/_docs/2023SubMinimumWageCertificatesReport.pdf.

Charitable Organizations

In the same period, charitable organizations such as Goodwill were established, but they were not necessarily led by people with disabilities, nor were they instrumental in the history of activism. The national organization was established in Boston in 1902 by Rev. Edgar J. Helms, who believed that the sheltered workshop would provide “a hand up, not a hand out.”[65] **Seattle Goodwill Industries** was founded in 1923 to provide job training and employment for those who lacked the necessary skills, and in the 1930s, expanded to serve people with physical, intellectual, and developmental disabilities.[66] The Seattle chapter is called **Evergreen Goodwill of Northwest Washington**.[67] Their original slogan was “Not charity, but a chance.”[68] Goodwill operated sheltered workshops that provided employment and training for people with disabilities.

During the Great Depression, the company also employed day labor and operated on a barter system to exchange labor for necessary household goods and clothing. By the 1950s Evergreen Goodwill shifted its focus to serving people with disabilities. In downtown Seattle, Goodwill operated sheltered workshops in a series of increasingly larger locations where they mended used clothing and repaired household goods for resale at prices reflecting the discounted wages paid to people with disabilities. The sheltered workshops run by Goodwill Industries were eventually viewed negatively because they provided segregated employment facilities based on ability and contributed to a long

[Figure 3] Seattle, WA. Goodwill Industries building (1931).

[Source: “Goodwill Industries building, Seattle, 1931,” 1986.5.9069, *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* Collection, Museum of History & Industry, Seattle (MOHAI), https://digitalcollections.lib.washington.edu/digital/collection/imlsmohai/id/392/rec/9.]

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[65] “Goodwill’s History,” Goodwill Industries International, accessed July 8, 2024, https://www.goodwill.org/about-us/goodwills-history/.

[66] “Seattle Goodwill — a Brief History,” Essay 4148, HistoryLink.org, accessed September 15, 2024, https://www.historylink.org/File/4148.

[67] Their first store location opened in 1923 at Boren Avenue and Virginia Street in Seattle; the site of their headquarters in 1930 located at the intersection of Dearborn and South Lane Streets in Seattle, which today is the current site of “Evergreen Goodwill’s Administration Building and flagship Dearborn store location, which continues to be the largest Goodwill nonprofit thrift store in the world”; Evergreen Goodwill of Northwest Washington, “Our History 100 Years of Impact,” accessed September 25, 2024, https://evergreengoodwill.org/about-us/100-year/.

history of sub-minimum wage labor for people with disabilities. Activism to end the sub-minimum wage in sheltered workshop settings put Goodwill and similar employers on notice about the civil rights and dignity of their employees.

Another influential local organization in Seattle with a national presence is Easterseals.[69] The charitable organization was founded by Ohio businessman Edgar Allan, who lost his son in a streetcar accident in 1907 due to inadequate medical services.[70] Once Allan learned that children with disabilities were often sequestered away from the public, he was inspired to found the National Society of Crippled Children. It was from this work that the first Easterseals campaign was launched in 1934. **Easterseals Washington** was founded in May 1947, and the organization continues to serve children and adults with disabilities, along with their families, across the state. Like Goodwill, Easterseals ran numerous fundraising campaigns often centering on children with disabilities, including in Washington State. Grassroots efforts in the 1960s, led by people with disabilities, hastened the transition away from the charity model to greater empowerment of the people these organizations served.

A wide array of fraternal, sororal, and charitable organizations considered children with disabilities to be a group particularly worthy of charity. Organizations from the Lions Club to the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks made selected disabilities their cause, championing cures and the treatment of those who suffered from particular conditions.[71] Seattle's newspapers make evident the degree to which society pages overlap with charitable causes for disabled people, especially children. One particularly active fraternal organization focused on child wellbeing in Seattle was, and continues to be, the Kiwanis Club. The **Seattle Kiwanis Club** was the first of four clubs that established the Pacific Northwest district in 1918.[72] Although generally centered on charitable work for all children, Kiwanis established several programs specifically for disabled children, including summer camps.[73] The 1930s also saw the rise of highly visible charity drives and campaigns appearing in local, state, and national news. On the surface, these recurring events showed how communities came together to support people with disabilities. These campaigns also demonstrated the impact of organized philanthropy on people with disabilities.

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[68] Evergreen Goodwill of Northwest Washington, "Our History 100 Years of Impact."[69] By 1967, the Washington branch of the organization officially adopted the name Easterseals. Easterseals Washington, "The History of Easterseals," accessed August 9, 2024, https://www.easterseals.com/washington/about-us/history/.

[70] Note that this webpage has a nice selection of historic photos from Washington. Easterseals Washington, "The History of Easterseals."

[71] "Elks Count Noses of Crippled Tots," Seattle Union Record, August 14, 1924, 2.

[72] Kiwanis Pacific Northwest District, "History," accessed August 9, 2024, https://k22.site.kiwanis.org/history/.

[73] Kiwanis Pacific Northwest District, "History"; The Kiwanis Club is referenced later in the history of camps for disabled children covered in Theme 4.

President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's own experience as a polio survivor gave him a platform for raising awareness about the disease.

> President Franklin Roosevelt, who had polio, established the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis in 1938. The organization's January March of Dimes campaign raised money to care for people with polio and find a cure for the crippling disease. Each year, many of Seattle's clubs and organizations joined in the national fundraising effort. Some of these local campaigns used the name Mile-O-Dimes.[74]

President Roosevelt represented a critical figure in the history of disability in the United States; his national impact is well-documented in archives and news outlets.[75] Beginning in the era of tuberculosis and moving through polio and muscular dystrophy, charitable campaigns routinely secured vast sums for the treatment and cure of disease. An extensive network of Seattle hospitals grew from this rich philanthropic soil.

[Figure 4] School children raise money for the March of Dimes (1949).

[Source: "Children watching teacher count March of Dimes money, January 1949," PI25604, *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* Collection, Museum of History & Industry, Seattle (MOHAI), https://digitalcollections.lib.washington.edu/digital/collection/imlsmohai/id/6770/rec/2.]

Seattle, WA. **[Figure 5]** (Left) A welder collects money for the March of Dimes (1945). **[Figure 6]** (Right) The Ladies of Pythias campaign for the March of Dimes (1947).

[Sources: (Left) Webster & Stevens, "Welder collecting for March of Dimes, Seattle, 1945," 1983.10.15307.2, PEMCO Webster & Stevens Collection, Museum of History & Industry, Seattle (MOHAI), https://digitalcollections.lib.washington.edu/digital/collection/imlsmohai/id/1258/rec/2; (Right) "Ladies of Pythias during March of Dimes campaign, January 1947," PI22236, Seattle Post-Intelligencer Collection, Museum of History & Industry, Seattle (MOHAI), https://digitalcollections.lib.washington.edu/digital/collection/imlsmohai/id/6603/rec/1.]

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[74] "Ladies of Pythias during March of Dimes campaign, January 1947," Seattle Post-Intelligencer, Image Number PI22236, Museum of History & Industry Collection, https://digitalcollections.lib.washington.edu/digital/collection/imlsmohai/id/6603/rec/1.

[75] Perri Meldon, "Interpreting Access: A History of Accessibility and Disability Representations in the National Park Service," (Master's Thesis, University of Massachusetts Amherst, 2019): 64-116, accessed July 14, 2024, http://npshistory.com/publications/interpretation/meldon-2019.pdf.

Formed in 1954, the Seattle Chapter of the Muscular Dystrophy Association featured poster children with disabilities, an approach disability activists eventually criticized as patronizing. The combination of pathos and triumphant exceptionalism conveyed by poster children in Telethons for diseases such as muscular dystrophy and harnessing the star power of Hollywood as a fundraising instrument, came under attack by activists who were chosen for these roles as children.[76] In this spirit, people with disabilities assumed leadership of a newly configured Disability Rights Movement inspired by nonviolent direct action strategies pervasive in all corners of the Civil Rights movement. Borrowing its tactics from allies engaged in direct actions to call attention to injustice, people with varied disabilities joined forces with one another to advance disability justice.

Disabled Veteran Organizations and Benefits

Veterans' advocacy organizations arose in Seattle and the wider Puget Sound region in the wake of WWI and WWII. Veterans' service and sacrifice on behalf of their country fueled a movement to ensure benefits for them otherwise not available to citizens on a universal basis. Patriotic organizations such as the Veterans of Foreign Wars sought preferential treatment on the job for returning veterans. Disabled veterans led campaigns for practical benefits such as speedy repairs of prosthetics, a benefit sought by amputees. They also campaigned for particular service-related injuries to be recognized as eligible for care in Veterans Administration hospitals. The extensive military landscape of the Pacific Northwest made the VA system critical to the care of current and former service members. Residents of Seattle and the surrounding region who depend on the VA's services are instrumental in leading movements to ensure appropriate care for service-related medical conditions.

Veterans from WWI and WWII drew on benefits established in the early era of institution building, including admission to established veteran homes, such as the Washington Veterans Home Port Orchard, WA (1910).[77] By 1922, the Port Orchard Veterans' Home served WWI veterans, and by the end of the 1930s, the home primarily served Spanish-American War

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[76] Denver's Laura Hershey, who was an early organizer in American Disabled for Attendant Programs Today (ADAPT), turned the energy of protest against the fundraising campaign for its disempowering representations of disabled children; Laura Hershey, "From Poster Child to Protester," *Spectacle* (Spring/Summer 1997), accessed February 5, 2024, https://www.independentliving.org/docs4/hershey93.html.

[77] This included the passage of the Session Laws of 1907, HB #9, in March 1907 by the State Legislature and signed by Gov. Albert E. Mead, which included the Enabling Act to establish the Washington Veterans' Home. This was in response to the limited resources offered by the Washington Soldiers' Home and Colony in Orting, WA (1891). The result was the establishment of the Port Orchard Washington Veterans' Home in 1910. Donna Bogumill, ed., "Washington Veterans Home 1910-1980: 70th Anniversary Historical Summary," Washington Veterans Home, Department of Veterans Affairs, State of Washington, accessed July 8, 2024, https://www.dva.wa.gov/sites/default/files/2020-02/History%20book%20Retsil_0.pdf.

and WWI veterans.[78] Veterans' homes would expand further throughout the 1930s and later in the 1950s.[79]

The disabling effects of the World Wars, and later the Korean and Vietnam Wars, heavily influenced disability activism and advocacy from the late 1940s through the 1970s. The increase in disabled veterans returning throughout these decades created an expanded constituency seeking accessibility accommodations. City, state, and national actions in this period built on prior efforts to serve veterans through veteran homes and additional support programs, particularly those focused on employment.

Federal legislation and actions greatly affected the lives of disabled veterans. Key developments in the 1930s included the creation of the Veterans Administration (1930) and the establishment of the Board of Veterans Appeals (1933). In the 1940s, the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 offered veterans home loans and educational benefits. Healthcare became more widely accessible to veterans in the late 1940s due to the creation of the Department of Medicine & Surgery (1946), later renamed the Veterans Health Administration. The 1950s witnessed the formation of the Department of Veterans Benefits (1953), later renamed the Veterans Benefits Administration.

Advocacy for the needs of disabled veterans, particularly amputees, was accomplished through legislation and policy at the federal, state, and local levels. One of Seattle's earliest examples was the 1946 passage of Ordinance 75443 by the Seattle City Council, amending the traffic code to allow physically impaired veterans using specialized automobiles to park for free.[80] These parking benefits were not awarded to disabled non-veterans until 1959.[81] The Veterans Administration provided prosthetic service cards to amputee veterans allowing for the repair of their prosthetic devices at shops near their homes.[82] Federal legislation also provided amputee WWII veterans with funds to purchase adaptive automobiles in an era that favored private over public transportation as a form of access. Those who had lost the use of one or two legs at or above the ankle became entitled to apply to the Veterans' Administration for a free automobile costing up to $1600.[83]

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[78] Donna Bogumill, ed., "Washington Veterans Home 1910-1980: 70th Anniversary Historical Summary."

[79] Donna Bogumill, ed., "Washington Veterans Home 1910-1980: 70th Anniversary Historical Summary."

[80] Seattle Municipal Archives, "Implementing the ADA in Seattle," City of Seattle, accessed June 21, 2024, https://seattle.gov/cityarchives/exhibits-and-education/digital-document-libraries/implementing-the-ada-in-seattle.

[81] Seattle Municipal Archives, "Implementing the ADA in Seattle."

[82] "Prosthetic Service Cars," *Northwest Enterprise*, November 6, 1946, 3.

[83] "$1600 Cars for Amputee Vets," *Seattle Star*, August 30, 1946, 8; "Deadline Nears for Amputee Vets' Cars," *Seattle Star*, May 16, 1947, 3; "Disabled Vet Gets U.S. 'Gift,'" *Seattle Star*, September 28, 1946, 2.

In the immediate post-war period, veterans' organizations also focused on ensuring access to life insurance and educating the public about their particular access needs.[84] Similar to previous post-war interventions, disabled veterans often received more immediate and preferential treatment due to their service. The State Board for Vocational Education provided funds for equipment that would lead to self-support for all state's citizens in the late 1940s.[85]

Although general support for disabled veterans is well-documented, more recent research and inquiry have shown there was a disparity in the treatment of white veterans and veterans of color. *Nisei*, Japanese-American veterans who were birthright citizens, faced the difficult reality that advocacy organizations such as the Veterans of Foreign Wars continued to maintain segregated chapters in Washington State and thus did not necessarily represent disabled veterans of color. Thus, *Nisei* veterans organized to address their own concerns.[86] Following WWII, Americans of Japanese descent faced barriers to citizenship due to the Immigration Act of 1924, which prohibited people of Asian ancestry from obtaining permanent residence. A 1950 *Northwest Times* article noted, "Ninety percent of them had sons in the armed services during the war. The restriction on their naturalization is an injustice to them and an ugly expression of racism." The *Seattle Sunday Times* ran a feature in 1949, "College Helps Nisei Vets Meet Vocational Challenge," in which they note, "Facing their own special problems in the quest for successful careers, many ex-G.I.'s of Japanese Ancestry are arming themselves with higher education."[88]

In Washington State, as recently as 2021, newspapers have covered the legacy of racism against Asian Americans.[89] On a national scale, projects such as Equal Justice Initiative's report, "Lynching in America: Targeting Black Veterans," offer insight into how benefits and treatment based on service were not equitable and often contingent on a person's intersection of identities, especially those historically marginalized and used as a basis for discrimination. Additionally, LGBTQ+ veterans have also faced significant discrimination, and as of June 2024, 35,000 LGBTQ+ veterans filed a lawsuit citing a violation of constitutional rights for their dismissal because of their sexual orientation. Although changes and additions in legislation and activism created new protections and services for veterans, it is

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[84] "Veterans Report No. 1," Veterans News, October 1, 1946, 6.

[85] "'Give Me Work:' Amputee's Chief Worry is Funds," *Seattle Star*, June 7, 1947, 1; "Legless Gem Maker Gets State Help," *Seattle Star*, June 12, 1947, 3.

[86] "Kihara of Main Fish Gives $200 to Nisei Vet Group," *Northwest Times*, August 12, 1950, 1; "Chinese American Post Gives Washing Machine to Nisei Vet," *Northwest Times*, January 7, 1947, 1.

[87] "Russell Objection Called Misfortune," *Northwest Times*, February 11, 1950, 1; "Anti-Nisei Leaders Take 'Beating' in Bellevue Forum," *Seattle Daily Times*, April 20, 1945, 2.

[88] Vicky Draham, *Seattle Sunday Times*, "College Helps Nisei Vets Meet Vocational Challenge," November 13, 1949, 5.

[89] Sam Hallstrom, "Cases of racism against Asian-Americans cast shadow over state's history," Olympian, June 21, 2021, A4; Tom Philpott, "Race survey shows imperfections in military," Kitsap Sun, November 29, 1999, 5.

critical to consider that not all veterans were treated and served equally.[90] Our research did not illuminate how these differences show up in Seattle's disability history, however, they remain an important consideration when identifying sites associated with disabled veterans. Racialized differences in the treatment of veterans of color, particularly *Nisei* and African Americans, would fuel claims for equal justice and civil rights based on patriotic service to the country and sacrifice in the form of disabilities.

Rise of Eugenics Ideology and Practice

The state institutions established early in the 20th century continued to be shaped by broader ideological currents in American society, particularly the eugenics movement.[91] Both the rise of the eugenics movement, and organized resistance to its impact, are key stories in the history of disability activism. The idea that civilization could be improved by curtailing

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[90] Equal Justice Initiative, "Lynching in America: Targeting Black Veterans," 2017, accessed July 11, 2024, https://eji.org/reports/targeting-black-veterans/; Daniel Wiessner, "US military must face lawsuit over discharge of LGBTQ veterans," June 21, 2024, Reuters, accessed July 11, 2024, https://www.reuters.com/legal/government/us-military-must-face-lawsuit-over-discharge-lgbtq-veterans-2024-06-21/; Quil Lawrence, "Black veterans are less likely to be approved for benefits, according to VA documents," March 24, 2023, National Public Radio, accessed September 16, 2024, https://www.npr.org/2023/03/24/1165977590/black-veterans-are-less-likely-to-be-approved-for-benefits-according-to-va-docum.

[91] For more information about the eugenics movement generally, see: Edwin Black, *War Against the Weak: Eugenics and America's Campaign to Create a Master Race*; National Human Genome Research Institute, "Eugenics and Scientific Racism"; Joanne Woiak, "Histories of Disability and Deaf Eugenics," Powerpoint Slides, October 26, 2020, accessed September 16, 2024, https://docs.google.com/presentation/d/1xsnIpCc2zIbU3dq8_jlQnfeeW2nRwoP3/edit#slide=id.p2; Phillip R. Reilly, *Surgical Solution: A History of Involuntary Sterilization in the United States* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991); Mark Haller, *Eugenics: Hereditarian Attitudes in American Thought* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1984); Molly Ladd-Taylor, *Fixing the Poor: Eugenic Sterilization and Child Welfare in the Twentieth Century*; Douglas C. Baynton, *Defectives in the Land: Disability and Immigration in the Age of Eugenics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016). For more information about the eugenics movement in Washington State see: Disability Studies, "Eugenics and Disability: History and Legacy in Washington," University of Washington, accessed June 13, 2024, https://disabilitystudies.washington.edu/eugenics-and-disability-history-and-legacy-washington#:~:text=On%20March%2022%2C%201909%2C%20Washington,the%20name%20of%20improving%20society; Disability Studies, "History of Eugenics Resource Guide," University of Washington, accessed July 16, 2024, https://disabilitystudies.washington.edu/history-eugenics-resource-guide; Joanne Woiak, "Situating Washington Eugenics," presentation, October 9, 2009, Eugenics and Disability: History and Legacy in Washington Conference, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s86CCiSAuI8; Knute Berger, "It's never too late to say you're sorry," April 13, 2007, Cascade PBS, accessed June 13, 2024, https://crosscut.com/2007/04/its-never-too-late-say-youre-sorry.

"defectives" in the population gained intellectual currency in the 19th century. Its implementation, particularly in asylums and other carceral institutions, gained traction in the early 20th century. Eugenics ideology is based on racism and ableism and suggests "that marginalized communities (e.g., people of color, people with disabilities, immigrants, Native Americans) were not valuable members of the society and their perceived undesirable traits could be eliminated by preventing them from having children."[92]

Washington State's first official eugenics legislation was enacted on March 22, 1909, with the passage of Remington & Ballinger's Code, Section 2287, which is commonly called the sterilization law.[93] This law marked Washington as the second state in the nation to pass a law allowing for forced sterilization, in this case as a form of punishment for select criminals.[94] The law was upheld by the Washington State Supreme Court in 1912 "in *State v. Feilen*, which rejected the claim that a forced vasectomy constituted cruel and unusual punishment prohibited by the Eighth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution."[95] In its more limited scope, the law was only applied to custodial institutions such as the State Penitentiary and the State Reformatory. The 1921 Prevention of Procreation Act greatly expanded who could be forcefully sterilized, including "inmates of institutions for the feeble minded and insane as well as of the State Penitentiary and State Reformatory."[96]

In a 1922 publication on eugenic sterilization in the United States, the author noted the second law was "purely eugenic and therapeutic in its motives."[97] Beyond state legislation, eugenics was a popular subject of lectures, news articles, and

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[92] Education Ombuds, "Disability History in Washington State Primary Documents," Washington State Governor's Office, 2, accessed July 16, 2024, https://www.oeo.wa.gov/sites/default/files/public/Lesson-4-Disability-History-in-WA-Primary-Source-Jigsaw-Activity_.pdf; Eugenics ideology had made its way to Washington State prior to this legislation and was a frequent topic of newspaper columns. "Laws of Heredity: New Society to Ascertain What Conditions Produce Thriving Families," *Seattle Daily Times*, June 6, 1904, 9; "Science to Rule in Making of Marriages," *Seattle Sunday Times*, May 20, 1906, 3; "Trial Marriages Denounced by Clergy," *Seattle Sunday Times*, November 18, 1906, 24; Karl Pearson, "The Science of National Eugenics," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, November 17, 1907, 1; "Eugenics is a new science," *Colfax Gazette*, January 31, 1908.

[93] Disability Studies, "Eugenics and Disability: History and Legacy in Washington"; Disability Studies, "History of Eugenics Resource Guide."

[94] Disability Studies, "Eugenics and Disability: History and Legacy in Washington"; Disability Studies, "History of Eugenics Resource Guide."

[95] John Caldbick, "Eugenics-based forced-sterilization law approved by Washington Governor Louis F. Hart on March 8, 1921," June 2, 2022, Essay 22489, HistoryLink.org, accessed July 16, 2024, https://www.historylink.org/File/22489.

[96] Harry Hamilton Laughlin, *Eugenical Sterilization in the United States* (Chicago: Psychopathic Laboratory of the Municipal Court of Chicago, 1922): 91, https://repository.library.georgetown.edu/bitstream/handle/10822/556984/EugenicalSterilizationInTheUS.pdf.

[97] Harry Hamilton Laughlin, *Eugenical Sterilization in the United States*, 91.

popular discussion.[98] Local newspapers carried articles about developments in the national eugenics movement. It would be another half century before organized resistance to eugenics laws became a critical element in the Disability Rights Movement.

The 1918 case of Harry Taylor, who was sentenced in King County to the State Reformatory in Monroe for burglary and grand larceny, is particularly insightful to the greater racial and class dynamics that were considered in sentencing sterilization. Although the courts cited his continued criminality, they also noted, "This man, about 35 years of age, is sub-normal mentally and has every appearance and indication of immorality. He has a strain of negro blood in his veins and has a lustful and disgusting appearance."[99] Although the application of the 1909 sterilization law was claimed to be based on "objective" observations of criminality, the characterization of Harry Taylor reveals his sentencing went beyond his criminal conduct to use his race to justify the use of sterilization as punishment.

This was not unusual for this era, as throughout the decades following the end of slavery, building upon early "research" based in scientific racism, there was a concerted effort by academics, researchers, medical professionals, and the general populace to utilize crime statistics and behavioral traits to "validate" the inferiority of black Americans.[100] These efforts were often used by eugenicists in the early to mid-1900s to bolster their arguments for white genetic superiority. Professor Khalil Gibran Muhammad, who writes and teaches about history, race, and public policy, documents this history in his book *The Condemnation of Blackness: Race, Crime, and the Making of Modern Urban America*. There, he notes that in the "1920s and 1930s, Progressive era white race-relations writers frequently asserted that racism had nothing to do with black criminality," often asserting "The numbers "speak for themselves."[101] The response to these assertions was met by new activism and advocacy by key organizations such as the National Urban League (1910) and the NAACP (1909), in conjunction with black researchers and civil rights activists, who "used statistical evidence of racial disparities in the northern criminal justice system as evidence that racial crime statistics were an unreliable index of black behavior."[102] He concludes that "Although by the 1930s the statistical discourse on black criminality in the urban North was far more contested than it had been in the 1890s, it remained largely rooted in segregationist thought and practice in competing visions of blacks' place in modern urban America."[103]

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[99] Harry Hamilton Laughlin, *Eugenical Sterilization in the United States*, 92.

[100] Khalil Gibran Muhammad, *The Condemnation of Blackness: Race, Crime, and the Making of Modern Urban America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2019).

[101] Khalil Gibran Muhammad, *The Condemnation of Blackness: Race, Crime, and the Making of Modern Urban America*, 8.

[102] Khalil Gibran Muhammad, *The Condemnation of Blackness: Race, Crime, and the Making of Modern Urban America*, 12.

[103] Khalil Gibran Muhammad, *The Condemnation of Blackness: Race, Crime, and the Making of Modern Urban America*, 13-14.

Racism has a long interconnected history with disability, including its use of ableist ideology, characterization of particular "racial differences" as disabilities, as well as its disabling effects through violence and discrimination.[104] Considering the legacy of the intentional efforts to connect race, criminality, and disability in the Progressive Era is critical to understanding the wide variability in disabled and disabling experiences throughout the 20th century, including the application of eugenics laws and practices.

In Washington, state institutions were critical to the perpetuation of eugenic ideology and the sites of forced sterilizations. Eventually, they became focal points for protests against eugenics policy and practices. This was due to the 1921 Prevention of Procreation Act, which stated,

> It shall be and is hereby declared the duty of the superintendents of all state institutions having the care of individuals held in restraint to report quarterly to the institutional Board of Health, all feeble minded, insane, epileptic, habitual criminals, moral degenerates and sexual perverts, who are persons potential to producing offspring who, because of inheritance of inferior or anti-social traits, would probably become a social menace or wards of the State.[105]

The act's inclusion of "moral degenerates and sexual perverts" in the list is notable as the terminology could include both people who commit what we consider contemporary sexual-based crimes and queer people. In addition to the link between race and criminality in this era, LGBTQ+ people were often categorized as mentally ill or morally degenerate, legitimizing state oversight and intervention.

The 1921 sterilization law in Washington State was overturned by the Washington State Supreme Court in the 1942 decision, in re Hendrickson. The basis for it being overturned was due to its methods, rather than on the basis of discrimination. Unfortunately, the 1909 sterilization law remains in effect to the present day.[106] Washington State has officially recognized 685 forced sterilizations,

> The majority of sterilizations were performed on people deemed mentally ill (256 women and 147 men) or mentally deficient (243 women and 33 men). It appears, but is not clear from the record, that a small number of rapists and/or habitual criminals were also sterilized.[107]

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[104] Kimani Paul-Emile, "Blackness as Disability?," *FLASH: The Fordham Law Archive of Scholarship and History*, 2018, https://ir.lawnet.fordham.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1885&context=faculty_scholarship.

[105] Disability Studies, "History of Eugenics Resource Guide."

[106] John Caldbick, "Eugenics-based forced-sterilization law approved by Washington Governor Louis F. Hart on March 8, 1921"; Education Ombuds, "Disability History in Washington State Primary Documents."

[107] John Caldbick, "Eugenics-based forced-sterilization law approved by Washington Governor Louis F. Hart on March 8, 1921."

Continued research is needed to further document the long-lasting harmful impacts of the eugenics movement, as well as the subsequent advocacy efforts to discredit the ideology in Seattle, especially as a point of intersectional analysis and interpretation of disability activism. Because the major sites implementing eugenics were state institutions, the history is not specific to Seattle but it is relevant to the city's history of disability activism.

Theme Three: Civil Rights Era of Disability Activism

The Civil Rights era of disability activism roughly spans from the 1960s to the late 1990s. Over this period, there was a shift in approach to disability rights activism. Self-representation and self-determination became essential to the Disability Rights Movement, and organizations and groups such as the March of Dimes, Goodwill, and similar charities and disability aid organizations came under scrutiny by activists with disabilities "for being run by non-disabled people, engaging in questionable practices, and perpetuating stereotypes about disability."[108] This shift proved critical in the evolution of disability activism and protest, and as David Pettinicchio points out, "The disability cause field was changing from within."[109]

This shift in approach and process saw a rise in disability rights organizing and leadership who led the efforts that resulted in disability-specific legal and policy changes and the establishment of critical disability advocacy organizations.[110] Grassroots actions by activists, civil rights groups, and advocacy organizations across the range of disabilities brought protest into the open at federal buildings in major cities, Seattle included. Citizen participation in making transit, housing, health, education, public spaces, and other public programs and resources accessible crossed the lines of particular disabilities and resulted in action plans at the federal, state, and local levels.

Critical to understanding activism in this period is that the Disability Rights Movement was built on the efforts of the early Civil Rights Movement to racially integrate public spaces. Both Brown v. Board of Education (1954) and later the Civil Rights Act (1964) had wide-reaching effects on ensuring that schools, transportation, accommodations, and other aspects of everyday life were integrated, not only by race but also by disability. Although disability was not originally a significant consideration during these early civil rights efforts, the battles fought to address racial discrimination offered the foundation for disability activists to build on in the 1970s.

Building on the work and activism of BIPoC organizers, the Disability Rights Movement fostered early forms of intersectional, cross-movement organizing. This was seen on a national scale in the Section 504 protests, during which the Black

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[108] David Pettinicchio, *Sixty Years of Visible Protest in the Disability Struggle for Equality, Justice, and Inclusion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2024): 40.0.

[109] David Pettinicchio, *Sixty Years of Visible Protest in the Disability Struggle for Equality, Justice, and Inclusion*, 40.

[110] Key dates include, but are not limited to, the start of the Independent Living Movement (1962), Community Mental Health Act (1963), Title XIX (19) of the Social Security Act (1965), Architectural Barriers Act (1968), Inaugural Convention of People First (1974), Developmental Disabilities Assistance and Bill of Rights Act (1975), Education for Handicapped Children Act (1975), Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act signed into effect after sit-in protests (1977), National Council on Disability is established (1978), "We will ride! "Disability Activists Protest and Americans with Disabilities for Accessible Transportation (ADAPT) is founded.

Panther Party offered aid to sit-in protesters at the headquarters of the Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) Office in San Francisco, CA. Advocacy by organizations such as the American Civil Liberties Union instigated legal efforts to protect the rights of people with disabilities, following on the heels of their efforts to challenge racial segregation in public schools.[111] Later, the HIV/AIDS Epidemic introduced new conversations about stigmatized identity, health, care, and disability. Seattle's LGBTQ+ community mobilized to respond to the HIV/AIDS crisis, drawing on prior progress in extending rights for people with disabilities to those who were affected by HIV/AIDS.

This period witnessed public revelations about the shocking and inhumane conditions of state institutions, prompting the movement for deinstitutionalization. The deinstitutionalization movement was also buoyed by efforts to address the impacts of the eugenics movement, which found its place in care facilities, hospitals, and other institutions that housed people with disabilities. As people with disabilities assumed leadership, it evolved into new initiatives such as the Independent Living Movement, led by Ed Roberts in Berkeley, CA. In Seattle, the Independent Living Movement emerged in the 1970s led by early advocacy organizations such as the **Disability Empowerment Center (Alliance of People with disAbilities/Washington Coalition of Citizens with Disabilities)**.[112]

Connecting Federal, State, and Local Activism

While this study focuses on Seattle-based activism, the rise of civil rights for people with disabilities is intertwined with the passage and implementation of legislation at the federal, state, and local levels. Legal advocacy at all levels has affected the rights of people with disabilities by overturning discriminatory laws and challenging inequitable practices. Local activism related to national legislation is a critical component of Seattle's disability activism history.

Disability activists in Washington led early efforts to enforce and formalize disability rights. In 1971, the Education for All (EFA) group which included Katie Dolan, Janet Taggart, Cecile Lindquist, Evelyn Chapman, William Dussault, and George Breck helped write and pass state law House Bill 90, known as

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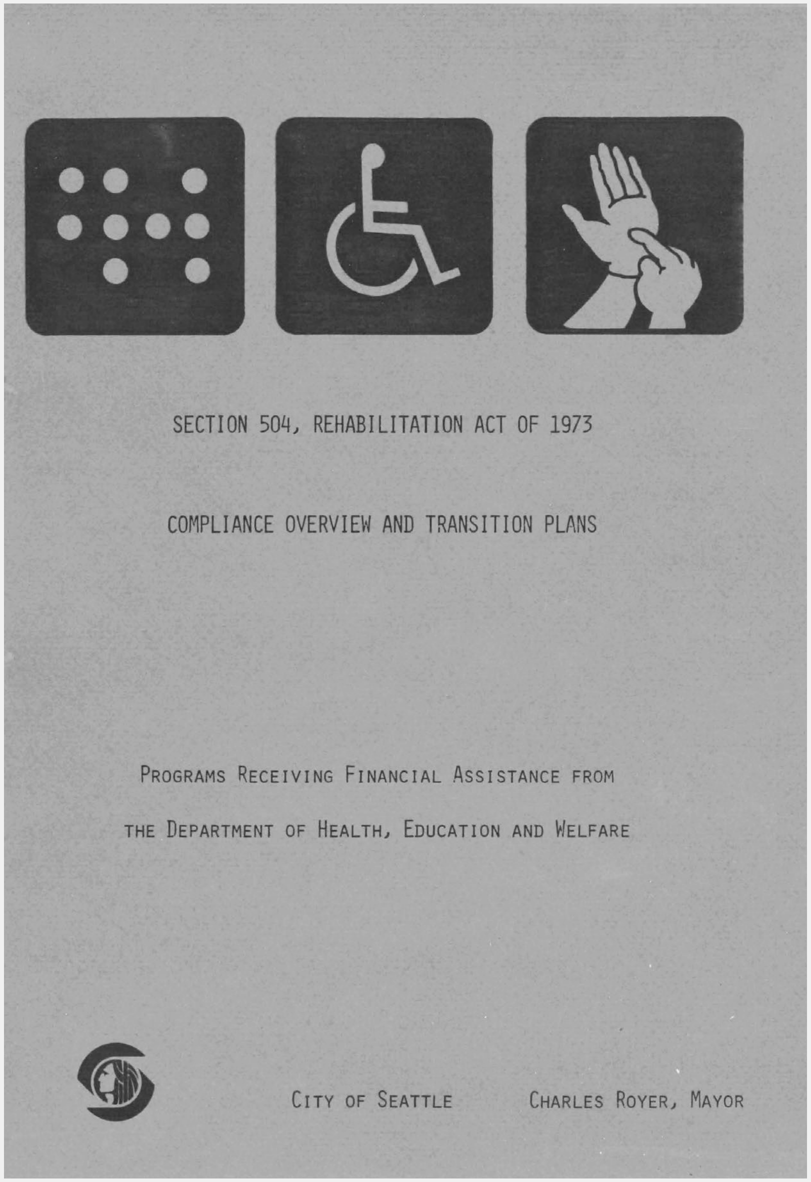
[111] American Civil Liberties Union, "ACLU History," accessed July 13, 2024, https://www.aclu.org/about/aclu-history; "ACLU History: Mental Institutions," September 1, 2010, American Civil Liberties Union, accessed July 13, 2024, https://www.aclu.org/documents/aclu-history-mental-institutions.

[112] Anne E. Parsons, *From Asylum to Prison: Deinstitutionalization and the Rise of Mass Incarceration After 1945* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2018); Carla Yanni, *The Architecture of Madness* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2007); Duane F. Stroman, *The Disability Rights Movement: From Deinstitutionalization to Self-Determination* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2003).

“Education for All,” which established the right to “publicly funded, individualized, and appropriate public-school education for all children who experienced disabilities;” the first in the United States.[113]



SECTION 504, REHABILITATION ACT OF 1973

COMPLIANCE OVERVIEW AND TRANSITION PLANS

Programs Receiving Financial Assistance from
the Department of Health, Education and Welfare

City of Seattle
Charles Royer, Mayor

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[113] “In Loving Memory of Northwest Center Founder & Disability Rights Activist Janet Taggart,” Northwest Center, accessed October 26, 2024, https://www.nwcenter.org/in-loving-memory-of-northwest-center-founder-disability-rights-activist-janet-taggart/.

Ralph Munro

Ralph Munro, Washington's Secretary of State from 1980 until 2001, also exercised leadership in the state's disability rights movement. A 1966 graduate of Western Washington University, Munro worked at the Boeing Company as an industrial engineer. A chance meeting with a child with disabilities that year raised Munro's awareness about the needs of children with intellectual disabilities; soon thereafter, he began volunteering at the **Fircrest Child Development & Mental Retardation Center**.

Munro's work on state-wide issues began with studying volunteerism and led to an appointment in 1972 as Governor Daniel Evan's special assistant on education and social services. During the early 1970s, his advocacy led Governor Evans to sign Washington's House Bill 90, also known as the "Education for All Act," which guaranteed all of the state's children a right to public education. It was "the first in the nation to require a state to educate all special-needs children, regardless of the level of disability."[114] Munro also advocated for the passage of House Bill 445, which amended state law to protect those with "sensory, mental, and physical handicaps" from employment discrimination.[115] Jeanette Williams, Chair of Seattle's Human Resources and Judiciary Committee, used this legislation to advocate and pass ordinance CF 278005, which enforced similar language at the local level.[116]

Munro was well-positioned to advocate for state investments and changes in practice that improved the lives of people with disabilities. According to the *Seattle Times*, "He led a campaign that steered $25 million to building group homes and job-training facilities. As the state's top elections official, he even published the first Braille voters' pamphlet in the state."[117] Upon Munro's retirement, former Governor Evans noted that "Ralph was the one who taught me how to care."[118] Munro received extensive recognition for his contributions to the civic life of Washington.

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[114] Rita Cipalla, "Munro, Ralph Davies (b. 1943)," March 17, 2021, Essay 21199, HistoryLink.org, accessed October 29, 2024, https://www.historylink.org/file/21199.

[115] Bob Young, "Former Secretary of State Ralph Munro has been a lifelong champion of disability rights."

[116] Comptroller File Number 278005, Ordinance Amending Fair Employment Practices CF 278005, April 8, 1974, City of Seattle Municipal Archives, access October 29, 2024, https://clerk.seattle.gov/~CFS/CF_278005.pdf.

[117] Bob Young, "Former Secretary of State Ralph Munro has been a lifelong champion of disability rights."

[118] Bob Young, "Former Secretary of State Ralph Munro has been a lifelong champion of disability rights."

Connecting Federal, State, and Local Activism (Continued)

Several major federal policies were essential to advancing the rights of people with disabilities Title V of the Rehabilitation Act (1973). It included four key sections that addressed disability rights,

> Section 501 directed federal agencies to develop affirmative action programs for the hiring, placement, and advancement of persons with disabilities. Section 502 established the Architectural and Transportation Barriers Compliance Board (ATBCB), which would ensure compliance with the Architectural Barriers Act of 1968, pursue ways to eliminate transportation barriers, and seek ways to make housing accessible. Under Section 503, parties contracting with the United States were required to use affirmative action to employ qualified persons with disabilities. Finally, and most importantly, Section 504 stated: "No otherwise qualified handicapped individual in the United States . . . shall, solely by reason of his handicap, be excluded from the participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance."[119]

Although passed in 1973, the US Department Health, Education, and Welfare delayed issuing regulations across three administrations. Frustration over these delays instigated disability rights protests across the country in April of 1977.[120]

In Seattle, local disability activists held a protest outside the city's **Regional Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW)** office. It represents one of the city's most significant disability rights protests due to its coordination with national protests at other regional HEW offices; unfortunately the building that housed the Seattle offices has since been demolished.[121]

The Seattle-based protest was documented in the *Seattle Daily Times* and the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*. As the *Seattle Daily Times* reported,

> More than 100 disabled persons, many in wheelchairs and on crutches, today joined thousands of persons in 11 other cities in a national sit-in in front of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare offices. The demonstration here was at the Arcade Plaza Building.[123]

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[119] "Equality of Opportunity: The Making of the Americans with Disabilities Act," National Council on Disability, July 26, 1997, accessed October 26, 2024, https://www.ncd.gov/report/equality-of-opportunity-the-making-of-the-americans-with-disabilities-act/.

[120] National Council on Disability, "Equality of Opportunity: The Making of the Americans with Disabilities Act."

[121] Alyssa Eveland, "504 Protest: Disability, Community, and Civil Rights," National Park Service, accessed August 17, 2024, https://www.nps.gov/articles/000/504-protest-disability-community-and-civil-rights.htm.

This protest was sponsored by the American Coalition of Citizens with Disabilities (ACCD), coordinated by Jack Martin. One of the protesters, Anne Walz, who worked for the City of Seattle's Handicapped Services Unit, was quoted in the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* as saying, "I was extremely heartened by the fact that so many showed up. United we stand. Divided, it takes longer."[124] The article also noted the marchers represented "just about every type of disability."[125] The Section 504 protests are lauded as one of the most critical nationwide protests for disability rights. These protests forged bonds of solidarity among people across varied disabilities and ushered in a new era of direct action led by people with disabilities.[126] Despite these initial efforts, continued activism would be needed to ensure city services were brought into compliance. For example, within the next few years Seattle Public Schools would be found out of compliance with Section 504, providing advocates for children with disabilities in the school system to insist on equitable services.

[Figure 7] At the regional offices of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in Seattle, local organizers joined protests across the country advocating for the implementation of Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act.

[Source: "Disabled here join national protest," *Seattle Daily Times*, April 5, 1977, 14.]

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[123] "Disabled here join national protest"; The Arcade Plaza has been demolished.

[124] Jane Estes, "50 Handicapped Demonstrate Here."

[125] Jane Estes, "50 Handicapped Demonstrate Here."

[126] "10 Principles of Disability Justice," Sins Invalid, accessed July 21, 2024, https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5bed3674f8370ad8c02efd9a/t/5f1f0783916d8a179c46126d/1595869064521/10_Principles_of_DJ-2ndEd.pdf.

Paul Wysocki: Implementing Civil Rights for People with Disabilities in Seattle City Government

Activists were dedicated to passing federal legislation that ensured the civil rights of people with disabilities. Implementing the legislation within state and local government was another major project entirely. It required a combination of activist drive and an insider's knowledge of how to make change within a bureaucracy. Paul Wysocki was a tireless advocate for developing more inclusive organizational practices and was skillful in crafting strategies that tackled discrimination on multiple fronts simultaneously.

Wysocki's education at the University of North Dakota prepared him for employment in the field of mechanical engineering. After graduation, he spent a decade working at the Boeing Company before joining the City of Seattle in a staff position. He served as manager of the city's Human Resources Department and supervisor of the affirmative-action unit of the Human Rights Department.[127] Wysocki used his authority within the city government to address discriminatory policies and practices that were long overdue for reexamination from a disability rights standpoint.

Wysocki was not merely an advocate for the rights of people with disabilities but drew on his own experience as a person with dwarfism and mobility aid-user to evaluate and speak out about the impact of existing policies and practices. His authority to address barriers to mobility was built on knowledge gained from the experience of trying to navigate the city's buildings, streets, and transportation systems. While his circumstances were not identical to all those he served, his mobility impairment was a litmus test for the suitability of proposed solutions to the

[Figure 8] City Light Director of Construction Engineering John Hansen speaking to wheelchair users who requested the installation of additional curb ramps as part of an underground wiring project along 45th Ave in Wallingford (1979). Pictured standing with two canes is Paul Wysocki, Director of the city's Handicapped Services Unit and later supervisor of the Human Rights Department's Affirmative Action/Disability Unit.

[Source: Municipal Archives, City of Seattle.]

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[127] "Paul Wysocki is appointed to the college board," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, March 22, 1991, B6.

pervasive barriers that prevailed in state and local government. Additionally, his wife Julie's use of a wheelchair amplified the couple's authority about the changes needed to bring about equity for people with disabilities.[128]

As manager of the Handicapped Services Unit of Human Resources in the Seattle City government (1976), Wysocki advocated to eliminate employment discrimination against the elderly and disabled.[129] He designed and implemented reforms in standard hiring practices that had reflected unconscious biases toward people with disabilities, among other attributes, such as reorganizing job interviews to eliminate discriminatory questions.[130] He also helped to address data gaps about the number of handicapped and elderly people in the labor force used to set goals and timetables for implementing affirmative action.

Wysocki's concerns went beyond employment policy and practices to address public attitudes toward workers with disabilities. As his wife Julie noted, from her vantage point as a personnel representative for the Health Sciences Department at the University of Washington, "studies show that information and education about disabled people changes attitudes favorably about 50 per cent of the time."[131]

Wysocki also laid the foundation for people with disabilities to participate in decision-making about public actions affecting them, helping to build robust groups of stakeholders that mirrored the wide range of disabilities in the population. When Seattleites complained about barriers to access, Wysocki often acted as the city's point person for problem-solving. For example, when *Seattle Times* columnist Shelby Gilje used their "Troubleshooter" column to address citizen complaints about the inaccessibility of Pioneer Square, Wysocki was the first to acknowledge the need for more curb cuts in historic districts and elsewhere in the city.[132] The story featured an electric wheelchair user, only identified as P.L., who faced numerous barriers navigating Pioneer Square's historic district. While historic districts have been the pride of Seattle, they presented numerous problems in terms of maintaining their character while opening them up to greater accessibility.[133]

By the mid-1980s, many regulatory processes were established, and attention was turned to addressing systemic barriers in the design of the built environment.[134] Wysocki educated city staff

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[128] Barbara Huston, "Housing Is A Handicap, Too," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, December 18, 1977, E1 and E4.

[129] Patricia Foote, "Attitude change needed for equality," *Seattle Times*, December 9, 1976, H2.

[130] Patricia Fisher, "Employment issues of disabled to be examined," *Seattle Times*, November 30, 1978, E1.

[131] Patricia Fisher, "Employment issues of disabled to be examined."

[132] Shelby Gilje, "Wheelchair user's complaint gets results in Pioneer Square," *Seattle Times*, December 28, 1982, D9.

[133] Shelby Gilje, "Wheelchair user's complaint gets results in Pioneer Square."

[134] Sherry Stripling, "Getting Around: Barriers crop up in many places if you're disabled," *Seattle Times / Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, November 4, 1984, F1 and F7.

responsible for regulatory compliance to ensure accessibility was collectively embraced as a public responsibility. Beyond architectural designers, the city's building inspectors, zoning officials, and staff in local building departments were charged with administering and interpreting the new code elements before issuing building permits.[135] Wysocki became an advocate for conceptualizing access issues from the beginning to end of projects as a more effective approach to producing accessible places, insisting access was a core consideration in the project planning process.[136] Conceptualizing people with disabilities as key stakeholders, who merited inclusion in the consultation process, ensured consideration of their needs and concerns.

By the late 1980s, Wysocki received recognition for his disability rights advocacy. In 1988, a coalition of Seattle-based human rights organizations gathered to honor the work of seven local people, Wysocki included. His efforts to reform discriminatory laws and policies affecting people with disabilities were framed by the coalition as advancing human rights and dignity.[137] It signaled the rise of the United Nations' approach to disability justice as one of many human rights issues.[138]

Among Wysocki's many spheres of activism, he actively engaged in national efforts to advocate for the passage of the Americans with Disabilities Act. As people with disabilities from all over the country descended on Washington D.C. in March 1990, Wysocki was quoted in the *Seattle Times* as saying,

> Right now, in most parts of the country, private employers – unless they are receiving federal money – don't care if they are a disabled person. There's no redress if you're kicked out of a theater. There's no guarantee that you can ride the bus. We have these things in Washington State and Seattle and King County because this state has been in the forefront. But never has my federal government shown this commitment to me and to the community – that I can't be discriminated against because of my disability.[139]

Policy change at the federal level, with the implementation of the ADA, was heartening for those who had fought for years to make the city accessible. Given Wysocki's early role as a disability rights advocate within state and local government, as well as his leadership in implementing national policy in the areas of transportation, city planning, and access to city services, he merits recognition within future initiatives to commemorate the city's history of disability activism.

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[135] Sherry Stripling, "Planners often aren't accessible to the needs of disabled people," *Seattle Times* / *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, November 4, 1984, F7.

[136] Sherry Stripling, "Planners often aren't accessible to the needs of disabled people."

[137] Nancy Montgomery, "Rights group honor 7 who have defended freedom for others," *Seattle Times* / *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, December 11, 1988, D2.

[138] Nancy Montgomery, "Rights group honor 7 who have defended freedom for others."

[139] Amy Linn, "Hundreds of disabled gather in D.C. to lobby for anti-discrimination bill," *Seattle Times*, March 12, 1990, A1 and A5.

Deinstitutionalization

The establishment of state asylums and residential institutions had a profound effect on defining disability and shaping the conditions of daily life for those confined in them. Some state leaders, such as Governor Albert Rosellini, were supportive of funding for state institutions during their terms (1957-1965). However, the troubling conditions under which people with disabilities lived in state institutions came into public awareness between the 1950s and 1970s.

Deinstitutionalization throughout the US, and in Seattle, was a critical process significantly reshaped the landscape of care for people with disabilities.[140] In Washington State, deinstitutionalization followed national trends. Local and national newspapers, including a 1965 article in the *Seattle Daily Times*, called attention to disturbing conditions within state hospitals and asylums.[141] The article outlined the history of state institutions in Washington, including the long history of abuse and mismanagement. The article ends on a hopeful note, concluding, "Modern research and therapy have removed the cloak of fear and darkness from the subject of mental illness, and with it is gone the need to hide its victims in isolated 'asylums';" however, the shift away from these institutions had already started."[142] Only a few short months later, the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* ran an article, "What State Mental Hospitals Offer Children: Indifference, Hopelessness, Shackles, and Despair," outlining the dismal conditions children faced across the country in state institutions.[143] Both articles indicated the shift away from reforming institutions to closing them.

This shift was upheld by two key federal court cases brought by the ACLU that had sweeping impacts on the conditions of hospitalization for people with mental illness and developmental disabilities: *Wyatt v. Stickney* (1972) and *Wyatt v. Aderholt* (1974) by the ACLU.[144] In the same year, Bruce Ennis at the NYCLU filed a class-action lawsuit representing 5,400 residents of the Willowbrook State School for children with mental disabilities in Staten Island.[145] This intervention was, in part, prompted by national reporting on the terrible conditions at the facility.

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[140] Some scholars now argue that this process is better described as "transinstitutionalization," which is defined as "a societal shift in the type of institutions and institutional alternatives used to house these groups." Steven P Segal and Leah Jacobs, "Deinstitutionalization," *Encyclopedia of Social Work* (June 2013): 1, ResearchGate, accessed July 13, 2024, https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Leah-Jacobs-3/publication/273576079_Deinstitutionalization/links/55062c6f0cf2d60c0e6caf09/Deinstitutionalization.pdf.

[141] Gordon Newell, "Care of Mentally Sick, Then and Now," *Seattle Daily Times*, August 29, 1965, *S* 114-115.

[142] Gordon Newell, "Care of Mentally Sick, Then and Now."

[143] "What State Mental Hospitals Offer Children: Indifference, Hopelessness, Shackles, and Despair," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, October 17, 1965, 138-140.

[144] American Civil Liberties Union, "ACLU History: Mental Institutions."

[145] American Civil Liberties Union, "ACLU History: Mental Institutions."

In 1973, the Northern State Hospital in Sedro Woolley was closed, indicating Washington's acceptance of the need to deinstitutionalize care of people with disabilities.[146]

In 1977, the U.S. General Accounting Office defined deinstitutionalization as, the process of (1) preventing both unnecessary admission to and retention in institutions; (2) finding and developing appropriate alternatives in the community for housing, treatment, training, education, and rehabilitation of persons who do not need to be in institutions, and (3) improving conditions, care, and treatment for those who need to have institutional care. This approach is based on the principle that . . . persons are entitled to live in the least restrictive environment necessary and lead lives as normally and independently as they can.[147]

The catalysts for deinstitutionalization and rise in advocacy for people with developmental, psychiatric, or physical disabilities who suffered under its legacy are multifaceted. However, researchers have identified several main points, including,

A. the negative effects of institutionalization documented by journalists and social scientists;
B. improvements to institutions (increased staffing, programming, and upgrading of facilities) leading to the growing costs of some types of institutional care relative to alternatives;
C. advances in social, psychological, and medical sciences that were thought to make the confinement and isolation functions of the institution obsolete;
D. the development of the civil rights movement, which emphasized the protection of individuals' due process rights and the necessity to approach care and treatment in the least restrictive manner;
E. the development of an extensive system of public aid that allowed the maintenance function of institutions (in-kind room and board) to be replaced by a system of cash grants to clients; and
F. the development of new institutional alternatives, relatively less expensive than existing institutions.[148]

The efforts to document and address the atrocities at state institutions eventually led to the passage of the Civil Rights of Institutionalized Persons Act (1980). Additionally, legal advocacy for people with disabilities has included the development and reform of state adult guardianship laws for those unable to meet their basic needs for physical health, safety, or self care.

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[146] Gordon Newell, "Care of Mentally Sick, Then and Now"; The Cultural Landscape Foundation, "Northern State Hospital."

[147] 1977 U.S. General Accounting Office (GAO) report (1997), 1 as cited in Steven P Segal and Leah Jacobs, "Deinstitutionalization," *Encyclopedia of Social Work*.

[148] Steven P Segal and Leah Jacobs, "Deinstitutionalization," *Encyclopedia of Social Work*.

These laws were created to support decision making for individuals whose disabilities require court-sanctioned protective arrangements.

In response to deinstitutionalization, activists and advocates turned instead to notions of community embeddedness, centered on interdependence and connection building, rather than segregation and incarceration. In April of 2024, journalists Will James, Sydney Brownstone, and Esmy Jimenez interviewed former Washington Governor Dan Evans to compare the intentions of deinstitutionalization with their actual impact. Evans acknowledged the movement's good intentions but admitted it had mixed consequences.[149]

Although Northern State Hospital was closed in 1973, other state institutions, including the Western State Hospital and Eastern State Hospital, are the subjects of numerous lawsuits, many of which brought forward by organizations such as **Disability Rights Washington**, based out of Seattle, which

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[149] The article and quote are drawn from KUOW NPR's podcast episode "Lost Patients"; Will James, Sydney Brownstone, and Esmy Jimenez, "50 years ago, many psychiatric hospitals closed. Did that cause today's mental health crisis?," April 2, 2024, KUOW, National Public Radio Network, accessed July 13, 2024, https://www.kuow.org/stories/50-years-ago-many-psychiatric-hospitals-closed-did-that-cause-today-s-mental-health-crisis.

serves as the state protection and advocacy agency.[150] Although the deinstitutionalization movement gained its greatest public awareness and intervention in the 1970s in Washington State, the process has been a drawn-out one, with many of the same fundamental issues of human rights violations continuing well into the 2010s. Disability Rights Washington collaborated with patients at Western and Eastern State Hospitals in 2017 to release "The Megaphone Effect: Reclaiming Recovery," a video exploring the evolution of a patient rights group at Western State Hospital.[151] They also house the program *Rooted in Rights*, which "tells disability stories by people with disabilities."[152] Their work includes amplifying "the perspectives of people with disabilities living in the community, as well as those in institutional settings, including prisons and jails, both within Washington State as well as nationwide and internationally."[153]

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[150] Disability Rights Washington, "History," accessed June 17, 2024, https://disabilityrightswa.org/history/.

[151] Disability Rights Washington, "History"; "The Megaphone Effect: Reclaiming Recovery," Disability Rights Washington, Rooted in Rights, accessed September 15, 2024, https://youtu.be/ahsprUekAI0?si=O42aCA13Fg_9mA4A.

[152] Rooted In Rights, "Mission, Vision, & Values," accessed August 17, 2024, https://rootedinrights.org/about/mission-vision-values/.

[153] Rooted In Rights, "Mission, Vision, & Values."

Nellie Goodhue

Nellie Goodhue (1869-1957) worked with the University of Washington in studies to assess the background and educational capacity of children with special needs.[154] She conducted clinics and fostered the development of classes for children with disabilities. Goodhue was the first Director of the Child Study Department for Seattle Public Schools in 1914 and served as an instructor at the Normal School. Her testing program established benchmarks for assessing children with disabilities' educational progress and training programs. Goodhue also led an unsuccessful campaign, from 1916-1925, to establish the Western Washington Institution for the Feebleminded. She successfully advocated to include students with disabilities in the Seattle Public Schools, winning a place for students with IQs above 50 during the 1920s. She was the principal of the Washington School. The Shoreline Health and Guidance Center, built in 1946, was named the school in her honor after it was converted into a center for "mentally disabled" children in 1954. **Nellie Goodhue Group Homes**, also named after her, was established in 1970 to provide a family-like residential setting for people with intellectual disabilities.

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[154] "Nellie A. Goodhue," Wikipedia, accessed October 29, 2024, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nellie_A._Goodhue; Larry A. Jones, *Doing Disability Justice* (Research Triangle: Lulu, 2010).

Community Care in Group Homes and Small-Scale Residential Settings

Accommodating the needs of elderly and people with disabilities for affordable and accessible housing has been a chronic problem. By the 1970s, activists recognized that private market solutions were not producing an adequate number of new affordable and accessible housing units to meet the needs of people with disabilities. This was particularly true for low-income wheelchair users, who found it difficult to locate affordable single-family dwellings, apartments, or condominiums they could freely access.[155] The competition for accessible units overwhelmed the number that were available. James Daly, a senior loan officer for the Veterans Administration in Seattle, noted, "if I knew a house today that qualified for the *handicapped* (sic) I'd have three or four veterans to bid on it."[156] The past emphasis on disabled war veterans was becoming more expansive in this era as "victims of industrial accidents, multiple sclerosis, auto accidents, cerebral palsy, and polio," as well as typical aging issues, became recognized as conditions requiring barrier-free housing too.[157]

Beyond the availability of barrier-free units, the issue of segregating people with disabilities in complexes for only people with disabilities became a concern. Tax credits incentivized businesses to be barrier-free, including apartment construction. The US Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) required 5% of units in any apartment building to be barrier-free if financed or insured by HUD. [158] Similarly, changes to the Washington State Building Code in October of 1976 required "that 5% of units in an apartment over 10 years be barrier-free."[159] The Veterans Administration's (VA) standards for housing serving veterans who lost the use of their legs in a service-connected accident were influential in defining the specifications for barrier-free homes, including wider hallways, doors, larger bedrooms and bathrooms, roll-in showers, sinks allowing wheelchairs to roll up to them, grab bars, conveniently located light switches, and other elements. It was an important era for developing financial incentives for the construction of accessible housing units and setting standards for adaptive design.

Paul and Julie Wysocki's own experience searching for housing was relevant to addressing the larger issues in the Puget Sound region, "they looked six months for a house in the Puget Sound area and finally found a single-level house with four bedrooms and 28-inch doorways which needed only a ramp added at the front door."[160] Paul Wysocki felt lucky to find it because efforts

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[155] Barbara Huston, "Housing Is A Handicap, Too."

[156] Barbara Huston, "Housing Is A Handicap, Too."

[157] Barbara Huston, "Housing Is A Handicap, Too."

[158] Barbara Huston, "Housing Is A Handicap, Too."

[159] Barbara Huston, "Housing Is A Handicap, Too."

[160] Barbara Huston, "Housing Is A Handicap, Too."

to build a house meeting their needs, or convert one to become accessible, proved impossible to negotiate with builders and bankers. The nearly 50,000 people with disabilities aged 16 or older in King County, as of 1975 pointed to the need for new housing types accommodating people in wheelchairs, those using canes, crutches, or walkers, and those whose blindness or deafness. As gaps in the housing market were identified, publicly subsidized housing units along with incentives for private market housing development came to the fore.[161]

The transition to less restrictive and more community-embedded care alternatives was a complicated process; however, a number of organizations aided in the transition. One of the most significant shifts toward community care was advanced by the Independent Living Movement, which was started by a group of Berkeley, CA, students with severe disabilities in the late 1960s.[162] As it took form in Washington State,

> The Independent Living (IL) philosophy is based on the belief that persons with disabilities have the same basic human rights as persons without disabilities to participate in and contribute to community life. It is about persons with disabilities having the right and seeking the opportunity to be self-determined in matters such as living arrangements, transportation, social life, employment, and physical care."[163] Central to this movement was the leadership and direct participation, and "Active, effective advocacy by people with disabilities for people with disabilities became the essence of the movement.[164]

Delays in implementing Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act (1973) spawned protests in 1977 that called for immediate action to implement policy guidelines. When the legislation was finally signed by HEW Secretary Joseph A Califano Jr., under the Rehabilitation Act Amendments, the Federal Government began to fund and establish Independent Living Centers across the country. In 1992, amendments to the Federal Rehabilitation Act required all states to establish a State Independent Living Council (SILC). In Washington, "former Governor Mike Lowry created the Washington SILC through Executive Order 93-04.[165] Subsequently, the original Executive Order was amended by Governor Gary Locke in 2004. The WASILC currently operates under Executive Order 04-05."[166]

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[161] Barbara Huston, "Housing Is A Handicap, Too."

[162] Washington State Independent Living Council, "Our History," accessed July 16, 2024, https://www.wasilc.org/history.

[163] Washington State Independent Living Council, "Our History."

[164] Washington State Independent Living Council, "Our History."

[165] "Executive Order 93-04 Establishing the State Rehabilitation Advisory and State Independent Living Advisory Councils," Washington State Office of the Governor, accessed August 17, 2024, https://governor.wa.gov/sites/default/files/exe_order/eo_96-04.pdf.

[166] Washington State Independent Living Council, "Our History."

In Seattle and King County, the **Disability Empowerment Center** was founded in 1977 in response to calls for the implementation of Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act.[167] It represents one of the earliest Independent Living organizations in the state. From its founding to today, the Disability Empowerment Center is a critical partner organization on the city and state levels, addressing accessibility concerns within communities, offering training, conducting assessments, and administering state-wide programs.[168] Rehabilitation doctors at the **Good Samaritan Hospital**, who embraced the Independent Living philosophy, started the **Center for Independence** in 1981.[169] These Independent Living Centers are supported by the state-wide non-profit **Washington State Independent Living Council**, which "promotes a statewide network supporting the Independent Living Philosophy for people with disabilities through advocacy, education, planning, and collaboration."[170]

United Cerebral Palsy (UPC) of King and Snohomish County played an important role in providing adult residential care for people with disabilities. UPC opened a Residential Center in 1977 in Shoreline to serve 110 adults with Cerebral Palsy and similar disabilities.[171] In 1999, the organization disaffiliated with UCP and changed its name to PROVAIL to focus on local programs and serving people with a wider range of disabilities. The following year, PROVAIL opened administrative offices and a therapy clinic on Stone Way in Wallingford.

Accessible Design

Implementation of federal legislation removed physical barriers and made public spaces and facilities accessible. Planning and design professionals, particularly those with disabilities, and stakeholders with disabilities, led the movement to make public space accessible. The history of accessible environmental design is usually traced to the passage of the Architectural Barriers Act of 1968 (ABA) and the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 (ADA).[172] The ABA focused on the physical barriers to access within public spaces,

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[167] "Our Cause," Disability Empowerment Center, accessed August 17, 2024, https://www.disabilityempowerment.org/our-cause.

[168] "Our History," Disability Empowerment Center, accessed July 16, 2024, https://www.disabilityempowerment.org/alliance-history#:~:text=Our%20center%20started%20in%201973,expect%2C%20equal%20access%20for%20all.

[169] "Our Mission," Center for Independence, accessed July 16, 2024, https://www.cfi-wa.org/mission.

[170] Washington State Independent Living Council, "What We Do," accessed July 21, 2024, https://www.wasilc.org/what-we-do.

[171] "Who We Are," PROVAIL, accessed October 29, 2024, https://provail.org/about-provail/.

[172] U.S. Department of Justice Civil Rights Division, "Home," accessed July 21, 2024, https://www.ada.gov/; Office of the Assistant Secretary for Administration & Management, "Architectural Barriers Act (ABA)," U.S. Department of Labor, accessed July 21, 2024, https://www.dol.gov/agencies/oasam/centers-offices/civil-rights-center/dlms2-0600.

> The Architectural Barriers Act (ABA) of 1968, as amended, stipulates that all buildings which are (1) financed with Federal funds and (2) intended for use by the public, or which may result in employment or residence therein of physically *handicapped* (sic) persons, be designed and constructed in accordance with standards prescribed by the ABA to ensure that such buildings are fully accessible to and usable by *handicapped* (sic) individuals.[173]

Later, the ADA would go further to prohibit discrimination on the basis of disability, just as other civil rights laws successively prohibited discrimination on the basis of race, color, sex, national origin, age, religion, and sexual orientation.

> The ADA guarantees that people with disabilities have the same opportunities as everyone else to enjoy employment opportunities, purchase goods and services, and participate in state and local government programs.[174]

Following the passage of the ABA in 1968, its implementation was led by local government officials. Former City Council member Jeanette Williams worked tirelessly in the 1970s to make the City of Seattle accessible to all its constituents. As a council member, she submitted petitions, introduced legislation, and lobbied for the accessibility of all aspects of public buildings, from the installation of ramps and accessible bathrooms to advocating for accessible polling locations.[175]

Washington State emerged as a national leader in building accessibility by incorporating regulations for barrier-free design in 1978 revisions to Seattle's Building Code.[176] Through the efforts of architects, designers, and local government officials Washington became the first state to have its regulations certified by the US Department of Justice meeting the accessibility requirements for the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990. Funded by the National Institute on Disability, Independent Living, and Rehabilitation Research, the **Northwest ADA Center** is part of a national network of 10 centers composed of ADA professionals and experts. Their goal is to assist businesses, state and local governments, and people with disabilities in implementing the ADA. As director

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[173] Office of the Assistant Secretary for Administration & Management, "Architectural Barriers Act (ABA)," U.S. Department of Labor.

[174] U.S. Department of Justice Civil Rights Division, "Home."

[175] "Comptroller File 266205," Seattle Comptroller/Clerk Files Index, Office of the City Clerk, City of Seattle, https://clerk.seattle.gov/search/clerk-files/266205; In 1970, Williams submitted a petition for the City to provide ramps at certain intersections for use by people in wheelchairs; In 1973, Williams spearheaded legislation for funding the installation of the first accessible restrooms in the Municipal Building in Seattle; In 1974, Williams submits a letter outlining proposed changes to Fair Employment Ordinance, January 30, 1974 (Clerk File 278005) and a letter is sent calling for accessible polling places in King County, October 15, 1974 (4693-02, 53/8); Her archival records are held in part at the Seattle Municipal Archives as the "Jeanette Williams Records, 1960-2003," https://archiveswest.orbiscascade.org/ark:80444/xv86538.

[176] Seattle Municipal Archives, "Implementing the ADA in Seattle."

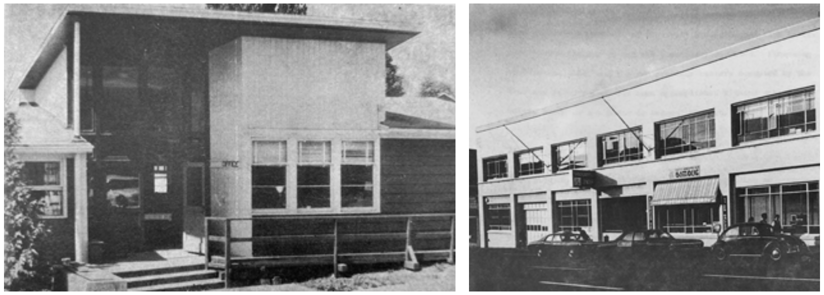
of its leadership institute, Paul Dziedzic was instrumental in providing leadership training to experts in rehabilitation throughout the northwest and mountain states.[177] Dziedzic is the former Special Assistant to the Governor of Washington on Substance Abuse Issues and the former Director of the Washington Department of Services for the Blind. He also served as president of the Council of State Administrators of Vocational Rehabilitation. His expertise shaped policy related to services and opportunities for people with disabilities.

Ida Flagler Daly and the Handicapped Center

During the mid-20th century Ida May Flagler Daly (1901-1985) emerged as a leader of Seattle's disability rights movement. She initiated several key institutions, including the **Seattle Handicapped Center** and **Center Park Apartments**. Daly had muscular dystrophy since childhood, which required the use of a wheelchair. The absence of elevator access limited her to ground-floor classrooms during her high school years. She briefly attended the University of Washington but did not complete an undergraduate degree.

[Figure 9] Photo of Ida Flagler Daly at a community event.

[Source: Photo of Ida Flagler Daly, Box 1, Folder 1, Ida Flagler Daly Posters, Collection 2530-002, University of Washington Special Collections.]



Seattle, WA. **[Figure 10]** (Left) The first Seattle Handicapped Center was located in the Mount Baker area. It was demolished to build the Center Park Apartments. **[Figure 11]** (Right) The facility was relocated to a building between Pike Place Market and Lake Union.

[Source: Photos of Seattle Handicapped Center buildings, Folders 4 and 5, Ida Flagler Daly Posters, Collection 2530-002, University of Washington Special Collections.]

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[177] Northwest ADA Center, "Paul Dziedzic," accessed September 15, 2024, https://nwadacenter.org/paul-dziedzic.

Daly gained public recognition in 1951 when she founded the Seattle Handicapped Center and served as its director. The center was a cooperative Parks project located in the Mount Baker area, offering classes and services to both adults and children. It is notable as an early organization run by and for people with disabilities. Its presence set a new tone within the landscape of charitable initiatives by being financed and run by people with disabilities rather than on their behalf. Daly and center members persuaded the City of Seattle to provide the Handicapped Sports Club with older buildings, which they repaired and expanded to become the Handicapped Center.

[Figure 12] Seattle, Wa. Renovation of Seattle Handicapped Center's first building, including the construction of a ramp (June 1968). Ida Daly and other leaders with disabilities led the project and vision for the site.

[Source: Ida Flagler Daly Posters, Collection 2530-002, University of Washington Special Collections.]

The labor required to renovate and make the old buildings accessible to people with mobility impairments constituted sweat equity. As Daly recalled, "The job was ours. We recruited carpenters, electricians, painters, cleaners, plumbers, and ditch diggers who pitched in voluntarily to renew the first building we were to use. It had been heated by a coal furnace, so renovating meant installing an oil burner. We also had to bring a new water main from a meter a block away."[178] They installed an entry ramp, enlarged the toilet, painted, and scavenged for furniture, including tables discarded from Seattle's historic Smith Tower. The center effectively served as a social and recreational hub for its members. Daly advocated effectively for the inclusion of people with disabilities in developing city resources, which she stated effectively in 1969, "I think you will find that [people with disabilities] are often very astute and creative in working out solutions."[179] The Seattle City government would turn to the center's members for future consultations on disability rights issues as invested and clearly identifiable stakeholders.

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[178] Ida Daly and Hazel Flagler Begeman, *Adventure in a Wheelchair: Pioneering for the Handicapped* (Whitmore Publishing Company, 1973): 32.

[179] *People Power: A Report of the Conference, June 24-27, 1969,* National Citizens Conference on Rehabilitation of the Disabled and Disadvantaged, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED038793.pdf.

[180] Ida Daly and Hazel Flagler Begeman, *Adventure in a Wheelchair: Pioneering for the Handicapped*, 32.

Among their first services was transportation, which Daly recognized would be “a perpetual problem until our society meets the need of transporting physically disabled people.”[180] She directed the center for the next decade, offering people with disabilities access to a recreation facility (1956) as well as an arts and crafts building (1957). Ida took up residence at the center, which served more than 300 users. For two decades, from the 1950s through the 1970s, the center’s publications, including *Good Samaritan* (1953-1968) and *The Progress* (1969-1975), provided important means of communication within the community of people with disabilities in Seattle and the surrounding area.

Daly’s multiple successes drove her call for the development of accessible housing in Seattle to meet the needs of people with mobility impairments. As her sister recalled, Daly’s own experience of disability led her to imagine housing accommodating wheelchair users by adjusting the placement of basic features: “apartments with the doorknobs high, the mailboxes low, the electrical outlets up. She planned all those things,” her sister Hazel Flagler Begeman recalled.[181] Daly’s advocacy supported the 1969 creation of Center Park Apartments, an eight-story, 137-unit low-income public housing project located at the northern end of the Rainier Valley that was designed to be wheelchair accessible. As Ida Daly imagined the apartment building, it was a

> Highrise with floors laid out in the shape of a cross so that no one would have to go far to reach the elevator. Eliminating many of the prevailing architectural barriers, such as narrow doors and steps, we proposed a few special features to give maximum independence for the prospective residents. When plans were well advanced, a model walk-in kitchen and bathroom were built into our center for criticism and comments. This was helpful and prevented several serious mistakes.[182]

[Figure 13] Ida Flagler Daly receipt of “Handicapped American of the Year” from WA Governor Daniel Evans.

[Source: Photo of Ida Flagler Daly, Box 1, Folder 1, Ida Flagler Daly Posters, Collection 2530-002, University of Washington Special Collections.]

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[181] Carolyn Bengston, “For Woman in Wheelchair Courage Is a Way of Life,” *Austin American Statesman*, Thursday, June 7, 1973, 63.

[182] Ida Daly and Hazel Flagler Begeman, *Adventure in a Wheelchair: Pioneering for the Handicapped.*

The construction of Center Park Apartments on the site of the Handicapped Center displaced the center to a converted factory building near Lake Union.[183]

Beyond the Handicapped Center, Daly worked at the legislative level to improve everyday conditions for people with disabilities, including former Governor Daniel Evans. Daly's publications, including *Adventure in a Wheelchair: Pioneering for the Handicapped* (1973), document her leadership and advocacy on behalf of the rights of the disabled.[184] During her long career, Daly received city, state, and national recognition for her disability rights advocacy, including the Certificate of Distinguished Service to the Community from the Seattle Chamber of Commerce, twice the National Award from the President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped, Washington State's Handicapped American of the Year, Woman of Achievement, Quadriplegic of the Year by Toomey J. Gazette International, and the Governor's Award for the Handicapped American of the Year.[185] The University of Washington, Special Collections, holds Ida Daly's papers.[186] Daly's recognition as one of the leaders of Seattle's disability rights movement continues to grow.

Center Park Apartments

One of Seattle's leading accomplishments was the creation of accessible housing for people with disabilities. The firm of Kirk, Wallace McKinley, AIA, and Associates designed **Center Park Apartments** as an affordable housing project accessible to people with disabilities.[187] Paul Kirk's childhood experience of polio, which limited the use of one of his arms and left him walking with a limp, informed his design sensibilities. A University of Washington graduate (1937), Kirk started his own firm just before WWII. According to his biographer, Kirk was a pioneer in creating accessible homes and businesses for people with disabilities like himself.[188] Center Park, the

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[183] Ida Daly and Hazel Flagler Begeman, *Adventure in a Wheelchair: Pioneering for the Handicapped*, 50.

[184] Ida Daly and Hazel Flagler Begeman, *Adventure in a Wheelchair: Pioneering for the Handicapped.*

[185] Dot Stenning, "Ida Daly: The Handicapped Center's guiding spirit," *Seattle Times*, November 9, 1975, 25.

[186] Ida Flagler Daly Papers, 1953-1975, Collection Number 2530, University of Washington, Special Collections.

[187] Seattle Municipal Archives, "Implementing the ADA in Seattle."

[188] Dale Kutzera, *Paul Hayden Kirk and the Rise of Northwest Modern* (Seattle: Salmon Bay Books, 2021).

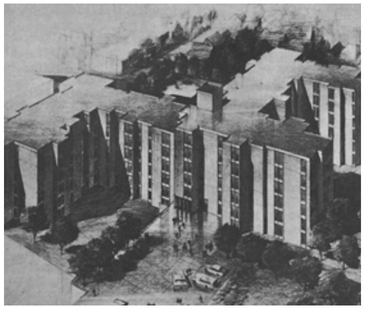
city's first public housing project designed to accommodate people with various disabilities, particularly wheelchair users, grew out of community advocacy for accessible housing. Kirk embraced community enthusiasm and ensured Center Park's design was shaped from conceptions to completion by a group of community stakeholders including Ida Flagler Daly and other leaders with disabilities.

[Figure 14] Paul Kirk (right) with Sterling S. Taylor (left), Henry M. Jackson (third from left), and Vernon C. "Kelly" Jewett (seated) look over plans for the Center Park Apartments.

[Source: Ida Flagler Daly Posters, Collection 2530-002, University of Washington Special Collections.]

[Figure 15] Seattle, WA. Kirk, Wallace McKinley, AIA, and Associates Office (2024).

[Source: Photo courtesy of Michael DeLange.]



Seattle, WA. **[Figure 16]** (Left) Cover of *Progress: For the Physically Limited* (September 1969) featuring a sketch of the proposed Center Park Apartments.

[Figure 17] (Right) Ida Flagler Daly and associates in front of a sign announcing the future site of the Center Park Apartments for the Handicapped.

[Sources: (Left) *For the Physically Limited* 1, no. 9 (September 1969): Cover, Ida Flagler Daly Posters, Collection 2530-002, University of Washington Special Collections; (Right) Ida Flagler Daly and associates in front of sign announcing the future site of the Center Park Apartments for the Handicapped, Ida Flagler Daly Posters, Collection 2530-002, University of Washington Special Collections.]

At the 1969 National Citizens Conference on Rehabilitation of the Disabled and Disadvantaged Ida Daly described the unique process, “From the day the project was assured the architects and the people in the Housing Authority dealt entirely with the building committee of our handicapped group…They made no major decisions without consulting us. The whole thing has been envisioned and promoted by physically handicapped persons themselves.”[189]

[Figure 18] (Left) In September 1967 the Seattle Housing Authority held an open house to present the latest Center Park Apartment building drawings and have future residents evaluate a model kitchen to finalize their accessible designs.

[Figure 19] (Right) The September 1969 issue of Handicapped Club’s publication Progress included sample floor plans for the Center Park Apartments.

[Source: Ida Flagler Daly Posters, Collection 2530-002, University of Washington Special Collections.]

Center Park drew nationwide attention for its many innovations, including by mocking up apartments whose features were tested by people with disabilities.”[190] Center Park’s selection as the venue for a November 1969 national conference on barrier-free design constituted recognition of its innovative design and direct input and advocacy by people with disabilities.[191] Center Park also inspired broader educational initiatives to advocate for barrier-free design, as marked by a 1969 conference that brought together representatives from the American Institute of Architects (AIA), General Services Administration (GSA), Easterseals Society of Washington, Department of Health and Welfare’s Rehabilitation Services Administration and the Governor’s Committee for Employment of the Handicapped, which concluded by touring Kirk Wallace McKinley’s Center Park apartment tower.[192]

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[189] *People Power: A Report of the Conference,* June 24-27, 1969, National Citizens Conference on Rehabilitation of the Disabled and Disadvantaged, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

[190] Dale Kutzera, *Paul Hayden Kirk and the Rise of Northwest Modern.*; Paulhaydenkirk.com, “Home,” accessed August 17, 2024, https://paulhaydenkirk.com/.

[191] “Seattle Housing Authority, Center Park, Rainier Valley, Seattle, WA,” PCAD, accessed August 11, 2024, https://pcad.lib.washington.edu/building/24417/.

[192] “Seattle Housing Authority, Center Park, Rainier Valley, Seattle, WA,” PCAD.

The apartments were the site of innovation in accessible practices, including transit experiments in 1970 intended to increase bus access for its residents, resulting in access to a customized Metro bus, nicknamed "the love bus" by residents, designed to handle 16 wheelchairs.[193] This would be a first step in reexamining the bus system to ensure all of its routes had wheelchair lifts. Overtime, however, residents had to fight to retain access to Center Park's specialty transit. In April 1993, Metro announced it would eliminate the customized bus and replace the service with more door to door service using vans and mini-busses to save costs. Residents attended Metro Council meetings and held protests against the elimination of the Center Park bus service, and by June 1993, the Metro Council agreed to extend the bus service for a period of time, although on a reduced schedule.[194] The solidarity and community fostered by residents at Center Park and their willingness to take direct action was essential to both establishing and maintaining city-based accessibility resources.

[Figure 20] On May 18, 1993, Center Park residents protested Metro's proposed elimination of their customized bus transit services.

[Source: Paul Joseph Brown, "Center Park housing residents protesting proposed Metro bus changes, Seattle, May 18, 1993," 2000.107.19930518.4.02, Seattle Post-Intelligencer, Museum of History & Industry, Seattle (MOHAI), https://digitalcollections.lib.washington.edu/digital/collection/imlsmohai/id/16848/rec/2.]

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[193] Paul Joseph Brown, "Center Park housing residents protesting proposed Metro bus changes, Seattle, May 18, 1993," 2000.107.19930518.4.02, Seattle Post-Intelligencer, Museum of History & Industry, Seattle (MOHAI), https://digitalcollections.lib.washington.edu/digital/collection/imlsmohai/id/16848/rec/2.

[194] Paul Joseph Brown, "Center Park housing residents protesting proposed Metro bus changes, Seattle, May 18, 1993."

Designing for Disability

Seattle has a long history of efforts to make public space accessible through design. In addition to architect Paul Kirk, who designed Center Park, two more Seattle architects stand out as leaders in the field of accessible design: Barbara L. Allan (1927-2014) and Karen Braitmayer (1961-). Other architects such as Olof Hanson (1862-1933) and Arnold G. Gangnes (1918-2003) designed buildings specifically used by people with disabilities.[195] Planning and design professionals used their skills to advance accessibility within the built environment, an essential form of disability activism intended to open public facilities and civic spaces to all.

Interior designer Barbara Allan, a wheelchair user since 1960, deployed her personal knowledge of architectural barriers and professional expertise in accessible design to transform the built environment of Seattle and Washington State. Teaching an elective course on wheelchair accessibility to University of Washington architecture students, she helped to sensitize an emerging generation of design professionals to the needs of people with disabilities. Her pedagogy included experiential dimensions, such as having students spend a day navigating Seattle in a wheelchair to build awareness of the many obstacles wheelchair users face in the city.[196] Even the brief experience of mobility impairment proved illuminating for students and reporters; those who took Allan up on the experiment became enthusiastic advocates. One reporter's experiment moving through the city in a wheelchair, in Allan's company, proved revealing. Together, they discovered the inaccessibility of upper shelves in supermarkets as well as the difficulty of locating an internal route to access lower-level shops in downtown Seattle's First Interstate Bank building.[197] Steps, narrow aisles, and poorly-timed elevator door openings and closings raised the journalist's awareness of the everyday concerns of wheelchair users.

Allan also served as the Access-Ability unit director of Washington's Easterseals Society, a position she used as a springboard for advocacy at the state and local levels. Allan's obituary (2014) points to her impact on all aspects of the disability rights movement, especially her leadership in advancing accessible approaches to planning and design.

> Barbara became involved in barrier-free design concepts beginning in the early 1970s. A spinal-cord-injured paraplegic

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[195] Michael C. Houser, "Arnold G. Gangnes," Docomomo US/WEWA, accessed September 13, 2024, https://www.docomomo-wewa.org/architect/gangnes-arnold/.

[196] Sherry Stripling, "Getting Around: Barriers crop up in many places if you're disabled."

[197] Sherry Stripling, "Getting Around: Barriers crop up in many places if you're disabled."

> originally trained as a graphic designer, she applied her experience as a wheelchair user to understanding and advancing key notions of universal design and accessibility. Products of her effort include well-executed and influential publications that captured public and professional attention, including several editions of *Accessibility Design for All, An Illustrated Handbook*.[198]

Allan's experience as a wheelchair user, as well as her work as a designer, increased public awareness of the unmet need for change in the city's built environment. In particular, the absence of signage pointing to accessible restrooms, missing curb cuts, and ubiquitous steps without ramps posed steep barriers to navigating a hilly city. Allan had a gift for widening the circle of allies and advocates dedicated to removing architectural barriers and implementing accessible design in the city.

Consciousness-raising was not Allan's only approach. She also excelled in articulating the technical standards needed to implement barrier-free design within the building code. Her appointment to the State Building Code Council proved especially impactful as she worked with other peers to set standards for implementing barrier-free design, clarified code, and developed parking guidelines to improve compliance.[199] As she explained, greater clarity in the state building code and tighter enforcement would help make the city more accessible.[200] Her work on the State Building Code Council and the Governor's Committee on Disability Issues and Employment (1992) led to public recognition for her contributions to making Washington State architecture accessible.[201] Allan was also active in the national movement to ensure the passage of the ADA. When asked to comment on the need for change, Allan agreed with ADAPT organizer Auberger, who noted, "Discrimination is happening daily on a level that I don't think most people could even comprehend," adding, "We've been waiting for generations, and now is the day for us."[202] Allan served as a mentor to Karen Braitmayer, who would follow in making the built environment more accessible.

Karen Braitmayer (1961-), FAIA, is a skilled practitioner of universal design and a national leader in accessible design practices. Based in Seattle, she is the founder and managing principal of **Studio Pacifica**. Braitmayer champions design

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[198] "Barbara L. Allan, 1927-2014," Legacy.com, accessed June 24, 2024, https://www.legacy.com/us/obituaries/seattletimes/name/barbara-allan-obituary?id=13217107. Note that this obituary was published in the *Seattle Times* on December 7, 2014.

[199] Sherry Stripling, "Planners often aren't accessible to the needs of disabled people."

[200] Sherry Stripling, "Planners often aren't accessible to the needs of disabled people."

[201] "Barbara L. Allan, 1927-2014," Legacy.com." Note that this obituary was published in the *Seattle Times* on December 7, 2014.

[202] Amy Linn, "Hundreds of disabled gather in D.C. to lobby for anti-discrimination bill."

strategies that welcome people of all abilities. She often serves as a consultant to architectural peers seeking her guidance to ensure their projects reach the highest standards of inclusivity.

Braitmayer's personal and professional commitment to accessibility is rooted in her own experience of disability. She uses a due to mobility limitations from the genetic bone disorder, osteogenesis imperfecta, also known as brittle bone disease. Unfortunately, the environment of Houston, TX, where she was raised, was less than accessible. In her words, it "did not have curb cuts on the sidewalks, or accessible parking, or movie theaters with spaces for wheelchair users to sit."[203]

Braitmayer's fundamental design standard is to be able to live "in a community where I can reasonably predict that I can go to the shopping mall, find a place to park, get in the door, and go to the food court and use the bathroom," freedoms that able-bodied people can assume in a world designed for them.[204] Beyond access to individual buildings, Braitmayer and her firm start from the standpoint that universal design and ubiquitous access are foundational for disability rights and justice. Her projects reflect a driving belief that design for universal access can result in welcoming, functional, and beautiful spaces.

Braitmayer received a BA from Rice University (1982) and an MArch degree from the University of Houston (1985). She is a registered architect in Oregon and Washington and was elevated to Fellow of the American Institute of Architects in 2004. She worked at Callison Architecture in Seattle before opening her firm, Studio Pacifica, whose staff includes many accessibility experts. Braitmayer credits Barbara Allan as a mentor who encouraged her to participate in Washington state code development. As Braitmayer noted in a 2019 interview in the *Seattle Times*, "[Allan] recognized before I did the novelty of a wheelchair user who was an architect, and that I speak the language of architecture while advocating for the needs of people with mobility devices.'"[205]

Studio Pacifica's work spans civic, commercial, institutional, and residential projects, all of which benefit from an approach going well beyond compliance to ensure that access is a fundamental aspect of the creative process in planning and design decisions. In a consulting capacity, Braitmayer's firm has advised on renovations to notable Seattle locations, including the Space Needle, Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation Discovery Center, and student housing at Smith College.

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[203] Anna Zappia, "Karen Braitmayer, Founder of Studio Pacifica, Weighs in on Accessible Design," *Metropolis*, July 21, 2020.

[204] Anna Zappia, "Karen Braitmayer, Founder of Studio Pacifica, Weighs in on Accessible Design."

[205] Sandy Deneau Dunham, "Architecture Issue 2019: Karen Braitmayer brings unique perspective to her award-winning work toward accessible architecture," Pacific Northwest Magazine, *Seattle Times*, September 15, 2019.

The American Institute of Architects (AIA) awarded Braitmayer the Whitney M. Young, Jr. Award (2019) for her contributions to making the architectural profession more equitable. The national award honors an architect or architectural organization that embodies social responsibility and actively addresses a pressing social issue. President Obama appointed Braitmayer to the US Access Board (2010-), an independent federal agency providing leadership on accessible design under the Americans with Disabilities Act and other federal laws. She chaired the board from 2012-2014. She is a frequent lecturer on access issues related to hotels and restaurants, multi-family housing, residences in campus environments, and related subjects.

Beyond these leading figures, many other architects, landscape architects, and planners have designed buildings intended to serve users with disabilities. Olof Hanson's projects for the deaf community in Washington State reach back to the 1910s. In the post-war period, Arnold G. Gangnes (1918-2003) became the "go-to" architect for projects that included stakeholders with disabilities. Ganges graduated from the University of Washington's architecture program in 1942 and received the MArch degree from MIT in 1946. His commitment to the Association for Retarded Children shaped an interest in design for children with intellectual and developmental disabilities.

Among his most noted building designs for users with disabilities directly were the Center for Disturbed Children (1960) at Western State Hospital in Steilacoom; offices for the Family Counseling Service in the Lowman Building (1967); three award-winning Halfway Houses for the **Fircrest Hospital Campus** (1969); and the Child Development & Mental Retardation Center (1971).[206]

Taken together with Paul Kirk's pioneering contributions to designing for people with disabilities, Seattle's legacy of advocacy and innovation in producing accessible designs merits further research within disability activism history. The stories shared here offer a foundation for future studies that consider the legacies of architects and designers whose personal experience and professional expertise made the built environment and landscape of Seattle and Washington State more accessible.

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[206] Michael C. Houser, "Arnold G. Gangnes."

Disability and LGBTQ+ Identities during the HIV/AIDS Crisis

The earliest theme in this study noted that non-normative social identities qualified some groups for institutionalization, including those declared "sexually deviant." The long history of treating LGBTQ+ people as "morally defective" and the shift over time to a human rights model led by queer activists merits recognition within the history of disability rights activism. First published in 1952, the *Diagnostic and Statistic Manual of Mental Disorders* (DSM) condemned homosexuality as a mental disorder. That designation made psychiatry an unsafe place for LGBTQ+ people to explore their sexuality. Combined with laws that enforced gender normative behavior, used by the police to arrest those who frequented gay bars, few institutions in the 1950s and early 1960s supported the development of a proud and positive public identity for queer people. The pervasive homophobia in many schools, churches, health facilities, and other core community institutions sparked the rise of the gay liberation movement and the formation of organizations and institutions to provide mutual support and a base for activism to change both casual and institutional forms of discrimination.[207] Gay activism led to the 1973 removal of homosexuality from the DSM. Many core LGBTQ+ organizations and institutions were established in Seattle by the time the HIV/AIDS crisis emerged in the city in June of 1981. The next section addresses the community institutions that helped address LGBTQ+ health needs and the emerging connections between disability organizing and the movement to provide appropriate health, housing, and care for those affected by the virus.

LGBTQ+ Health Resources before the HIV/AIDS Crisis

The Dorian Society was Seattle's first homophile organization, founded in 1967. Nicholas Heer, University of Washington Professor of Near Eastern Languages and Cultures, was its first president. Within two years of its founding, **Dorian House** opened to provide counseling and employment assistance to the LGBTQ+ community.[208] Its services included the **Seattle Counseling Services for Sexual Minorities (SCSM)**, created by Bob Deisher, which offered progressive mental health care and counseling by and for people within Seattle's LGBTQ+ community and refuted the DSM's classification of homosexuality as a mental disorder. SCSM is recognized as the

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[207] Ray Levy Uyeda, "How LGBTQ+ Activists Got "Homosexuality" out of the DSM," May 26, 2021, JSTOR Daily, accessed July 18, 2024, https://daily.jstor.org/how-lgbtq-activists-got-homosexuality-out-of-the-dsm/.

[208] Greg Lange, "Dorian House, pioneering gay counseling service, opens in Seattle on July 7, 1969," March 13, 2003, Essay 5408, HistoryLink.org, accessed July 21, 2024, https://www.historylink.org/File/5408; The article also notes that the house was located specifically at Located at 320 East Malden Street, near 15th Avenue E and Harrison Street on Capitol Hill.

first mental health agency for LGBTQ+ people in the United States.[209] Dorian House became a positive alternative to the bathhouses and bars that previously had been the principal gathering spaces for community members. The emergence of HIV/AIDS in June 1981 increased Dorian House's importance in fighting to reduce anti-gay stigma in health professions and secure equitable services.[210]

The Seattle Gay Clinic (SGC) was another essential community activist-initiated healthcare resource established in 1979.[211] SGC was created as an alternative to the Health Department's venereal disease clinic, which was located in the same building as the Seattle Police Department headquarters, causing tension due to the historic mistreatment of LGBTQ+ people by law enforcement.[212] The SGC offered a destigmatized and non-policed space for counseling and testing.[213] Tim Burak, the only openly gay man working in the Health Department, volunteered at the SGC, where he first encountered patients showing signs of HIV/AIDS. Burak endeavored to ease tensions between the Health Department and LGBTQ+ community members. The clinic also established a Directory of Gay-Sensitive Physicians, many of which became leaders in community responses to the HIV/AIDS crisis.[214] The rise of services such as Dorian House and SGC provided a springboard for grassroots efforts to advocate for equal treatment under the law before and throughout the HIV/AIDS crisis.[215]

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[209] University of Washington Archives and Special Collections acknowledges SCSM as the nation's first mental health agency for LGBTQ+ people. Archives West, "Seattle Counseling Service records, 1963-2001," accessed August 17, 2024, https://archiveswest.orbiscascade.org/ark:80444/xv364161; University of Washington Libraries Special Collections houses the materials related to Seattle Counseling Service.

[210] Post-COVID-19 funding declines prompted the May 2022 annoucement that the Seattle Counseling Service would be closing. Michael Strangeways, "Seattle Counseling Service Drops A Bombshell…They Are Closing Up After 53 Years Of Service To The Community," *Seattle Gay Scene*, March 3, 2022, accessed August 17, 2024, https://seattlegayscene.com/2022/03/seattle-counseling-service-drops-a-bombshell-they-are-closing-up-after-53-years-of-service-to-the-community/.

[211] Seattle Civil Rights and Labor History Project, "Tim Burak, Seattle Gay Clinic, Seattle-King County Public Health AIDS Prevention Project," University of Washington, accessed June 10, 2024, https://depts.washington.edu/civilr/burak.htm; Sandi Doughton, "How Seattle fought the plague of AIDS," *Seattle Times*, March 13, 2019, accessed June 10, 2024, https://www.seattletimes.com/pacific-nw-magazine/how-seattle-fought-the-plague-of-aids/.

[212] Seattle Civil Rights and Labor History Project, "Tim Burak, Seattle Gay Clinic, Seattle-King County Public Health AIDS Prevention Project," University of Washington; Sandi Doughton, "How Seattle fought the plague of AIDS."

[213] "Don't Worry Be Happy," *Seattle Gay News*, February 17, 1989, 12.

[214] Seattle Civil Rights and Labor History Project, "Tim Burak, Seattle Gay Clinic, Seattle-King County Public Health AIDS Prevention Project," University of Washington; Sandi Doughton, "How Seattle fought the plague of AIDS."

[215] The University of Washington created the "Seattle Civil Rights & Labor History Project" which includes a specific section on "LGBTQ Organizations and Periodicals," accessed August 17, 2024, https://depts.washington.edu/civilr/lgbtq_organizations.htm. The list covers organizations focused on community health, HIV/AIDS responses, among other disability and disability-adjacent topics.

LGBTQ+ Community Response to the HIV/AIDS Crisis

Federal, state, and local activism contributed to ensuring HIV/AIDS-positive patients received adequate and appropriate care. Activist concerns included affordable healthcare and treatment, end-of-life care, funding to research effective treatments and ultimately a cure through drug trials at the FDA, the provision of affordable housing, access to public transportation, and multiple educational initiatives advocating for safer sex practices and accessible testing.[216] Countering prejudice and stigma required the formation of activist organizations in Seattle and elsewhere to educate the public and communities most affected by the virus, including directly addressing the needs of Black, Indigenous, and PoC communities.

Following the first diagnosed case of HIV/AIDS in Seattle, LGBTQ+ community members and activists drew on existing resources and organized new services to fight discrimination in housing, employment, and healthcare for people with HIV/AIDS. LGBTQ+ activists who pressed for public responses to the HIV/AIDS crisis borrowed from the Disability Rights Movement the notion that HIV/AIDS produced disabling conditions deserving equal protection under the law, not unlike physical, developmental, and psychological disabilities. Building on the Dorian House's newsletter, *Columns*, the *Seattle Gay News* thoroughly covered the HIV/AIDS crisis, employing the language of disability in documenting the struggle to support victims of the virus.[217]

In Seattle, activists persuaded the City Council to set aside funds for HIV/AIDS treatment and research, making it the second municipality in the United States to do so.[218] Activist and municipal worker Tim Burak, known for involvement in the Seattle Gay Clinic, assumed a leadership role in addressing public health concerns of Seattle's LGBTQ+ community. Burak used his position at the Seattle-King County Department of Public Health, now Public Health – Seattle & King County, to create

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[216] "Interview with Jean McGuire: Executive Director of the AAC [AIDS Action Foundation]," *Seattle Gay News*, February 17, 1989, 11-14; Alan Reade, "Metro's Discrimination Policy Toward PWA's," *Seattle Gay News*, November 13, 1987, 1 and 6; Kevin McKenna and Michael Aguirre, "A brief history of LGBTQ Activism in Seattle," Seattle Civil Rights and Labor History Project, University of Washington, Center for the Study of the Pacific Northwest, accessed June 10, 2024, https://depts.washington.edu/civilr/lgbtq_history.htm#:~:text=The%20story%20of%20LGBTQ%20Seattle,for%20nondiscrimination%20in%20the%201970s.

[217] These efforts are well-documented in Seattle's gay newspaper, *Seattle Gay News*. Katherine Grant-Bourne, "Lambda has been fighting and winning vital cases since 1972," *Seattle Gay News*, July 19, 1985, 9; Mary Jane Owen, "AIDS & Disability, sound familiar? Be quiet and no one will notice," *Seattle Gay News*, March 7, 1986, 17; Alan Reade, "Metro's Discrimination Policy Toward PWA's"; "National Task Force blasts Justice Dept.'s AIDS discrimination ruling," *Seattle Gay News*, July 4, 1986, 19; "Interview with Jean McGuire: Executive Director of the AAC [AIDS Action Foundation]," *Seattle Gay News*; "American Airlines settles dispute," *Seattle Gay News*, January 21, 1994, 7; Margaret O'Donnel, "AIDS and Hopelessness: The Increasing Connection," *Seattle Gay News*, March 28, 1997, 26; "Opening Doors in West Seattle," *Seattle Gay News*, October 12, 2001, 1.

[218] Kevin McKenna and Michael Aguirre, "A brief history of LGBTQ Activism in Seattle," Seattle Civil Rights and Labor History Project.

THE CHICKEN SOUP BRIGADE NEWSLETTER

April 1989

the monthly for volunteers & clients

monthly meeting report

Statistics Reveal CSB Client Population Will Change

The AIDS epidemic in the Seattle-King County area is expected to peak in 1995, according to Karen Hartfield of the AIDS Prevention Project.

Ms. Hartfield, speaking at the February monthly meeting, said Seattle-King County is closely following the nationwide epidemiological patterns, but with a three year time lag. As the AIDS epidemic progresses in our community, we as volunteers can expect to see the people we serve change from primarily gay white men, to include a significant population of IV drug users and people of color, both male and female. As these groups grow, we can also expect to see more children with AIDS.

Outreach programs must address specific needs

AIDS transmissions in the gay community is decreasing, due to a very high level of knowledge and wide spread acceptance of safe sex practices.

IV drug users, however, still engage in risky behavior. Sharing needles is still very common--almost a social norm. This population will require concerted efforts in "one-on-one" education and behavior modification.

People of color tend to have a high level of knowledge about AIDS, although overall lower levels of education and income in this group correlates with more conservative, fearful attitudes and an individual perception of low risk.

Overall, the general public's knowledge level is increasing, although many misconceptions remain, especially beliefs about casual transmission and risk to blood donors. While teenagers have a high level of knowledge about AIDS, little effective change has been seen in their behavior (low condom use, multiple sex partners).

All segments of our population are "at risk" and require additional efforts in education and changing behavior. Additional support services for people living with AIDS will also be needed.

Hot news with all the fixin's!

[Figure 21] Front page of the April 1989 Chicken Soup Brigade Newsletter. The newsletter was a monthly publication for volunteers and clients.

[Source: Chicken Soup Brigade, "Chicken Soup Brigade Newsletter: The Monthly for Volunteers and Clients, April 1989," 2023.30.5, Chicken Soup Brigade Newsletters, Museum of History & Industry, Seattle (MOHAI), https://digitalcollections.lib.washington.edu/digital/collection/imlsmohai/id/19174/rec/4]

an inclusive platform for public health advocacy. Eventually, Burak became the Manager of Seattle-King County Public Health's AIDS Prevention Project.[219] In 1983, Burak co-founded the **Chicken Soup Brigade (CSB)** with Josh Joshua and early volunteers Tom Speer and Will Jones, located on Capitol Hill.[220] The Chicken Soup Brigade was founded to serve people living with any disabling illness, but shifted one year later to providing services to people with HIV/AIDS. The organization helped people with carrying out activities of daily living, including food acquisition and preparation, transportation, and companionship.[221]

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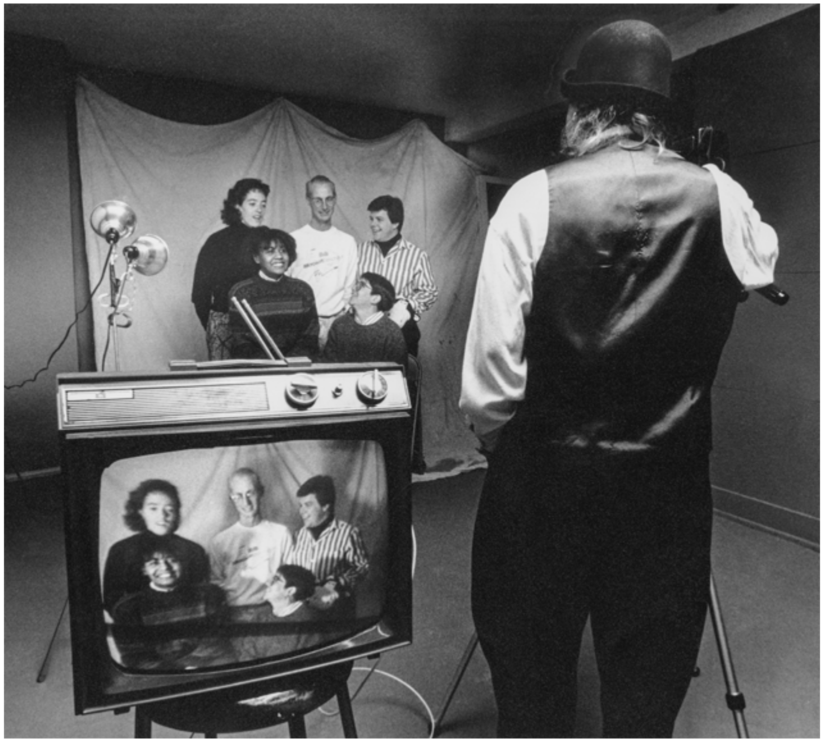
[219] Seattle Civil Rights and Labor History Project, "Tim Burak, Seattle Gay Clinic, Seattle-King County Public Health AIDS Prevention Project," University of Washington; Sandi Doughton, "How Seattle fought the plague of AIDS."

[220] Nick Rousso, "Lifelong AIDS Alliance (Seattle)," October 3, 2022, Essay 22555, Historylink.org, accessed June 10, 2024, https://www.historylink.org/file/22555.

[221] "AIDS & ARC patients to receive services from Chicken Soup Brigade," *Seattle Gay News*, August 30, 1985, 5.

Dr. Thomas Marsella established the **Northwest AIDS Foundation** in 1983, the same year the Chicken Soup Brigade was formed. Tim Burak served as one of the original board members. Dr. Robert Wood, a member of the University of Washington's faculty of medicine, served as its second president. When Wood was later diagnosed as HIV-positive, he served as King County's first AIDS Control Officer.[222] In 2001, the Chicken Soup Brigade and the Northwest AIDS Foundation merged to form the **Lifelong AIDS Alliance**.[223] Both organizations filled gaps in Seattle's care systems by providing essential services and led efforts to organize against discriminatory practices, policies, and public perspectives. The many individuals who bridged local government and community organizations contributed to Seattle's distinctive response to the HIV/AIDS crisis.[224]



[Figure 22] In February 1990, local independent producer Barbara Leischner helped the staff of Chicken Soup Brigade tape a video Valentine for the organization's 350 volunteers. The staff featured are Charmaine Slye, Carol Sterling, Martha Swain, Stuart Gullstrand and Bill Miller.

[Source: Robert DeGiulio, "Chicken Soup Brigade staff making a video, Seattle, February 5, 1990," 2000.107.001.06.12, *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* Photograph Collection, Museum of History & Industry, Seattle (MOHAI), https://digitalcollections.lib.washington.edu/digital/collection/imlsmohai/id/9130/rec/15.]

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[222] Nick Rousso, "Lifelong AIDS Alliance (Seattle)."

[223] Nick Rousso, "Lifelong AIDS Alliance (Seattle)."

[224] Gail Dubrow, Larry Knopp, Michael Brown, "Act Up versus Straighten Up: Public Policy and Queer Community-Based Activism," in *Planning and the LGBTQ Community: The Need for Inclusive Queer Spaces*, ed. Petra Doan (New York: Routledge, 2015).

People of Color Against AIDS Network (POCAAN)

Not only was Seattle a leader in responding to the HIV/AIDS crisis, but it was a seedbed for organizing by people of color to fight the deadly disease and its stigma. **People of Color Against AIDS Network (POCAAN)** was formed in 1987 to serve the specific needs of Seattle's marginalized communities.[225] By February of 1988, the spread of HIV/AIDS in Seattle's Black community became an issue of public concern thanks to organizing and advocacy by POCAAN.[226] In a *Seattle Times/Seattle Post-Intelligencer* news article titled "Deadly Denial," members of the city's Black community, including its churches, instigated difficult conversations about the danger in their midst.

[Figure 23] Vanessa Carter, Terry Tafoya and the Rev. Esten Collins Jr. discuss plans for an AIDS conference for minority communities.

[Source: Craig Fujii, "Vanessa Carter, Terry Tafoya and the Rev. Esten Collins Jr. discuss plans for an AIDS conference for minority communities," in Charles E. Brown and Janice Hayes, "Deadly denial," February 21, 1988, *Seattle Times / Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, L1-L3.]

[Figure 24] Native American Coalition of POCAAN Queer Oyate poster (1996).

[Source: POCAAN, "Queer Oyate poster, 1996," 2021.16.1, Museum of History & Industry, Seattle (MOHAI), https://digitalcollections.lib.washington.edu/digital/collection/imlsmohai/id/16700/rec/1.]

The perception that HIV/AIDS was an exclusively white, gay, male disease presented a challenge to serving those in the city's Black community. Data showing the disease's disproportionate impact on people of color began to become public as a result of POCAAN's public education and awareness efforts. Under the leadership of Caitlin Fullwood, POCAAN pursued a public relations campaign intended to combat denial and raise public awareness in the Black community as well as other communities of color, including Queer Oyate, the Native American Coalition of the organization.[227]

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[225] "POCAAN: Addressing the Impact of HIV/AIDS in Seattle," SWERV Magazine, accessed July 18, 2024, https://www.swervmagazine.com/community/pocann/.

[226] Charles E. Brown and Janice Hayes, "Deadly denial," February 21, 1988, *Seattle Times / Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, L1-L3.

[227] POCAAN, "Queer Oyate poster, 1996," Museum of History & Industry, Seattle (MOHAI), https://digitalcollections.lib.washington.edu/digital/collection/imlsmohai/id/16700/rec/1.

They employed posters proclaiming, “AIDS is a white man’s disease. Famous Last Words.”[228] As a result, POCAAN began to change attitudes, as Fullwood explained,

> We’ve seen a real change in the attitudes of people of color in that we’re willing to discuss AIDS and accept the fact that it may have something to do with my life, my community, my family. Denial is breaking down; information is finally there. But I don’t think we’ve begun to change people’s behavior – that is the problem now in the community.[229]

As an activist group, POCAAN employed the usual organizing strategies of community forums, posters, and leaflets, but reaching the Hispanic community led them to innovate by producing AIDS photo-novellas emphasizing visual as opposed to written messages. The rising rates of AIDS among people of color in the US, including women and children, made POCAAN’s innovative organizing campaign critical to the movement.

Gay men, including Billy Jefferson, the rare board member of color with the Northwest AIDS Foundation. The crisis in the Black community was so great that Billy Jefferson came out in settings previously quite hostile to LGBTQ+ issues, including Seattle’s Black churches. Billy’s willingness to publicly acknowledge his sexuality dispelled the prevailing denial that HIV/AIDS was a Black issue, too. In the article, Jefferson addressed the Black church’s historical role in reinforcing stigma and silence. In his words, “to many in the Black church, being gay is a curse from the devil. It considers homosexuality a sin, and AIDS is the price you have to pay.”[230]

[Figure 25] Portrait of HIV/AIDS activist Billy Jefferson (1988).

[Source: Charles E. Brown and Janice Hayes, “Deadly Denial,” *Seattle Times / Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, February 21, 1988, L1-L3.]

Rev. Patricia Hunter, who in 1988 was an assistant pastor at Seattle’s **Mount Zion Baptist Church**, proved to be an important ally, noting, “Just like the government is being forced to wake up, the church is going to have to wake up as well.”[231]

[Figure 26] Rev. Patricia Hunter, assistant pastor at Mount Zion Church in 1988, was vocal about the need for churches to address the HIV/AIDS crisis. Mount Zion was instrumental in POCAAN’s efforts to address the HIV/AIDS crisis in the Black community.

[Source: Craig Fujii, “The Rev. Patricia Hunter, assistant pastor at Mount Zion, greets a friend after a recent service at the church,” in Charles E. Brown and Janice Hayes, “Deadly denial,” February 21, 1988, *Seattle Times / Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, L1-L3]

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[228] John Marshall, “Blunt approach the latest salvo in war on AIDS,” *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, August 2, 1988, B4.

[229] John Marshall, “Blunt approach the latest salvo in war on AIDS.”

[230] Charles E. Brown and Janice Hayes, “Deadly denial.”

[231] Charles E. Brown and Janice Hayes, “Deadly denial.”

Patrinell Wright, then the director of the Total Experience Gospel Choir, was also a vocal advocate. She faced resistance from some black clergy and the greater community as she recounted the prevailing view that "AIDS was sent from God to chastise homosexuals and those who are committing sin."[232] Oscar Eason, an official with the Seattle branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), encouraged his organization to take on the issue as well. NAACP's participation accelerated the transformation of HIV/AIDS from a moral to a civil rights issue in the Black community.

[Figure 27] Mount Zion Baptist Church (2018).

[Source: Jon Roanhaus, Mount Zion Baptist Church (2018), CC BY-SA 4.0, in Mary T. Henry, "Mount Zion Baptist Church (Seattle)," January 29, 1999, HistoryLink.org Essay 2048, HistoryLink.org, accessed November 11, 2024, https://www.historylink.org/File/2048.]

HIV/AIDS activists' engagement with Black churches sparked mobilization to address the health crisis among people of color in Seattle. Because of the church's role in stigmatizing homosexuality, POCAAN's alliance with individuals such as Rev. Esten Collins Jr. and Mount Zion's Rev. Patricia Hunter played a critical role in supporting efforts to raise awareness in Seattle's Black community. Other organizations, such as the African Americans Reach & Teach Health Ministry, founded by Rev. Mary Diggs-Hobson, whose son Reginald Diggs contracted HIV in 1995, were specifically dedicated to dispelling myths around HIV/AIDS in African-American churches. Although POCAAN focused on HIV/AIDS for many years, it has evolved to address related issues of oppression such as "substance abuse, incarceration, homelessness, sexually transmitted diseases, racism, sexism and homophobia."[234] POCAAN and similar organizations were essential to the HIV/AIDS crisis response, as few organizations focused on HIV/AIDS in communities of color.

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[232] Charles E. Brown and Janice Hayes, "Deadly denial."

[233] Sandi Doughton, "How Seattle fought the plague of AIDS."

[234] "POCAAN: Addressing the Impact of HIV/AIDS in Seattle," SWERV Magazine.

LGBTQ+ Community Response to the HIV/AIDS Crisis (Continued)

One of the enduring innovations to arise from the HIV/AIDS crisis was **Bailey-Boushay House**, a 35-bed hospice founded in 1992.[235] Located in Seattle, it was the first facility built from the ground up to serve people with HIV/AIDS, providing an in-patient long-term care facility as well as an outpatient day program for people with HIV/AIDS. Betsy Lieberman and Christine Hurley of AIDS Housing of Washington founded the Bailey-Boushay House, with support from sources including Virginia Mason Medical Center, Boeing, Nordstrom, Weyerhaeuser, the Northwest AIDS Foundation, and an anonymous donation of $100,000 via the Archdiocese of Seattle.[236] The House faced opposition from developers on the board of the Seattle Art Museum due to the stigma surrounding HIV/AIDS.[237] In response, the Seattle chapter of AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power, established in 1988, scheduled a shutdown of the Seattle Art Museum construction site to show support for local HIV/AIDS patients, but only a couple days prior, the opposition relented.[238] Neighborhood opposition remained about the proposed site, which led to Act-Up Seattle's 1990 Easter Day vigil at the future site of the Bailey-Boushay house. Activists provided educational packets and conducted public demonstrations.[239]

Seattle, WA. **[Figure 28]** (Left) Artist Linda Beaumont poses with her mosaic at Bailey-Boushay House (1992). **[Figure 29]** (Right) Swedish Hospital nurses Margo Bykonen, Laura Manke, and Jeannie Schork tour the Bailey-Boushay House greenhouse, which was used for horticultural therapy and recreation.

[Sources: (Left) Phil H. Webber, "Artist Linda Beaumont and her mosaic at Bailey-Boushay House, February 1992," 2000.107.012.24.02, Seattle Post-Intelligencer Photograph Collection, Museum of History & Industry, Seattle (MOHAI), https://digitalcollections.lib.washington.edu/digital/collection/imlsmohai/id/9205/rec/5; (Right) Mike Urban, "Swedish Hospital nurses touring Bailey-Boushay House, April 28, 1992," 2000.107.012.24.01, Seattle Post-Intelligencer Photograph Collection, Museum of History & Industry, Seattle (MOHAI), https://digitalcollections.lib.washington.edu/digital/collection/imlsmohai/id/9204/rec/47.]

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[235] Tom Flint, "New Bailey-Boushay hospice opens in Seattle's Madison Park Valley," *Seattle Gay News*, January 17, 1992, 1; Matt Nagle, "New AIDS housing construction complete," *Seattle Gay News*, January 10, 1992, 1. "Bailey-Boushay House," *Seattle Gay News*, January 10, 1992, 3.

[236] Rosette Royale, "HIV/AIDS in Western Washington," September 28, 2019, Essay 20871, HistoryLink.org, accessed July 18, 2024, https://www.historylink.org/file/20871.

[237] Phil Bereano and Steven Johnson, "AIDS activists save lives," *Seattle Gay News*, February 7, 1992, 18; David S. Paulson, "The second anniversary Bailey Boushay House neighborhood gala," *Seattle Gay News*, June 3, 1994, 1;

[238] Rosette Royale, "HIV/AIDS in Western Washington."

[239] Phil Bereano and Steven Johnson, "Activists Saving Lives."

[Figure 30] (Above) Act-Up Seattle's 1990 Easter Day vigil at the future site of the Bailey-Boushay house. Activists provided educational packets and conducted public demonstrations.

[Source: Grant M. Haller, "AIDS hospice advocates at ACT UP demonstration, Seattle, March 20, 1990," 2000.107.001.06.13, Museum of History & Industry Collection, https://digitalcollections.lib.washington.edu/digital/collection/imlsmohai/id/9131/rec/3.]

[Figure 31] (Left) Northwest AIDS Walk on Broad Street, Seattle, September 26, 1993.

[Source: Robert DeGiulio, "Northwest AIDS Walk on Broad Street, Seattle, September 26, 1993," 2000.107.19930925.1.05, *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* Photograph Collection, Museum of History & Industry, Seattle (MOHAI), https://digitalcollections.lib.washington.edu/digital/collection/imlsmohai/id/18267/rec/32.]

In a 1992 *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* article, Thatcher Bailey, one of the center's namesakes along with his partner Frank Boushay, who died of HIV/AIDS in 1989, credited ACT-UP with breaking down barriers and removing negative perceptions about the house.[240]

The impact of HIV-AIDS on Washington's communities was significant with more than 600 people a year in the state dying of the virus at the peak of the epidemic.[241] In its wake communities most impacted sought to raise funds, increase awareness, and honor those lost to the virus through public demonstration. In 1987, more than 2000 people joined Northwest AIDS Foundation's first Seattle AIDS Walk.[242] The event gained widespread attention, and although reaching its peak in 1991, the event remains a key fundraiser for the Lifelong AIDS Alliance.[243]

In the same year Seattle's AIDS Walk began, 1987, San Francisco activist Cleve Jones created the NAMES Project AIDS Memorial

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[240] Tom Paulson, "Long-term AIDS home lauded: First such U.S. facility opens in March," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, January 13, 1992, B1 and B2.

[241] Sandi Doughton, "How Seattle fought the plague of AIDS."

[242] Nick Rousso, "First AIDS Walk in Seattle raises $335,000 for AIDS treatment and education on September 27, 1987," October 3, 2022, HistoryLink.org Essay 22569, HistoryLink.org, accessed November 11, 2024, https://www.historylink.org/file/22569.

[243] Nick Rousso, "First AIDS Walk in Seattle raises $335,000 for AIDS treatment and education on September 27, 1987."

Quilt, which debuted at the March on Washington, D.C. in October.[244] Afterwards, volunteers took the quilt across the country to help raise funds for local HIV/AIDS organizations.[245] With the help of the Northwest AIDS Foundation and Chicken Soup Brigade, the quilt made its way to Seattle in 1988 and was hosted in the Seattle Center Arena where Washington residents added 50 more 3' X 6' panels to the quilt.[246]

Seattle Gay News published numerous articles about the impact of the quilt's public display, including by columnist Gary Baker who wrote about his own experience and grief visiting the quilt, reflecting,

> Here were people openly sharing their love of lost ones with all of us. I cried repeatedly as I read these personal expressions of love and loss, as I reflected on the courage of these individuals to publicly share their pain and grief with us, as well as the joy they had once experienced with their friends and lovers."[247]

From its origins the quilt was born out of activism against discrimination and to those who visited the quilts, its display was an irrefutable representation of the lives lost to HIV/AIDS as well as the active refusal of those most impacted to be rendered invisible.

[Figure 32] In 1988, with the help of organizations such as the Northwest AIDS Foundation and Chicken Soup Brigade, the NAMES Project AIDS Memorial Quilt Seattle was hosted in the Seattle Center Arena. In this photo, Craig Koball and Celia Cavalli embrace during their visit.

[Source: John H. Herndon, "Visitors viewing the NAMES Project Quilt, Seattle, July 25, 1988," 2000.107.001.06.10, *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* Photograph Collection, Museum of History & Industry, Seattle (MOHAI), https://digitalcollections.lib.washington.edu/digital/collection/imlsmohai/id/9128/rec/53.]

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[244] Alan Reade, "Memorial AIDS Quilt to be in Seattle July 23 & 24," *Seattle Gay News*, February 26, 1988, 1.

[245] "LEATHER," *Seattle Gay News*, April 8, 1988, 5.

[246] "July 23-24," *Seattle Gay News*, May 13, 1988, 10; Alan Reade, "Memorial AIDS Quilt to be in Seattle July 23 & 2."

[247] Gary Baker, "Out Quilt, my tears and yours," *Seattle Gay News*, August 5, 1988, 14.

The volunteer-led AIDS Memorial Pathway project, established in 2015 and located at the Capitol Hill Transit Station, commemorates the history of HIV/AIDS in Seattle.[248] It remains a work in progress.[249] Activist tactics developed by groups such as ACT-UP, in turn, influenced the next phase of activism in the disability justice movement, which benefited from the HIV/AIDS movement's understanding of intersectional identities, cultivating the diversity of stakeholders under the umbrella of disability, and recognizing their distinctive positions and needs.

Transportation

In Seattle and King County, people with disabilities were active in the struggle to remove barriers to access in public transportation long before the passage of the ADA due to the adoption of participatory planning models in local government. While the 1940s and early 1950s witnessed progress in providing automobile access to amputee veterans, in the 1970s, attention turned to eliminating barriers in public transportation. Many of the most significant actions have been focused on making the bus system accessible. Efforts to make public transit accessible in Seattle and King County are well-documented in the Seattle Municipal Archives, and they were the subject of a 2017 Disability Awareness Month article highlighting the critical events, people, and timeline for the implementation of accessible transportation.[250] The article reveals the critical role disabled Seattleites, municipal workers, and disability advocacy organizations played in improving and making public transit accessible to all.

During the early 1970s, Seattle newspapers carried stories about the barriers electric wheelchair users faced in navigating the city. The absence of accessible buses led to a reliance on accessible private vans to travel at any distance. Complicating the issues they faced were gasoline shortages during the era, which raised the price of gasoline beyond what many could afford. One electric wheelchair user, Drue Heggie, who at the age of 21 was planning to attend law school in the fall, conveyed his fears that the gas shortage did not simply make travel inconvenient, but threatened to derail his aspirations entirely.[251] These concerns led Mayor Wes Uhlman to convey the city's concerns about the distinctive needs of people with disabilities in gasoline planning to the Federal Energy Office, which is responsible for the rationing system.

Accommodations provided for people with disabilities exempted them from voluntary rationing guidelines. Paul Wysocki, with his allies in the Governor's Office, was the point person for

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[248] Rosette Royale, "HIV/AIDS in Western Washington."

[249] "About the AMP," The AMP, accessed September 15, 2024, https://theamp.org/about/; Rosette Royale, "HIV/AIDS in Western Washington."

[250] "Disability Awareness Month – a history of Metro's Accessible Transit Services," October 5, 2017, King County Archives, accessed June 24, 2024, https://bytesandboxes.org/2017/10/05/disability-awareness-month-a-history-of-metros-accessible-transit-services/.

[251] Richard Zahler, "Gas shortage new burden to those bearing handicaps," *Seattle Times*, February 27, 1974, 1.

addressing the details of conveying to gas station owners that people with disabilities would be "priority customers." Officials in the city and state government brought multiple stakeholders to the table in the search for remedies, and, in this case, the involvement of the Governor's Office and City of Seattle staff ensured gasoline dealers would agree that people with disabilities would have priority under rationing. Practical issues, including identifying who merited priority treatment, led to blue stickers being issued by the Department of Motor Vehicles to allow disabled drivers certain parking privileges. Eventually, the 1970s gasoline shortage led to state and local governments working out the details of how equity could be achieved within larger national crises such as energy shortages. It also highlighted the need for accessible public transportation.


[Figure 33] Seattle, WA. In 1975, Metro bus drivers inspected the Rohn Industries Transbus prototype air suspension system under development for potential production in the 1980s.

[Source: Cary W. Tolman, "Metro drivers inspecting prototype kneeling bus, Seattle, March, 1975," 2000.107.124.28.02, *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* Photograph Collection, Museum of History & Industry, Seattle (MOHAI), https://digitalcollections.lib.washington.edu/digital/collection/imlsmohai/id/9596/rec/3.]

Accessibility to public transit came to a head in 1975, following the Seattle Metro posting of a bid for 145 new buses, which lacked wheelchair lifts. At the time, bus accessibility features were still under development, and not required to be included in the new Metro buses. University of Washington student John Martin sought to stop the bid through legal action, known as the Martin v. Metro Seattle case, with the help of disability law and rights activist Bill Dussault, but the case was eventually dismissed.[252] Martin later testified at Metro hearings about the need for the buses to be accessible.[253] Martin's advocacy, along with the hearings, led to a revised bid requiring buses to include wheelchair lifts. By 1980, the buses had been delivered; however, the lifts were flawed. It would take continued efforts by disability advocates, including those who served on the Metro Elderly and Handicapped Advisory Committee, to make Seattle's public transportation accessible to all. Ed Hall, former Boeing engineer,

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[252] "Martin v. Metro. Seattle," JUSTIA US Law, accessed October 22, 2024, https://law.justia.com/cases/washington/supreme-court/1978/44589-1.html; King County Archives, "Disability Awareness Month – a history of Metro's Accessible Transit Services.

[253] King County Archives, "Disability Awareness Month – a history of Metro's Accessible Transit Services."

successfully designed a new system named "Lift-U," which was installed in new buses. By 1999, the lifts appeared in the entire fleet of 145 buses.[254]

Beyond the newly equipped buses, local organizations and Metro collaborated to organize a paratransit system consisting of accessible vans to provide door-to-door service.[255]
In a King County Metro Blog article, Karen Rosenzweig, a Metro planner who was an early participant in these transit accessibility efforts, noted

> Having accessible buses – with lifts that worked – was very state of the art for its time…No other transit agency had been able to do it successfully before us. Metro's policy to make our buses accessible came before it was a federal requirement, and we were a model for how to do it.[256]

The late 1970s was also marked by the Metro's receipt of "$1.7 million in Federal Urban System funds to put in place improvements at bus zones, including ramps and other aids for disabled riders."[257]

During this time, Metro staff's engagement with an advisory committee of blind and deaf-blind transit users also marked a turning point in community collaboration. This initial collaboration led to the implementation of Bus Identifier cards for blind, deaf-blind, and limited English-speaking riders,

[Figure 34] George Tuner, chairman of the Metro Elderly and Handicapped Advisory Committee, demonstrates a wheelchair lift on a Metro bus.

[Source: Mike Bainter, "George Turner demonstrating a wheelchair lift aboard a Metro bus, Seattle, April 14, 1985," 2000.107.124.33.01, *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* Photograph Collection, Museum of History & Industry, Seattle (MOHAI), https://digitalcollections.lib.washington.edu/digital/collection/imlsmohai/id/9604/rec/8.]

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[254] "King County Archives, "Disability Awareness Month – a history of Metro's Accessible Transit Services"; Metro Web Team, "Metro Transit, a pioneer in transit accessibility," October 10, 2013, King County Metro Blog, accessed July 18, 2024, https://kingcountymetro.blog/2013/10/10/metro-transit-a-pioneer-in-transit-accessibility/.

[255] King County Archives, "Disability Awareness Month – a history of Metro's Accessible Transit Services."

[256] Metro Web Team, "Metro Transit, a pioneer in transit accessibility.

[257] King County Archives, "Disability Awareness Month – a history of Metro's Accessible Transit Services."

as well as training for transit operators (1981).[258] Training for transit operators remained a consistent and important intervention to make public transit more accessible. Leading up to the passage of the ADA, Metro continued to address transit accessibility issues. These efforts included the creation of special assistance cards (1981), the establishment of the Regional Reduced Fare Permit (1982), and the partnership of Metro and Northwest Chapter of the Paralyzed Veterans of America (PVA) partner to create the "PVA Award," later renamed the "George Turner Award."

Following the passage of the Americans with Disabilities Act (1990), Metro continued to bring its transit service into compliance with federal legislation. In 1991, the Metro Council approved the first ADA plan, which would become Access Transportation. The merger of the Metro and King County government in 1992 shifted transit services to the newly formed County Department of Transportation. King County Council established a special task force to address transit issues including representatives from King County's Accessible Services Committee, senior and disability interest groups, and members of the public.[259]

By the end of the 1990s, Seattle's newspapers began to incorporate the concept that ordinary design practices posed barriers for people with disabilities.[260] Guides to navigating downtown Seattle appeared, including King County Metro's new map called "Accessible Metro Downtown Seattle," a guide to navigating the area between West Lake Center and the State Convention Center, including the International District.[261] The many barriers on city streets in core downtown areas required an insider's knowledge of preferred routes featuring wheelchair-accessible elevators, paths, overhead walkways, bus stops, and more. The development of these navigation tools, informed by experienced users of mobility devices downtown, made it increasingly possible for mobility device users to navigate in a city retaining many physical barriers. Intermodal connections became an emerging concern in transit planning for people with disabilities, such as transitions to streetcar stations in the International District and entry to Amtrak trains. In these ways, the City of Seattle began to build on its early gains with Metro Buses accommodating wheelchairs by considering the wide range of transit modalities needed to be inclusive. In the late 1990s, the subject of disabilities became a regular feature in local newspapers.

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[258] King County Archives, "Disability Awareness Month – a history of Metro's Accessible Transit Services."

[259] King County Archives, "Disability Awareness Month – a history of Metro's Accessible Transit Services."

[260] Steve Johnston, "Downtown Seattle: How navigable?," *Seattle Times*, July 7, 1999, C1.

[261] Steve Johnston, "Downtown Seattle: How navigable?."

Fostering community engagement remained a critical component of the city's response to the ADA. By 1996, they had created the Community Partnership Program, later renamed the Community Access Transportation Program (CAT). The program provided non-profits with retired access vehicles in return for serving access customers.[262] Metro's long history of accessibility interventions, in conjunction with its focus on community engagement, brought it into full compliance with ADA paratransit requirements by 1997. The relationships fostered between Metro and its customers with disabilities were impactful enough that Access customer Lillian Hyde bequeathed $403,000 to support specialized transportation services in Beacon Hill and South Seattle in 2003. Metro continues to work with community members and staff to improve accessibility throughout the transit system.

State-wide organizations continue to advocate for accessible public transit, including Disability Rights Washington. The state Protection and Advocacy agency created the Disability Mobility Initiative in 2020, which seeks to interview nondrivers, including disabled constituents, from every legislative district about their experiences navigating their communities. Mapping and storytelling projects such as this offer a unique place-based approach to capturing transient histories and experiences of place. Additionally, the project is led by and for people with disabilities, a defining characteristic of the Civil Rights era, and a method that laid the groundwork for contemporary disability activism.

The City of Seattle as of 2024 is working on innovations that will address the mobility needs of its deafblind residents through a pilot program to introduce tactile surfaces on sidewalks.[263] The Seattle Department of Transportation is working in collaboration with DBSC and other low-vision disability organizations to test new approaches to wayfinding, including a "Tactile Warning Delineator," which is a trapezoid-shaped pedestrian surface treatment that can be detected by canes.[264] Additional interventions include **Detectable Warning Surfaces and Tactile Directional Indicators**. This 2024 project builds upon past efforts to add tactile features like "yellow bumps" as edge warnings for people with low vision.[265]

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[262] Metro Web Team, "Metro Transit, a pioneer in transit accessibility."

[263] Ethan Bancroft, "Accessible 'Tactile Walking Surface Indicators' Pilot Project Underway to Help People with Disabilities Navigate the City," July 18, 2024, Seattle Department of Transportation, City of Seattle, accessed August 31, 2024, https://sdotblog.seattle.gov/2024/07/18/accessible-tactile-indicators-pilot-project/.

[264] Ethan Bancroft, "Accessible 'Tactile Walking Surface Indicators' Pilot Project Underway to Help People with Disabilities Navigate the City."

[265] Seattle Department of Transportation, "Useful Guidance Tools (aka Directional Tactile Information)," April 7, 2017, City of Seattle, accessed August 31, 2024, https://sdotblog.seattle.gov/2017/04/07/useful-guidance-tools-aka-directional-tactile-information/.

Accessible Municipal Services

A key part of the movement for civil rights on behalf of people with disabilities was making a wide array of municipal services accessible, including access to parks, library services, and human resources, to enforce non-discrimination on the basis of disability in employment. The Municipal Archives document Seattle's leadership in advancing progressive policies and practices. A key feature of this era is the increase in municipal programming to address the needs of people with disabilities, raise awareness, and spur positive action. In Seattle, this took the form of accessibility-related programs and the formation of advisory groups of people with various disabilities. The City of Seattle first began to design programs for people with disabilities as early as the 1950s, including King County Park's launch of an adapted recreation program, the first in the region sponsored by a public agency.[266] The 1963 creation of the Recreation Advisory Council for the Handicapped (later known as the Advisory Council for Specialized Programs) provided an ongoing group of stakeholders to advise park staff about recreational programs for children and adults with disabilities.[267]

At the state level, one of the most impactful projects for people with disabilities is the **Washington Talking Book & Braille Library**.[268] Seattle Public Library services for individuals who read braille began in 1906, and by 1931, the Washington Library became a part of the national braille and talking books network, which was instigated by the Pratt Smoot Act and the Library of Congress. Seattle Public Libraries became one of the regional libraries part of the Library of Congress program. The effort to create the library began in 1954 when the Division for the Blind moved to the basement of the Susan Henry Memorial Library. The lower floor was specially designed for the blind and was called the Library for the Blind in Seattle.[269] In 1967, the Books for the Blind program expanded to include any disabled person who was unable to read conventional print materials. By 1973, the library changed its name to the Washington Regional Library for the Blind and Physically Handicapped and moved to the King County Library building at 811 Harrison Street.[270] In 1975, funding for the library shifted to the state, and the library's services became a part of the Washington State Library.

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[266] King County Archives, "Athletes with Disabilities: King County Parks as a Recreation Pioneer," October 3, 2016, accessed November 20, 2024, https://bytesandboxes.org/2016/10/03/athletes-with-disabilities-king-county-parks-as-a-recreation-pioneer/#:~:text=In%201958%2C%20King%20County's%20recreation,children%20with%20physical%20disabilities%20participated; Seattle Municipal Archives, "Implementing the ADA in Seattle."

[267] Seattle Municipal Archives, "Implementing the ADA in Seattle."

[268] "History of the Washington Talking Book & Braille Library," Washington Talking Book & Brail Library, Washington State Library, accessed June 11, 2024, https://www.sos.wa.gov/washington-talking-book-braille-library/about-wtbbl/history-washington-talking-book-braille-library.

[269] "History of the Washington Talking Book & Braille Library."

[270] "History of the Washington Talking Book & Braille Library."

Expanding their offerings in 1977, the library created the Radio Reading Service, later becoming Evergreen Radio Reading Service (1983). In 1983, the library was moved to its current location at 2021 9th Ave in Seattle with the help of volunteers from the National Guard and Boeing.[271]

The services offered by the library remain a critical resource for residents across the State of Washington, and their work has received national acclaim. In 2009, Danielle Miller, WTBBL Program Manager, Jan Walsh, Washington State Library, and Sue Ammeter, WTBBL Patron Advisory Council Chair, received the National Library Service for the Blind and Physically Handicapped's (NLS) Network Library of the Year award. In 2012, Mayor Mike McGinn proclaimed June 5, 2012, as Washington Talking Book & Braille Library Day. In 2017, Director Danielle Miller and Washington State Librarian Cindy Aden accepted the National Library Service for the Blind and Physically Handicapped's Network Library of the Year award for 2016 from NLS Director Karen Keninger in a Library of Congress ceremony. Finally, and most recently, in 2022, Director and Regional Librarian Danielle Miller accepted the National Library Service for the Blind and Print Disabled's Network Library of the Year award. The Washington Talking Book & Braille Library represents regional resources that have made a difference in the lives of Seattleites with blindness, low-vision, and other conditions.

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[271] The current address for the Washington Talking Book & Braille Library is 2021 9th Ave, Seattle, WA 98121, however, prior to 1996 renovations the address was 821 Lenora Street, Seattle, WA 98121.

Sue Ammeter

Sue Ammeter (1948-2018), blind from birth, became a major advocate and leader for the blind community and people with disabilities in Washington State and nationally. Ammeter was born in Bremerton and received a BA in Social Welfare from the University of Washington in 1971.[272] Her involvement in disability activism was sparked while attending a youth group of the **Washington State Association of the Blind (WSAB)**. She went on to serve as president of the National Federation of the Blind of Washington. In 1990, during her service, she oversaw the merger of the United Blind of Washington State with the Washington Council of the Blind and subsequently served as president of the newly formed Washington Council of the Blind. According to the *Braille Monitor*, her term was marked by controversy.

In 1975, Ammeter "was the first person with a disability to work for the Washington State Human Rights Commission, the only non-lawyer on that agency's hearing tribunal. For three years, she was the Washington State Director for the national advocacy campaign that eventually won the passage of the Americans with Disabilities Act."[273] On a national scale, Ammeter served on the President's Committee that wrote the Americans with Disabilities Act. She was instrumental in drafting the rules freeing people with disabilities from discrimination in public accommodations, a project she initiated at the Washington Human Rights Commission. During her term with the state, Sue also "served as the chair of the Washington State Governor's Committee on Disability Issues and Employment and was one of the founders of the Washington Coalition of Citizens with Disabilities, which is now a network of centers for independent living."[274] Among her other positions, Ammeter served on the Patron Advisory Council of the Washington Talking Book and Braille Library and served on the board of the National Braille Press.

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[272] Shelby Gilje, "Blindness no barrier," *Seattle Times*, May 11, 1975, H2.

[273] Denise Colley, "In Memoriam: Sue Ammeter," American Council of the Blind, accessed September 15, 2024, https://www.acb.org/memoriam-sue-ammeter; William Blees, "King County remembers Sue Ammeter," *King County Employee News*, October 3, 2028, accessed September 15, 2024, https://kcemployees.com/2018/10/03/king-county-remembers-sue-ammeter/; Paul Van Dyck, "Sue Ammeter from the Washington Council of the Blind Advocacy Committee on discrimination against people with disabilities," November 23, 2009, KBOO, accessed September 15, 2024, https://direct.kboo.fm/media/7389-sue-ammeter-washington-council-blind-advocacy-committee-discrimination-against-people.

[274] Denise Colley, "In Memoriam: Sue Ammeter."

Disability Advocacy Organizations

Early disability advocacy organizations continued to build their networks, resources, and community connections during the Civil Rights era of disability activism, including the Lighthouse for the Blind, Puget Sound Association of the Deaf (PSAD), and the Washington State Association of the Deaf (WSAD). During this period, the Lighthouse for the Blind began construction of a new building in 1966 at 25th Avenue and Plum Street, and PSAD purchased a house in 1975 to serve as its main headquarters located at 2407 NW 60th St in Seattle. The establishment of permanent locations in Seattle is evidence of the continuing importance of these early disability organizations. The 1960s and 1970s, however, saw the creation of new disability advocacy organizations that privileged leadership by members with disabilities as well as inter-disability advocacy and resources.

Parent Advocacy and Activism on Behalf of Children with Intellectual, Developmental, and Physical Disabilities

Parents of children with disabilities are a major force of advocacy in education, healthcare, employment opportunities, transportation, and services. While individual actions to advocate for their children are not always recognized as a formal political movement, over time, they historically are the force behind creating organizations changing the landscape of opportunity, for their children and others. Like many

Allie Joiner

Allie Joiner was educated at deaf schools in Arkansas and Louisiana before attending Gallaudet College. Her life in Seattle began with employment as a vocational counselor with deaf adult services at the Seattle Hearing Speech Center. She lobbied in Olympia in support of the rights of people with disabilities and was the first paid advocate in Seattle for the Hearing Impaired in 1980. Joiner was a particularly effective advocate for the parents of deaf children in Washington State. After retirement in 2007, she took a part-time job with the DeafBlind Service Center as a Senior Citizen Advocacy Specialist and continues to serve on the board at the Washington Center for Deaf & Hard of Hearing Youth (CDHY), which manages the Washington School for the Deaf.

[Figure 35] Seattle, WA. Children who attended the Warren Avenue School pose outside to celebrate a $1500 donation by the National Society for Crippled Children and Adults to provide taxi rides home from school for three months (1948). Included in the image is Norman Clein who served as the president of the King County unit of the national society's Washington State chapter and Charles A. Lawless, who served as the school's Parent-Teacher Association's transportation committee.

[Source: "Group in front of school for children with disabilities, Seattle, 1948," PI23207, *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* Collection, Museum of History & Industry, Seattle (MOHAI), https://digitalcollections.lib.washington.edu/digital/collection/imlsmohai/id/3592/rec/11.]

movements within disability activism history, Seattle's local history is deeply connected to national efforts by parents to provide equitable participation in all parts of daily life for their children.

Parental activism related to disability policy began in the 1930s and 1940s, but gained momentum in the 1950s and 1960s.[275] Early advocacy at the local level often focused on particular schools supporting children with disabilities. In Seattle, the Warren School, which opened in the 1940s, is an early example of how parent advocacy led to the development of special education in a public school setting. The school grew out of the **Washington Spastic School**, which was originally operated out of **Gethsemane Lutheran Church**. Parents and physicians drove the movement to integrate all children with disabilities into the **Warren Avenue School** with their peers.[276]

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[275] Allison C. Carey, Pamela Block, and Richard Scotch, *Allies and Obstacles: Disability Activism and Parents of Children with Disabilities* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2020): 1-2.

[276] Rita E. Cipalla, Ryan Anthony Donaldson, Tom G. Heuser, Meaghan Kahlo, Melinda Lamantia, Casey McNerthney, Nick Rousso, *Building for Learning: Seattle Public School Histories*, 1862-2022, Seattle Public Schools, https://www.seattleschools.org/departments/archives/building-for-learning/; Nile Thompson, Carolyn J. Marr, Casey McNethney, "Seattle Public Schools, 1862-2023: Warren Avenue School," August 12, 2024, HistoryLink.org, accessed October 29, 2024, https://www.historylink.org/File/10604.

In January 1944, the students and staff of the Washington Spastic School joined the Warren Avenue School. After the school's integration, they gained international attention as one of the first West Coast cities to have a substantial cerebral palsy unit located in a public school. By the time the school was demolished in May 1959 to make space for the Century 21 Exposition, it had created programming for children with cerebral palsy, wheelchair users, and later blind, sight-impaired, and hearing-impaired students.[277]

Following its closure, children with disabilities attending the school were sent to a variety of other educational institutions, with "the cerebral palsy group going to Lowell, the blind children to John Hay, the sight-saving to Coe, and the hearing-impaired to Green Lake."[278] The separation of the Warren School students by disability type indicates the continued practice of separating children with disabilities from the mainstream. The Warren School is a unique early example of an integrated school serving children with a range of disabilities, offering insight into the varied approaches and perspectives surrounding the education of children with disabilities in Seattle's history.

[Figure 36] Students with disabilities at the Warren Avenue School. The teacher is identified as Elizabeth Boxeth and one of the students is Leonard ("Bud") Bjorkland, Jr..

[Source: Clarence J. Rote, "Students with disabilities in classroom, December 1946," PI23202, Museum of History & Industry Collection, https://digitalcollections.lib.washington.edu/digital/collection/imlsmohai/id/6692/rec/2.]

Parent advocacy was essential in creating equitable opportunities for children to access public education and care outside of institutional settings and in their communities.[279] Organizations

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[277] Rita E. Cipalla, Ryan Anthony Donaldson, Tom G. Heuser, Meaghan Kahlo, Melinda Lamantia, Casey McNerthney, Nick Rousso, *Building for Learning: Seattle Public School Histories, 1862-2022.*

[278] Rita E. Cipalla, Ryan Anthony Donaldson, Tom G. Heuser, Meaghan Kahlo, Melinda Lamantia, Casey McNerthney, Nick Rousso, *Building for Learning: Seattle Public School Histories, 1862-2022.*

[279] Critical to understanding this period in disability history and activism, especially parent activism, is that between 1948 and 1955 the US faced several polio epidemics until Dr. Salk and colleagues developed the polio vaccine. The impact of these epidemics had long-lasting impacts on children and adults, leaving many learning how to navigate life with new impairments and care requirements. World Health Organization, "A crippling and life-threatening disease," accessed May 6, 2024, https://www.who.int/news-room/spotlight/history-of-vaccination/history-of-polio-vaccination#:~:text=In%20the%20late%2019th%20and,the%20disease%20faced%20lifelong%20consequences. For many parents of children impacted by the disabling effects of polio, they also began to navigate how best to advocate for their children's participation in everyday life, including their access to public education.

such as **Washington State chapters of The Arc**, originally the Children's Benevolent League (CBL), were founded in the 1930s; however, they gained momentum throughout the 1940s and 1950s, with much of their programmatic and ideological shifts occurring from the 1960s-1990s.[280] Parents seeking to improve the lives of their developmentally disabled children led the Children's Benevolent League through grassroots organizing, becoming a statewide organization in 1936.[281] Their efforts originally focused on institutional settings, particularly the State Custodial School at Medical Lake, however, their advocacy expanded in the 1940s to include a letter writing campaign to the Governor of Washington State calling for the construction of new buildings at state institutions to address overcrowding.[282] In the 1950s, CBL changed its name to Washington Association for Retarded Children (WARC). In 1958, the King County chapter established a summer camp called **Camp Waskowitz**, one of the earliest programs for people with developmental disabilities in Washington State, which is listed in the National Register of Historic Places.[283]

Like many disability-oriented organizations, WARC's approach to advocacy shifted in the civil rights era of disability activism. They explain that,

> During the 1970's and 1980's, WARC concentrated on advocacy. In 1974, WARC changed its name from "Children" to "Citizens." This indicated a shift in thinking to the individual "rights" of people with developmental disabilities. The key issues were the civil rights of individuals with developmental disabilities, the public school education system, and the closure of state institutions. In the 1980's and 90's, The Arc of King County, now part of a national movement as a chapter of The Arc of The United States, saw an expansion of self-advocacy on issues affecting individuals with developmental disabilities and their families.[284]

The Arc is an early example of parents organizing to create legislative changes at the local, state, and national levels. Today, The Arc of King County is one of ten organizations in Washington State.[285]

Artist and photographer Susan Schwartzenberg's 2005 book *Becoming Citizens: Family Life and the Politics of Disability* richly documents the leadership of families who had raised children

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[280] The Arc, "History," accessed September 16, 2024, https://cws.thearc.org/about-us/history/.

[281] The Arc, "History."

[282] The Arc, "History."

[283] "Camp North Bend, Camp Waskowitz," National Register of Historic Places Register Form, National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, accessed November 4, 2024, https://npgallery.nps.gov/GetAsset/5a5e5fcb-e7f1-4341-96cb-95a5395a9ca8.

[284] The Arc, "History."

[285] "Mission & Vision," The Arc of King County, accessed July 21, 2024, https://arcofkingcounty.org/about/.

with developmental disabilities in securing basic rights and services in the post-World War II era.[286] Schwartzenberg worked closely with members of the Seattle Family Network to tell their previously unknown stories of parental activism, defying the usual definition of activist histories. Her groundbreaking work documented mobilization by families to educate themselves and others about the causes of developmental disabilities in the face of prevailing myths that tended to blame the mothers for the wide variety of conditions then labeled "mental retardation." The search for a more sound and reliable understanding of their children's developmental disabilities and struggles for appropriate services, from educational access to independent living options beyond the prevailing model of institutionalization, widens public awareness of the many forms disability activism has assumed in Seattle and Washington State from the mid-twentieth century onward.

Drawing on the experiences of concerned families, Schwartzenberg discovered the randomness of access to public education during the decades of the 1950s and 1960s. The reality of educational access belied state constitutional declarations guaranteeing all children an education. Parental organizing would usher in a new era of parentally organized schools, playgroups, and educational programs to serve children locked out of the formal public school system. The author emphasizes the roles of mothers in organizing alternatives. Janet Taggert's efforts to provide for her daughter Nadia led to the establishment of Central School in the basement of **Temple De Hirsch Sinai**, and over time, parent-initiated playgroups arose throughout the city. The early 1960s was marked by parental efforts to find solidarity and support and the formation of what they called "basement schools" in recreation rooms and cafeterias at local churches and synagogues."[287]

The advocacy organization **Northwest Center**, founded by the parents of developmentally disabled children, emerged from these grassroots parental initiatives. Eventually, their group joined with other parents in 1965 to open the Northwest Center for the Retarded, now known as the Northwest Center. In 1971, the Northwest Center acquired space in abandoned buildings on Pier 91 in Seattle and was initially funded by a donation from the Boeing Employees Community Fund.[288] During this time, Taggart connected with Katie Dolan, Cecile Lindquist, and Evelyn Chapman, the four Seattle moms who became the heart of parental activism in Seattle and Washington State. In a HeraldNet article from 2020 interviewing Janet Taggart, she noted, "what choice did we have, but to have to do it ourselves?."[289]

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[286] Susan Schwartzenberg, *Becoming Citizens: Family Life and the Politics of Disability* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2005).

[287] "About Northwest Center," Northwest Center, accessed July 19, 2024, https://www.nwcenter.org/about-us/; Northwest Center History, Northwest Center, accessed July 19, 2024, https://www.nwcenter.org/about-us/history/.

[288] Janet Taggart, "Times readers have their say: Handicapped aid," *Seattle Times*, September 24, 1972, 1; "Pier-use committee named," *Seattle Times*, December 29, 1970, B6; Andrea Brown, "How moms in a VW van achieved a civil rights milestone in '71," December 13, 2020, HeraldNet, accessed July 19, 2024, https://www.heraldnet.com/news/how-moms-in-a-vw-van-achieved-a-civil-rights-milestone-in-71/.

Taggart, Dolan, Lindquist, and Chapman sought greater action through legislative change in 1970 by teaming up with law students George Breck and Bill Dussault to work on a bill ensuring children with disabilities a right to public education. In an interview, Dussault pointed out that "each woman had a particular strength,"... "Janet was the main writer…Evelyn was just so strong intellectually. Katie was the idealist and pushed what had to happen. Cecile was the one who made it all work together."[290] Early on in the process of working on the bill, the small group road-tripped across Washington State to talk to parents, teachers, and politicians to garner support and ideas.[291] Their efforts were well-covered by local newspapers, with one quoting a state official warning his colleagues, "You may as well give in, I know these women and they won't quit."[292] By May 1971, Gov. Dan Evans signed House Bill 90, often called "Education for All," into law.[293] Their bill was the first law in the United States to mandate state education for all children, no matter their level of disability. In a May 2021 panel on the bill, Evans noted, "It was Janet, and her cohorts, and Bill, and a number of citizens who just cared very much- understood there was a real problem, and their biggest job was to educate those of us who really didn't know as much about the problems that existed, as we probably should have."[294]

Taggart and Dolan went on to explore international examples of caring for children with disabilities by visiting six European countries to gather new ideas.[295] Following their travel, a 1974 *Seattle Times* article quotes Taggart concluding, "we both came to the conclusion that we aren't buying the way things have been done here up to now any longer."[296] In 1975, Taggart, Dolan, Lindquist, Chapman, Breck, and Dussault were then called on to help draft a federal special education act based on their "Education for All" bill. Their combined efforts resulted in the 1975 Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA), which passed Congress and signed by President Gerald Ford.[297]

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[289] Andrea Brown, "How moms in a VW van achieved a civil rights milestone in '71," December 13, 2020, HeraldNet, accessed July 19, 2024, https://www.heraldnet.com/news/how-moms-in-a-vw-van-achieved-a-civil-rights-milestone-in-71/.

[289] Andrea Brown, "How moms in a VW van achieved a civil rights milestone in '71."

[291] Andrea Brown, "How moms in a VW van achieved a civil rights milestone in '71."

[292] Sue Lockett, "Bill Requires Education for All," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer EXTRA*, February 21, 1971, 4.

[293] "Special Education Law, Part Two Finding Law and Resources," May 13, 2022, Medium, accessed June 17, 2024, https://medium.com/walawlibrary/special-education-law-a68525d6afdb; Northwest Center, "House Bill 90 – Education For All: May 2021 Panel Highlights," accessed October 16, 2024, https://www.nwcenter.org/house-bill-90-education-for-all-may-2021-panel-highlights/.

[294] Northwest Center, "House Bill 90 – Education For All: May 2021 Panel Highlights."

[295] "Women Visit European Parents Of the Retarded," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, March 18, 1974, A14.

[296] Sally Gene Mahoney, "Seeing how the world cares for retarded," *Seattle Times*, July 19, 1974, B1.

[297] "Special Education Law, Part Two Finding Law and Resources," *Medium*; "Northwest Center History," Northwest Center, accessed June 17, 2024, https://www.nwcenter.org/about-us/history/.

Janet Taggart: A Key Player in Making Seattle More Welcoming to People with Disabilities by Colin Wilfrid

Just like all mothers across the world, Janet Taggart loved her daughter, Nadia, and she did whatever it took to make sure she had the best possible future.[298] However, Taggart's goal to help Nadia succeed was not easy.[299] Nadia was born with a developmental disability and cerebral palsy. Before the 1970s, schools in Seattle were not as accommodating toward students with intellectual disabilities as they are now. Nadia was denied access to public education and healthcare due to her disability. Taggart knew there needed to be changes in policy to make services more accessible and inclusive to people like her daughter, leading her to become a disability rights advocate. Making education more accommodating for her daughter's learning style was the first of many ways in which she was able to successfully advocate for disability rights not just in Seattle but across the United States.

To address the Seattle School District's lack of adequate accommodations and access resources, Taggart created a "church basement" school for people with disabilities called Central School for the Severely Retarded. Nadia's progress at Taggart's school, compared with the Seattle School District, was undeniable. The Seattle School District misdiagnosed Nadia as blind in response to her struggle to navigate her surroundings. Nadia's progress as a learner accelerated due to her attachment to a particularly friendly and helpful staff member; it mattered little that the staff member was not a licensed teacher. Central School for the Severely Retarded grew beyond its roots as a "church basement school" and was eventually renamed the Northwest Center.[300]

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[298] Colin Wilfrid, "Janet Taggart: A Key Player in Making Seattle More Welcoming to People with Disabilities," *Front Porch*, September 3, 2024, Department of Neighborhoods, City of Seattle, accessed September 16, 2024, https://frontporch.seattle.gov/2024/09/03/janet-taggart-a-key-player-in-making-seattle-more-welcoming-to-people-with-disabilities/. Wilfrid's article has been edited and footnotes added by the consultants for inclusion in this report.

[299] WARNING: This story talks about a disability-accessible school that the person this story focuses on, Janet Taggart, founded. The school's original name uses ableist language that some readers may find offensive.

[300] Walt Evans, "An American Dream that's still growing," *Seattle Times*, May 8, 1978, A10. The Northwest Center was still in operation at the time of this report.

Janet Taggart's disability rights advocacy did not stop with the Northwest Center. In 1970, she helped found the Education for All Committee (EFA). In 1971, EFA successfully lobbied for the passage of HB 90, which mandates publicly funded, individualized education in public schools for children with disabilities. HB 90 was the first mandatory special education law in the United States, and its success led to a similar bill on the national level. Taggart was also known for her advocacy and activism around issues of sexual assault and rape, serving as the director of Seattle's Rape Reduction Program.[301]

On May 25, 2021, The Northwest Center held a virtual panel in honor of HB 90's 50th Anniversary, with Janet Taggart as one of the panelists. On the panel, Taggart acknowledged that although HB 90 successfully improved education for children like her daughter, there was still a long way to go. Taggart proposed the formation of state groups consisting of parents and professional advocates for children with disabilities, who would lobby annually on special education issues. Such annual pushes for special education legislation in each state would help make sure legislators continue to understand that special education is a necessity, as opposed to forgetting about it, as they have done in the past.[302] Janet Taggart sadly passed away on April 5, 2024, but her legacy in the disability community has been recognized through numerous awards and news articles.[303]

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[301] "Rape project needs permanent fund source," *Seattle Times*, August 6, 1976, B2; "County Help For Rape Unit Urged," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer Extra*, November 9, 1976, A4.

[302] To learn more about HB 90 and its significance, the you can watch the panel featuring Janet Taggart and her colleagues discussing the legislation's importance here: www.youtube.com/watch?v=kRUJk6yZskY; To learn more about the Northwest Center, go to this website: www.nwcenter.org.

[303] Taggart received recognition during her long career as an advocate and activist as well as being honored in articles and posts following her death. Ann Landers and Dick Clever, "Annual Matrix Table Banquet Honors Women of Achievement," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer Extra*, B1; "Creating opportunities for people with disabilities," *Seattle Times*, October 6, 2015, accessed October 16, 2024, https://www.seattletimes.com/opinion/editorials/creating-opportunities-for-people-with-disabilities/; Andrea Brown, "Special-needs students were refused an education until six trailblazers launched a campaign to fix it," *Daily Herald*, December 13, 2020, A1; "Janet Ward Taggart February 3, 1930 - April 5, 2024," *Seattle Times*, accessed October 16, 2024, https://obituaries.seattletimes.com/obituary/janet-taggart-1089771220.

State-Level Advocacy and Protection for People with Disabilities

Following their success in passing the "Education for All" bill in 1971, Katie Dolan and Janet Taggart founded "Troubleshooters for the Handicapped," later renamed twice, first as Washington Protection and Advocacy System (WPAS) in 1987 and subsequently Disability Rights Washington (DRW) in 2007.[304] After the passage of the Developmental Disabilities Assistance and Bill of Rights Act in 1975, all states were given the opportunity to appoint an entity to provide federally funded protection and advocacy services. In 1977, Washington State's Governor Dixy Lee Ray officially designated Disability Rights Washington as the State Protection and Advocacy Agency, and by 1978 DRW began its operations. The legacy of DRW is extensive, and the organization embraced its "charge to protect and advocate civil and human rights of people with disabilities," to the fullest extent.[305] As the state-wide Protection and Advocacy agency, DRW amassed an extensive record of protecting the rights of people with disabilities in Seattle and Washington State, from monitoring state institutions and conducting research to funding and fostering story projects across all legislative districts.

The Making of the DeafBlind Service Center: Seattle's Trailblazer for Empowerment

by Beverly Aarons

By the 1990's, Seattle had made a name for itself as a deafblind Mecca by offering a level of community support and specialized services rarely found elsewhere in the country. The founding of the **DeafBlind Service Center (DBSC)** in 1986, located in the Central District, was critical to re-enforcing that narrative into the minds of many deafblind individuals around the country.[306] DBSC not only provided direct services but became a model for how communities could empower deafblind individuals

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[304] Disability Rights Washington, "History."

[305] Disability Rights Washington, "History."

[306] Documentation of the history of the DeafBlind Service Center and deafblind experiences in Seattle can be found at: "A Sense of Themselves: A Photographic Portrait of Seattle's Deaf-Blind Community," *Seattle Times*, June 27, 1999, L1; "Board Seeks Part of Surplus for Project to Help Deaf-Blind," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, June 3, 1986, A10; "Deaf-Blind People Make Seattle Into a Safe Haven: Lighthouse Facility Casts New Light on Life," *Los Angeles Times*, 1992; "Language Emergence in the Seattle DeafBlind Community," Seattle DeafBlind Service Center, 2009, 5-12; "Neglected Poor," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer,* May 7, 1986, A13; "People," *Seattle Times*, November 12, 1987, A3; "Seattle Regarded as Most-Livable City Among DeafBlind People," *Seattle Times*, August 23, 1992, B1; "The Freedom to Connect," *Seattle Times*, August 12, 2009, B1; "Unlearn Ableism with These 4 Talking Books," *Seattle Times*, April 10, 2022, E9; "Home," Washington State DeafBlind Citizens, Inc., accessed November 9, 2024, http://www.wsdbc.org/; "Home," Seattle DeafBlind Service Center, accessed November 9, 2024, https://seattledbsc.org.

through advocacy, skills training, and innovative communication strategies. This holistic approach set a new standard for how cities could not only serve but also honor the agency of deafblind residents.

Because of the strong community and the plethora of services provided, moving to Seattle was a life-changing decision for many deafblind people. Mark Landreneau, who relocated from Los Angeles, explained to the *Seattle Times* in 1992: "There are five times as many deafblind people in L.A. as there are in Seattle. But there are no services. If I'd picked any other city in any other state, I wouldn't have been able to grow in the ways I've been able to here."

Dan Mansfield, one of DBSC's founders, shared a similar sentiment. Born deaf, Mansfield was diagnosed with Usher syndrome as a child and began losing his sight in his 30s. In the early 1980s, he spent two months traveling by bus across the United States before ultimately deciding that Seattle—uniquely equipped to meet his evolving needs—would be his forever home. Mansfield would eventually go on to become the President of Washington State DeafBlind Citizens (WSDBC) and co-found the DeafBlind Service Center (DBSC) in Seattle with Don Meyer, Arlene Motulsky, and Theresa Smith.

DBSC was created to address the unique needs of Seattle's growing deafblind population. These founders envisioned an organization that would go beyond just providing services. They wanted DBSC to equip deafblind individuals with the skills and support necessary for them to live independently and advocate for themselves. DBSC's mission focuses on helping deafblind people achieve the highest possible quality of life and personal autonomy. Through its programs, DBSC became a place where individuals could access resources tailored specifically to dual sensory loss—services that were scarce in most other cities. The center has offered everything from communication support and advocacy training to independent living skills and employment assistance.

Mansfield and the other founders recognized that deafblind individuals faced unique barriers that required specialized solutions. One of DBSC's early programs provided Support Service Providers (SSPs)—trained assistants who help deafblind individuals navigate daily activities, such as grocery shopping, attending appointments, and accessing public transportation. These SSPs became a critical resource for promoting independence, allowing deafblind people to move through the world with greater ease and dignity. DBSC also created programs to help deafblind people speak up for themselves and become community leaders. They championed programs that taught deafblind individuals how to advocate for their rights in settings like healthcare, employment, and public services. This emphasis on advocacy helped establish DBSC as a model for other cities, demonstrating that empowerment involves not just providing services, but equipping individuals to advocate for systemic change.

The organization's commitment to innovative communication strategies also set it apart. Recognizing that traditional visual-based American Sign Language (ASL) was not fully accessible to those with limited or no vision, DBSC played a significant role in fostering the pro-tactile movement. This tactile communication method, which uses touch to convey messages, allowed deafblind individuals to communicate more freely and directly, creating a stronger sense of independence and social connection within the community.

As the 1990s continued, DBSC's impact was felt not only in Seattle but also nationally, as other cities looked to Seattle as a model for building accessible, safe spaces for deafblind residents. For many in the deafblind community, DBSC became a place of growth, learning, and connection—a true trailblazer in both advocacy and service provision. The establishment of DBSC coincided with significant victories in disability rights advocacy. In 1987, for example, a landmark ruling overturned Southwest Airlines' discriminatory policy of barring deafblind individuals from flying alone. This change reflected a broader shift in public attitudes toward inclusivity and was a clear win for the disability rights movement, aligning with DBSC's mission to promote independence and autonomy.

In addition to tackling barriers to transportation, DBSC's founders advocated for accessible technology and healthcare. Their efforts mirrored the national Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) of 1990, which prohibited discrimination based on disability and pushed for greater accessibility in public spaces, transportation, and employment. DBSC's commitment to innovation has been a constant throughout its history. The center advocates for deafblind individuals' right to communicate in the mode they prefer, whether it's Braille, close vision, tactile sign language, communication cards, or by using groundbreaking devices, such as the DeafBlind Communicator, which enables direct communication through tactile Braille and allows spontaneous conversations without interpreters. DBSC has also embraced new technologies throughout the years like speech-to-text software and real-time captioning tools to ensure that communication remains fluid and accessible. In the 1990's the DeafBlind Service Center helped to develop a deck of cards printed with numbers in large type and Braille so that deafblind people could easily navigate the city on Seattle's public buses. The center's willingness to adapt and innovate has ensured its continued relevance and impact, empowering Seattle's deafblind community to lead more independent lives.

As the center continues to serve Seattle's deafblind community, it stands as a testament to the power of grassroots advocacy, community collaboration, and persistent innovation. From its early days of fighting for basic services to its current role in advancing communication technology, DBSC exemplifies the ongoing journey toward greater inclusion and accessibility. Today, DBSC remains dedicated to its founding principles: empowering deafblind individuals to advocate for themselves and to take active roles in shaping the services they rely on. As Seattle's deafblind community grows, so too does the need for sustained advocacy, improved services, and expanded opportunities. DBSC's legacy reminds us that change is not only possible but necessary.

Dan Mansfield

Intersectional identities within the disability rights and justice movements fueled the establishment of organizations and alliances capable of embracing their LGBTQ+ community members. Growing up deaf, with two older sisters who were deaf and blind, Dan Mansfield eventually came to accept that his genetic diagnosis of Usher Syndrome would lead to vision loss, too.[307]

A graduate of Washington School for Deaf in 1968, Mansfield worked for twenty years, from 1974 to 1994, first as a word processor and later, in response to his deteriorating eyesight, as a TTY representative for Pacific Bell (later known as US West).[308] Mansfield served as the founding president of Washington State DeafBlind Citizens from 1982 to 1987.[309] In addition to his physical disabilities, Mansfield's identity was shaped by coming out as a gay man within a religiously conservative family.[310] Over time, Mansfield's leadership roles expanded to include becoming the first president of the Northwest Rainbow Alliance of the Deaf (NWRAD), a national organization with bases in several U.S. cities.

Once Mansfield was diagnosed with AIDS, he took on the project of educating deaf and deaf/blind communities about HIV/AIDS awareness throughout the Pacific Northwest. His leadership trajectory exemplifies the intersectional turn organizing took when BIPoC, disabled, and other LGBTQ+ activists realized that their struggles meant addressing homophobia within their own communities, not merely in society at large. Mansfield passed away from the effects of AIDS in 1994 but is remembered for his foundational efforts to make Seattle a welcoming place for the communities of which he was a member.[311]

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[307] "Remembering a DeafBlind leader and AIDS educator," The Amp, accessed October 22, 2024, https://theamp.org/story/dan-mansfield/.

308 Elizabeth Weise, "Deaf-Blind People Make Seattle Into a Safe Haven: Lighthouse: Facility casts new light on life," *LA Times*, October 25, 1992, accessed October 22, 2024, https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1992-10-25-me-830-story.html.

[309] "History," Washington State DeafBlind Citizens, Inc., accessed October 22, 2024, http://wsdbc.org/history/.

[310] "Remembering a DeafBlind leader and AIDS educator," The Amp.

[311] "Deaf-blind AIDS activist Mansfield dies," Seattle Post-Intelligencer, April 8, 1994, C4.

Theme Four: Activism in the Disability Justice Movement

This theme highlights the organizing principles and practices of the Disability Justice Movement from the 1990s to 2024. While movements arising in previous eras continue to operate, providing employment, education, housing, and other services for people with disabilities, in its most recent iteration, the movement for disability justice can be characterized by several distinctive features not typically prevalent in the Civil Rights Era. These include significantly less hierarchical and more egalitarian structures within activist organizations, often called collectives; an attempt to identify and counter "ableist" practices to ensure people with disabilities will be welcomed at events, meetings, and gatherings of all types, including in public spaces; and a clear sense of agency and self-determination among people with disabilities as the leaders of their own movements. Included in this section is the rise of disability as a legitimate subject of inquiry within colleges and universities, an overview of the forms activism has assumed in recently established organizations, and the proliferation of cultural expression in the arts, cultural, and recreational realms as disability justice have expanded from core concerns with basic human rights to make broader claims in the cultural realm.

Action to create inclusive programs in all of these arenas has not necessarily required protest to achieve. Rather, in recent years, self-organizing based on established principles of inclusion and access has prevailed. It is a mark of progress in the civil rights of people with disabilities that inclusive programs in the arts, recreation, and other aspects of community life are organized to welcome people with disabilities.

Characteristics of the Disability Justice Movement

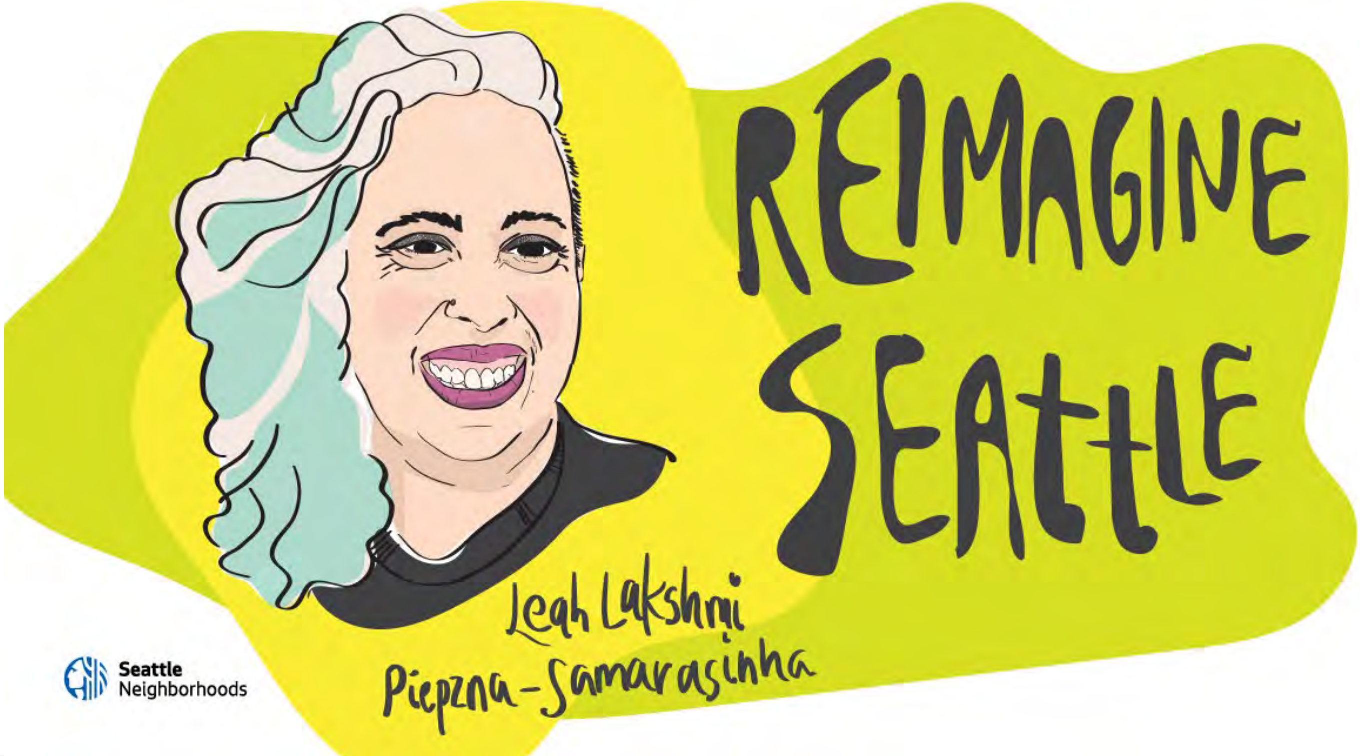
One of the defining characteristics of the Disability Justice Movement is its emphasis on dissolving the hierarchies typical of a past generation of organizations in favor of more egalitarian, collective forms of practice. The disability justice collective SinsInvalid was founded in 2005 in the San Francisco Bay Area. The collective's writing has proven inspirational as a group with clearly articulated principles and disability-positive practices.

> [Sins Invalid began as a] disability justice-based performance project that incubates and celebrates artists with disabilities, centralizing artists of color and LGBTQ / gender-variant artists as communities who have been historically marginalized. Led by people with disabilities of color, Sins Invalid's performance work explores the [subjects] of sexuality, embodiment, and the disabled body, developing provocative work where paradigms of "normal" and "sexy" are challenged,

> offering instead a vision of beauty and sexuality inclusive of all bodies and communities.[312]

SinsInvalid has expanded the definition of disability in far broader ways than previously understood.[313]

Their intersectional approach calls for unity among all oppressed people in the interest of collective liberation. Sins Invalid member Leah Lakshmi Piepzna-Samarasinha relocated to Seattle before the COVID-19 pandemic and wrote about the city from her perspective.[314]



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[312] SinsInvalid, "Mission & Vision," accessed July 19, 2024, https://sinsinvalid.org/about-old/; SinsInvalid, *Skin, Tooth, and Bone: The Basis of Movement is Our People, A Disability Justice Primer* (San Francisco: SinsInvalid, 2019).

[313] SinsInvalid, "Mission & Vision."

[314] Seattle Department of Neighborhoods, "Reimagine Seattle: Leah Lakshmi Piepzna-Samarasinha," January 18, 2021, Front Porch, City of Seattle, accessed August 9, 2024, https://frontporch.seattle.gov/2021/01/18/reimagine-seattle-leah-lakshmi-piepzna-samarasinha/; Leah Lakshmi Piepzna-Samarasinha, "'The Future Is Disabled' Imagines a World Oriented Around Care and Safety," October 4, 2022, teenVOGUE, accessed August 9, 2024, https://www.teenvogue.com/story/future-is-disabled-book.

Sweet Slow Disabled Home by Leah Lakshmi Piepzna-Samarasinha

When the Snowpocalypse hit Seattle in February 2019, I didn't leave my house for a few weeks.[315] Cheasty, where I live, already feels like you're in the woods, even though you're also in South Seattle, and the Wendy's and the light rail are five minutes away. As soon as the snow hit, and kept hitting, it felt even more like the country. Cedar and cottonwoods and gothic PNW evergreens, dripping snow. Road that feels like a dirt road, that I knew wouldn't get ploughed for weeks because we weren't a priority route. And I lived that way: I had my woodpile stocked, and my wood stove; I had the stash of food and whiskey and books laid into my house. At most, I hiked, with cane and hiking boots, up and down the Cheasty a little bit, marveling at the white and the woods. Life revolved around the house. My whole entire extended disabled family was inside their houses too- because sidewalks weren't shoveled, buses weren't running, the stairs were icy, elevators stopped working. Some of them made a video about it:

Some parts of it sucked, but, as my friend Neve said, "It's almost as if the revolution were here! We're just doing what matters – eating, sleeping, hanging out, helping each other. It's great, until you need to make it to the grocery store."

Two years later, over the past year of COVID, I've barely left my house, like many, if not most, of the rest of Seattle who has housing. The difference is, like many disabled and chronically ill folks, this is not that much different than how I lived my life before. It's just that we're better at it than most people.

It's not that people with disabilities are all somehow magically blessed by the cripple fairy with the ability to deal with long term

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[315] Leah Lakshmi Piepzna-Samarasinha, "Sweet Slow Disabled Home," Reimagine Seattle, Front Porch, January 18, 2021, Department of Neighborhoods, City of Seattle, accessed September 16, 2024, https://frontporch.seattle.gov/2021/01/18/reimagine-seattle-leah-lakshmi-piepzna-samarasinha/.

isolation well. And it’s not like our different kinds of isolation – from the kind created by ableist isolation from the academic building that refuses to install a ramp to the “Oh-that-sounds hard, we-couldn’t-possibly, maybe-next-century-we’ll-have-something” denial of an ask for ASL, CART, or online meeting to our 2020 being stuck in the house because even the grocery store with an N95 makes you wonder if you’re going to die – aren’t awful. It’s awful to be pushed out, rejected and forgotten; your basic needs seen as an annoying pain in the ass.

But in the face of all the kinds of isolation, some of us do have the opportunity to get very, very good at making living a home-centered life (a phrase I prefer to the more often used “home bound”) – sometimes bed-centered, hyper local life – rich. Maybe we get good at this through neurodiverse temperament, maybe through disabled cultural skills, sometimes through finding or making crip community, and mostly because we have no choice

While I miss certain things this quarantine year, my world often doesn’t feel small or constrained, even though I live in a world that is perhaps ten blocks wide. I’m grateful for the one trip I took in September and for the longish drives to explore parks and greenspaces. But my days are also full of long phone calls, epic text conversations, and traded audio files. I take yoga twice a week because the rad, fat, Black, femme teacher I love teaches online. Disabled communities have used Zoom for years before COVID to accessibly meet, and we know how to do it well. Not just the bottom lines of access, but the soft disabled skills of hanging out as we are instead of feeling like we have to dress up and perform normalcy and competency as I see abled people doing. Being easy if something glitches or takes longer than we expect. Our disabled skills make Zoom feel less like a shitty second-best and more intimate and open. I had a stacked calendar of online and phone meetings and performances for most of the year. I, in many ways, have the life that I’ve longed for for years. There are no more planes to catch, no more spoon sucking, joint dislocating work travel, and burnt out weeks afterwards recovering. No more in person meetings to stress about getting to on time, exhausted after from blowing spoons to dress, drive, park and behave.

Instead, I live a life that is about the everyday acts of home; I cook, clean-up, do garden and herbal projects. I do a ton of mutual aid survival check-ins and food and herb drop-offs. I have a chance to connect with friends, wear cozy clothes, watch TV shows I love. I cuddle with my cats, sleep in my bed every night, do prayer and spiritual work, do therapy work, journal. I rest, soak in my hot tub (yes, I am very lucky and have a great landlord) and walk in the strip of woods I live in. I go to The Station – which has become even more of a community hub – and hang out by El Centro, Estelita's Library, Quilombo Tamales, MacPherson's, and the Beacon Hill Food Forest – all Beacon Hill community institutions that are hanging in there during COVID, because the neighborhood can afford to, and wants to, support them.

The ways my life gets to be good definitely has some privilege in it. Right now, I'm making a lower middle-class income at the self-employment I've been doing for years – disability training, writing, and editing. But it's also a disabled story that I didn't lose gigs when COVID hit because I'd already worked to get my clients ok with me working remotely and many of my clients were already people with disabilities for whom this was the norm. But it's also a life I see, with variations, in my disabled friends who are living on SSDI or SSI or student loans or sex work or hit and miss arts gigs, who are also still using the skills we've gained from being home-centered for years to get through this time better.

All of this also has the side effect of making me hate Seattle less. I moved here five years ago thinking it would be like Oakland but with less drought, and instead became one of the many BIPOC who moved here and got smacked really hard in the face by much of the city's damp Scandanavian whiteness. I actually like Seattle a lot better now. I'm not trying to "make it work." I see just the people and neighborhood spots locally I really like, instead of trying to force myself to go to inaccessible social events, or feeling bummed that I didn't make it or had to leave. I feel better living a life that works for my neurodivergence, and that is supported by the world.

What do I want for the future? So much. But like many people with disabilities, I don't want to "go back" to a "normal" that was inaccessible and sucked to begin with. New York based, disabled, Latinx activist Allissa Fernandez recently pointed out that, look how quickly all these restaurants can spend tens of thousands of dollars in two weeks building outdoor restaurants on the sidewalk when they wouldn't spend five hundred bucks on a ramp for the past decade! Look how all these groups are scrambling to make Zoom, CART and ASL happen – and actually, finally being forced to learn how to do it well. I wouldn't mind travelling to see my family, swimming in a warm pool, and seeing my acupuncturist, but I don't want to go back to forced flying all the time, nothing ever online or captioned, no one ever able to admit they're sad or scared. I don't want to give up the good parts of this slow, crip, home life, city.

Characteristics of the Disability Justice Movement (Continued)

Inspired by the Cr*pple Punk movement, which rejects inspirational portrayals of those with physical disabilities, Lindsey Muszkiewicz and Ashley Cowen D'Ambrosio, former University of Washington students, founded Crip Riot in Seattle.[316] Among their initiatives to advance accessibility was the F*** Stairs campaign, which enlisted people with disabilities and their allies in limiting their pathways to those used by people with mobility impairments to demonstrate how inaccessible and unwelcoming most physical spaces continue to be even 30 years after signing the ADA.[317] Seattle University similarly is home to Students for Disability Justice, a club comprised of law school students.[318] The organization provides advocacy for disabled students and a venue for political action. Beyond university-based advocacy groups, a wide array of more casual meet ups exist throughout the Seattle area to support people with autism, ADHD, and other conditions.

University-based Teaching, Research, and Resources

University of Washington

Disability Studies has emerged within the university as a formal field of interdisciplinary teaching and research during the past quarter century, including at University of Washington (UW). Dennis Lang, UW faculty member, with co-founders Sherrie Brown, Kurt Johnson, Bruce Kochis, and Susan Jeffords, helped to catalyze the development of a formal academic program at the UW over the course of two decades, giving rise to academic conferences and symposia, research projects, and educational programs on the subject.[319] The Disability Studies program, honoring Denis Lang's contributions, remembered his presence at the beginning.

> Eighteen years ago, Dennis knocked on a door at the UW and gently asked why we were not doing more to educate society on disability discrimination and the experience

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[316] "Ashley Cowan D'Ambrosio," LinkedIn, accessed July 20, 2024, https://www.linkedin.com/in/ashleybcowan/; The Cr*pple Punk tag was started in 2014 by Tumblr user TylerTrewhella, depicted with a cane and lit cigarette that tag was intended to counter conventional, morally righteous depictions of people with physical disabilities. "Cripple Punk: Disability-related Internet Movement," *Cerebral Palsy News Today*, August 1, 2016, accessed November 4, 2024, https://cerebralpalsynewstoday.com/blog/2016/07/19/cripple-punk-and-disability-related-internet-movements/.

[317] "Ashley Cowan D'Ambrosio," LinkedIn; SinsInvalid, *Skin, Tooth, and Bone: The Basis of Movement is Our People, A Disability Justice Primer.*

[318] "Seattle U Students for Disability Justice," Facebook, accessed July 20, 2024, https://www.facebook.com/SeattleUSDJ.

[319] "Dennis Lang: Remembering the Co-Founder of the UW Disability Studies Program," Disability Studies, University of Washington, accessed July 11, 2024, https://disabilitystudies.washington.edu/people/dennis-lang; Peter Kelley, "Dennis Lang: The Activist Behind Disability Studies at the UW," *University of Washington News*, November 20, 2008, accessed July 11, 2024, https://www.washington.edu/news/2008/11/20/dennis-lang-the-activist-behind-disability-studies-at-the-uw/.

> of people with disability. In his kind and persistent way, he kept asking the question of anyone who would listen. The main message was that it was our responsibility as a public institution of higher education to include disability studies in the curricula. He was untiring in his effort to "make something happen" and could be found in meetings throughout campus or connecting people wherever he found possibilities.[320]

Medicalized perspectives on disability predominated within university-based disciplines in the past, including in the fields of rehabilitation medicine and audiology. In recent years, scholars have made the concept of disability itself an object of rigorous analysis by questioning its foundational assumptions, unconscious biases, normative expectations, and standard practices. Not unlike developments in the fields of gender studies, critical race theory, and sexuality studies, scholars and activists in the field of disability studies have raised new questions within its educational and research programs.

Haring Center for Inclusive Education, founded in 1964 as the Haring Center, affiliated with the College of Education and Center for Human Development and Disability, at University of Washington in 1965. The EEU was established as a pilot school staffed by UW faculty focused on "education, rehabilitation, and family advocacy for children with neurological injuries."[321] Dr. Norris Haring, EEU's first director, and Dr. Alice Hayden, Founder and Director of the Model Pre-School Center for Handicapped Children, were leaders in the special education field and pillars of the Haring Center and later EEU. Haring and Hayden collaborated with researchers such as Patricia Oelwien and Val Dmitriv on the education of children with Down syndrome, which established the precedent that children with Down syndrome can read and learn.[322] Their research and advocacy was essential in developing inclusive education for children who experience Autism and Down syndrome, which have become the basis of national educational models.[323]

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[320] Peter Kelley, "Dennis Lang: The Activist Behind Disability Studies at the UW."

[321] Haring Center for Inclusive Education, "History," University of Washington, accessed October 22, 2024, https://haringcenter.org/about/historical-highlights/; To clarify, the center started was original called the Haring Center from 1964-1965 and was renamed the Experimental Education Unit (EEU) from 1966-2009, and today is called the Haring Center for Inclusive Education which includes the EEU under its umbrella of resources, programs, and research.

[322] Haring Center, "1. Our Founders," University of Washington, accessed October 22, 2024, https://haringcenter.org/about/historical-highlights/50-years-of-impact/1-our-founders/.

[323] Vanessa Ho, "Dr. Alice Hayden, A Leading Researcher Of Down Syndrome," *Seattle Times*, March 13, 1994, accessed October 22, 2024, https://archive.seattletimes.com/archive/?date=19940313&slug=1900007; Jane E. Brody, "Personal Health," *New York Times*, December 22, 1982, accessed October 22, 2024, https://nyti.ms/4faJV4z; James Teagarden, Robert H Zabel, and Marilyn Kaff, "Charting Changes: A Conversation With Norris Haring," *Intervention in School and Clinic* 49, no. 2 (2013): 121–26; Lyle Thomas Romer, "TASH Co-Founder Dr. Norris Haring Passes Away," *Research and Practice for Persons with Severe Disabilities* 45, no. 2 (2020): 132–33; Lorrie Boring, "Slow Get Slower; The Fast Lose Speed," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, June 21, 1971, 11; "Education of handicapped to be discussed," *San Antonio Express News*, March 27, 1977, 5B; Lorrie Boring, "Kids 'Buy' Fun at School," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer EXTRA*, June 20, 1971; Sally Raleigh, "Help Handicapped Children with Early Aid, Education," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer EXTRA*, September 18, 1979, A10; "Grant to help train staff of Head Start," *Seattle Times*, January 14, 1973, A15.

Haring and Hayden also helped found TASH in 1975, a leading international organization in disability advocacy.[324] Haring was also a leader and advocate in expanding inclusive educational opportunities for deaf/blind students, and was committed to active engagement with deaf/blind community leaders and professionals, including those based at the Deaf/Blind Services Center and the Interpreter Training Program at Seattle Central Community College.[325]

Seattle Central Community College

Seattle Central Community College offers sign language and tactile sign language training and hosts a consortium that provides high school students with access to ASL. Staff leadership has contributed greatly to making the college a more welcoming place for deaf, blind, and deafblind students. People with disabilities have frequently been change makers in the positions they hold. For example, Larry Petersen, a graduate of the Washington State School for the Deaf and Gallaudet College (1960) and later a spectrographic analyst at Boeing Co., became a sign language teacher at the Seattle Hearing and Speech Center in 1961, eventually became an influential force at Seattle Central Community College (SCCC). He prepared for leadership at the San Fernando Valley College before becoming a counselor and student advisor at SCCC.[326] He became the director of the program for the deaf at SCCC for five years and interim superintendent for the Washington School for the Deaf. As president of the Washington State Association for the Deaf (WSAD) between 1981-1987 he frequently attended legislative hearings related to the rights of deaf and hard-of-hearing people in Washington State. Among his accomplishments were guaranteeing interpretive services for deaf and hard-of-hearing individuals within the court system. For his work, he was recognized by WSAD with a lifetime honorary member award.

Crip Arts and Culture

Crip arts and culture have thrived in recent years as visual artists, performers, poets, and other creative individuals organize to present their work in accessible venues. Many arts and culture venues are located in historically inaccessible places, including in historic buildings. Organizations such as Seattle Cultural Accessibility Consortium, founded by Elizabeth Ralson, work to bring Seattle's vibrant arts and culture scene into accessible

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[324] "About," TASH, accessed October 22, 2024, https://tash.org/about/; "2024 TASH Awards Recognition Program: Alice H. Hayden Emerging Leader Award," TASH, accessed October 22, 2024, https://tash.org/about/awards-recognition-program/.

[325] James Teagarden, Robert H Zabel, and Marilyn Kaff, "Charting Changes: A Conversation With Norris Haring, 121–26; Lyle Thomas Romer, "TASH Co-Founder Dr. Norris Haring Passes Away, 132–33.

[326] Larry Rumley, "For the deaf 'The greatest need is for understanding," *Seattle Times*, September 17, 1972, 12-13; Washington State Association for the Deaf, "Lifetime Honorary Member Award: 2023 WSAD Lifetime Honorary Members," accessed September 15, 2024, https://wsad.org/lifetime-honorary-member-award/.

venues.[327] The consortium connects local arts organizations with the resources needed to participate in and enjoy cultural activities regardless of disability.

Sound Theatre Company created a disability-friendly rehearsal environment that is produced and run by people with disabilities.[328] Ticket pricing for their shows follows a similarly radical policy of paying what you can. Teresa Thuman, Founding and Producing Artistic Director for Sound Theatre, aims to humanize the arts by centering the lived experience of people with disabilities in their work. Sound Theatre elevates the accessibility conversation through its programming and networking opportunities. In Thuman's view, "We are intentionally centering the role of people with lived experience of disability, rather than featuring metaphorical roles created for able-bodied audiences. This is not inspiration porn. We are reframing disability."[329] In addition to their theatrical performances, Sound Theatre's Making Waves program, which includes "a series of readings of plays by disabled playwrights, art exhibitions, accessible performances and other experimental works" that carry the message of disability inclusion to the public.[330] Anything Is Possible Theatre mounted a sold-out run in June 2023 of an original musical, "Flying Blind!," addressing the experience of blind/low-vision people.[331] The play was written by Ellen Cooper, Laura Ferri, and Sheri Richardson and can still be accessed online.[332] The production marked the creative team's commitment to developing a cultural production drawn directly from the lives of people with limited vision.

The installation of hearing loops has also made a number of cultural venues more accessible to the deaf and hearing impaired, including: the Bagley Wright Theatre, Seattle Children's Theatre, Seattle Repertory Theatre, Taproot Theatre, and Town Hall Seattle. Adaptive devices and disability-friendly policies make the Seattle Theatre Group more accessible to the public, including by reviewing content from the standpoint of autism.

Also involved in the arts is the Jack Straw Cultural Center, which has a long history of making its programs accessible to people with disabilities.[333] The center was established in 1962

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[327] Seattle Cultural Accessibility Consortium, "About," accessed July 20, 2024, https://www.seattlecac.org/about-us.

[328] "Racial Inclusion at Sound Theater in Seattle," Women Arts, accessed July 20, 2024, accessed July 20, 2024, https://www.womenarts.org/2018/02/26/radical-inclusion-at-sound-theatre-in-seattle/; Sound Theatre Company, "About the Company," accessed July 20, 2024, https://soundtheatrecompany.org/about-the-company/.

[329] "Racial Inclusion at Sound Theater in Seattle," Women Arts.

[330] "Racial Inclusion at Sound Theater in Seattle," Women Arts.

[331] Anything is Possible Theatre, "Home," accessed September 16, 2024, https://anythingispossibletheatre.org/.

[332] Anything is Possible Theatre, "Flying Blind!," accessed September 16, 2024, https://anythingispossibletheatre.org/flying-blind/.

[333] Jack Straw Cultural Center, "About Jack Straw Cultural Center," accessed July 20, 2024, https://www.jackstraw.org/about/.

to promote the production and presentation of audio art. Its accessibility programs include outreach to youth with disabilities, workshops in local schools, blind use audio projects, and programs with the Washington State Department of Services for the Blind opened forms of cultural production, particularly audio projects, to blind use in Seattle.[334]

Festivals, including Mouthwater, have brought dancers with disabilities to perform in Seattle, celebrating the national movement for cross-disability solidarity expressed in the arts.[335] Many institutions and organizations specifically allocate resources to removing barriers to artistic expression and cultural engagement among people with disabilities. For example, the Seattle Art Museum has developed adaptive resources to serve blind and deaf visitors.[336]

Festivals provide occasions when a concentration of performers with disabilities can find a public audience. The Disabled List Comedy Festival, in conjunction with the Northwest Film Forum in Seattle, provides filmed sketches and live stand-up by comedians with disabilities.[337] Ongoing organizations that advance arts and cultural production by people with disabilities are complemented by periodic events that enrich Seattle's offerings with out-of-town performers.

Visual artist Ned Behnke was deaf from birth. He received a BA from Central Washington University and an MFA from Rochester Institute of Technology (RIT). Behnke taught deaf and hard-of-hearing students at the Cornish College of the Arts, among other places. He won a major public art commission from the King County Arts Commission for the Seattle Hearing and Deafness Center and was represented by the Foster/White Gallery. After his untimely death in 1989 from AIDS, the Behnke family honored his legacy by establishing the Neddy Artists Awards, the Ned Behnke Leadership Award at the Northwest AIDS Foundation (now the Lifelong AIDS Alliance); and the Ned Behnke Preschool under the Hearing, Speech and Deafness Center. Finally, in 1982, a Cornish painting studio was named in his honor.[338]

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[334] Jack Straw Cultural Center, "About Jack Straw Cultural Center."

[335] Saira Barbaric, "Mouthwater," accessed July 20, 2024, https://www.barbaric-art.com/home/mouthwater.

[336] Seattle Art Museum, "Accessibility," accessed July 20, 2024, https://seattleartmuseum.org/whats-on/programs/accessibility.

[337] Northwest Film Forum, "The Disabled List Comedy Festival 2023," January 2023, accessed August 9, 2024, https://nwfilmforum.org/festivals/the-disabled-list-festival-2023-in-person-only/.

[338] Janine Gressel, "Tragic Impact Of Aids Is Felt Locally, Nationally," *Seattle Times*, October 6, 1991, accessed September 15, 2024, https://archive.seattletimes.com/archive/?date=19911006&slug=1309339; Rochester Institute of Technology, "Ned Behnke," National Technical Institute for the Deaf Joseph F. and Helen C. Dyer Arts Center, accessed September 15, 2024, https://dyerartscenter.omeka.net/exhibits/show/homecoming/nedbehnke.

Recreation and Sports

Seattle Department of Parks and Recreation offers opportunities for individuals with physical and cognitive disabilities to enjoy adaptive recreational programs through its specialized programs unit.[339] Among its offerings are teen and young adult afterschool programs, youth weekend programs and trips, summer day camps, fitness programs, and specialty classes such as adaptive dance. In partnership with Seattle Adaptive Sports, the unit offers team sports like wheelchair basketball, sled hockey, and power soccer.

On the recreation side, several Seattle-area parks are specially designed for wheelchair accessibility, including Washington Park Arboretum, Green Lake Trail, Seward Park Perimeter Loop, and the part between Myrtle Edwards Park and Elliot Bay Park, and Olympic Sculpture Park, among others. The longest accessible trail at more than 18 miles is the Burke-Gilman Trail, from the Ballard Bridge to Bothell. Other public-private partnerships, such as the **Seattle Children's PlayGarden: A Garden for Everyone**, represent the intersection of advocacy between local government, parents, therapists, teachers, and medical professionals.[340] Founded in 2002 by Liz Bullard, a Speech-Language Pathologist, and championed by Dr. Abe Bergman, a pediatrician who also worked at the national level to pass legislation to protect the safety of children, the PlayGarden is an accessible and inclusive play space.[341] The park is located south of I-90 between Mt. Baker and Beacon Hill. More broadly, the rise of accessible playgrounds has opened new public spaces to children with disabilities.

Eunice Kennedy Shriver founded the Special Olympics in 1968. It grew into a vast international-level organization, with Special Olympics Washington forming in 1975.[342] The organization provides opportunities for people with intellectual and developmental disabilities to participate in athletic training and competition year-round while developing accepting and inclusive communities.[343] Volunteers provide support structures

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[339] Seattle Parks and Recreation, "Specialized Programs for People with Disabilities," City of Seattle, accessed July 20, 2024, https://www.seattle.gov/parks/recreation/for-people-with-disabilities.

[340] Seattle Children's PlayGarden, "The PlayGarden Story!" accessed August 10, 2024, https://seattleplaygarden.org/playgarden-story/.

[341] Susan Gregg, "Dr. Abe Bergman remembered for child advocacy," *UW Medicine Newsroom*, November 14, 2023, accessed August 10, 2024, https://newsroom.uw.edu/blog/dr-abe-bergman-remembered-for-child-advocacy; Trip Gabriel, "Abraham Bergman, Doctor Who Sought Answers on SIDS, Dies at 91," *New York Times*, November 20, 2023, accessed August 10, 2024, https://www.nytimes.com/2023/11/30/us/abraham-bergman-dead.html.

[342] Special Olympics, "Washington Fact Sheet," accessed October 21, 2024, https://media.specialolympics.org/resources/leading-a-program/program-profiles/SONA/Washington-FactSheet-2024.pdf.

[343] Special Olympics Washington, "About," accessed July 20, 2024, https://specialolympicswashington.org/about/.

for its events and fundraising to enable widespread participation. Similarly, Seattle Adaptive Sports seeks to "enable people with physical disabilities to push beyond their limits and reach their full potential" and aims to "be a regional hub that connects athletes and the community with opportunities to compete, learn, and grow."[344] The organization was originally created to support children born with Spina Bifida, but over time, its scope and mission expanded to serve a broader disability community in the city.

Organizations such as these aim to shift narratives around who can participate in sports and recreation, fostering spaces that are more inclusive and accessible. Their efforts reflect advocacy through representation and participation in spaces typically assumed as able-bodied spaces and activities. The region is served by additional organizations providing opportunities for adults and children with disabilities to participate in sports and physical communities. This includes organizations with more disability-specific focuses, such as the Northwest Association for Blind Athletes (2007), whose mission is "To provide life-changing opportunities through sports and physical activity to individuals who are blind and visually impaired."[345]

[Figure 37] 90 young athletes from Washington State travel to Chicago for the first Special Olympics.

[Source: "Accessibility, Centered: A History of Disability Services in King County," King County Archives, accessed October 21, 2024, https://bytesandboxes.org/accessibility-centered-a-history-of-disability-services-in-king-county/#0dc3f042-93a0-45e6-9122-2367c8fa6054.]

Leadership in providing accessible recreational activities can be credited to organizations such as the OutdoorsForAll Foundation, established in the Pacific Northwest in 1979. It has expanded access to "snowboarding, snowshoeing, cross country and downhill skiing, cycling, mountain biking, kayaking, hiking, rock climbing, youth and adult day camps, [and] yoga."[346] Its programs are directed to the military and include weekend excursions and specially designed events. Extensive volunteer training has expanded its impact. Specialized recreational and therapy programs for people with disabilities include hippotherapy or equine therapy. In the Seattle area, Little Bit Therapeutic Riding Center, founded by Margaret Dunlap, who had Multiple Sclerosis, has offered adaptive horseback

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[344] Seattle Adaptive Sports, "Our History," accessed July 20, 2024, https://www.seattleadaptivesports.org/about/history/.

[345] Northwest Association for Blind Athletes, "Who We Are," accessed August 10, 2024, https://nwaba.org/about/who-we-are/.

[346] Outdoorsforall Foundation, "Who We Are," accessed August 9, 2024, https://outdoorsforall.org/about-us/who-we-are/.

riding for adults and children since its founding in 1976.[347] The organization is one of the largest full-time therapeutic horsemanship programs in the United States.[348]

Many alumni of summer camps for children with disabilities have fond memories of the camaraderie and sense of freedom they experienced in these environments. While many camps for children with disabilities in the Pacific Northwest were intentionally located in natural environments outside of cities, repeated attendance by campers built communities among disabled children and their families throughout the year. They range widely in focus from camps tailored to neurodivergent children, particularly those with autism, to camps addressing physical and developmental disabilities.[349] The PNW Kiwanis chapters have a long history of offering programming and camp experiences for children with disabilities. According to their official history, "We have seen a number of camps for disabled or low-income children, including **Mt. Hood Kiwanis Camp**, Southern Oregon Camp Kiwanis, and Northwest Kiwanis Camp. These camps have tended to exist because of a single club's initial leadership, but their continued success has tended to come from the support of many clubs throughout the division or region."[350]

Crip Camp (2020), a recent documentary film about a summer camp for adolescents with disabilities, set in Hunter, NY, points to the foundational role of these camps in creating both social and political solidarity among the campers.[351] The freedom campers experienced and relationships they built fueled the emergence of the Disability Rights Movement. Scholars and activists have yet to study how similar camps in Washington State contributed to the Disability Rights Movement. However, these camps' histories have been documented. Notable institutions in Washington State include Mt. Hood Kiwanis Camp (MHKC), established in 1933, is one of the oldest in the region. The King County chapter of the Arc, which established Camp Waskowitz (also called Camp North Bend) had one of the earliest programs for people with developmental disabilities (1935-1942).[352] Newspapers covered the experiences of children who attended camp there, with headlines boasting "Self-Confidence for Handicapped Boys and Girls."[353] Alumni memories of summers spent at these camps are ripe for collection in an oral history project.

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[347] Little Bit Therapeutic Riding Center, "Our Story," accessed August 9, 2024, https://www.littlebit.org/our-story.

[348] Little Bit Therapeutic Riding Center, "Our Story."

[349] The consultants have not provided an exhaustive list, but have pointed to several camps that repeatedly emerged in the literature.

[350] Patrick Rendell Ewing, *PNW Kiwanis History: The First 100 Years* (Victoria, BC: PNW Kiwanis, 2019), 9, accessed August 9, 2024, https://www.mediafire.com/folder/4zbqh2vwo4bz4/PNW_Kiwanis_History#tgizksw9iq9i0.

[351] *Crip Camp*, directed by Nicole Newnham and Jim LeBrecht (Los Angeles, CA: Higher Ground Productions, 2020), Netflix film.

[352] Mt. Hood Kiwanis Camp, "About MHKC," accessed August 9, 2024, https://mhkc.org/about-mhkc/; The Arc, "History."

[353] Ben Mitchell, "Self-Confidence for Handicapped Boys and Girls," *Seattle Times*, August 1, 1954, 10; Newspapers also included headlines that used outmoded language including articles such as Julie Emery's "Retarded Children Enjoy Outdoor Adventureland at Summer Camp Near North Bend," *Seattle Daily Times*, July 17, 1959, 10.

Evaluating the Significance of Properties Associated with Disability Activism

National Register of Historic Places Criteria

Reports such as this one guide in understanding the potential eligibility of historic properties for listing in the National Register of Historic Places and/or as Seattle Landmarks. Both programs use a list of standards or criteria to determine whether a place is significant. If a place meets any of the criteria of significance and has integrity, that is to say; it retains sufficient features to convey its historical significance, then it is considered eligible for listing.

To be listed in the National Register, a site must have sufficient integrity, be over 50 years old, and meet one or multiple of the following criteria:

A. (History) are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or

B. (People) are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; or

C. (Design) embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or

D. (Archaeology) have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.[354]

These criteria are purposefully broad to allow for a variety of types of sites to be eligible for listing. Places of local or national significance are both eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places. Pike Place Market is listed for its connection to local history, while Pearl Harbor is listed for its national significance.[355] The sites identified in this study include significant local, state, and national examples.

Criterion A (History) addresses properties associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history, has broad relevance to many sites identified in this study. It could include institutions like schools or hospitals, organizational headquarters, and places of protest.

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[354] *How to Apply the National Register Criteria* (Washington DC: National Park Service, 1995), accessed September 10, 2024, https://www.nps.gov/subjects/nationalregister/upload/NRB-15_web508.pdf.

[355] Kate Kraft, *National Register Nomination for Pike Place Public Market Historic District* (National Register of Historic Places, 2010): 3, accessed September 10, 2024, https://www.seattle.gov/Documents/Departments/Neighborhoods/HistoricPreservation/HistoricDistricts/PikePlaceMarket/PikePlace-National-Register-Nomination.pdf; and Russel Apple, *National Register of Historic Places Inventory Form for Pearl Harbor* (National Register of Historic Places, 1974), accessed September 10, 2024, https://npgallery.nps.gov/NRHP/GetAsset/NHLS/66000940_text.

Criterion B (People) includes properties associated with the lives of persons significant in our past, is useful for homes, meeting places, and sites of intervention by leaders of disability activism.

Criterion C (Design) embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction; represents the work of a master; possesses high artistic values; or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction, goes beyond high-style buildings like the Smith Tower or the Space Needle to include functional designs and innovations. For example, the Ballard Locks are listed under Criterion C. Efforts to adapt properties to meet the functional needs of people with disabilities might be appropriate under Criterion C. Seattle's long history of adapting its bus system, creating public housing, and removing barriers hindering access and full participation are ripe for inclusion under this criterion; however, they may also qualify under Criteria A and/or B. Center Park, an early apartment designed from the ground up to provide access, and other innovative new designs for accessible housing and retrofits of established places benefit from the design orientation of Criterion C.[356]

Criterion D (Archaeology) emphasizes properties/sites that have yielded, or may be likely to yield, archaeological information important in prehistory or history. The grounds of schools for the disabled, hospitals and carceral institutions frequently have yielded information about the everyday lives of their inmates, staff, and visitors. Recent projects to document cemeteries associated with poor farms and mental hospitals, such as Northern State, point to the value of archeological evidence for filling gaps in our knowledge of inmates' experiences. These studies frequently have been components of "truth and reconciliation" projects to remedy the anonymity and highlight the realities of lives in confinement.

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[356] For more on Center Park, see Theme Three, "Accessible Design" and "Accessible Municipal Services."

City of Seattle Landmarks Criteria

Seattle Landmarks standards are similar to National Register criteria, with some nuances. A site, place, or object could be listed as a Seattle Landmark if it is more than 25 years old and:

- **A.** It is the location of, or is associated significantly with, an historic event with a significant effect upon the community, city, state, or nation; or
- **B.** It is associated significantly with the life of a person important in the history of the city, state, or nation; or
- **C.** It is associated in a significant way with a significant aspect of the cultural, political, or economic heritage of the community, city, state, or nation; or
- **D.** It embodies the distinctive visible characteristics of an architectural style, or period, or of a method of construction; or
- **E.** It is an outstanding work of a designer or builder; or
- **F.** Because of its prominence of spatial location, contrasts of siting, age, or scale, it is an easily identifiable visual feature of its neighborhood or the city and contributes to the distinctive quality or identity of such neighborhood or the city.

Listing as Seattle Landmark or in the National Register

The National Register is the United States' official list of historic places worthy of preservation. In Seattle, the listing is honorary and does not provide for community control of a property. However, it does provide a historic property with access to certain grants, considerations, and incentives. The nominations are publicly accessible documents that share important stories in local, state, and national history. Listing as a Seattle Landmark is local. For properties within the local ordinance district, it usually requires that the Landmarks Preservation Board review alterations or changes to the property to ensure historic places retain sufficient integrity to convey their historic significance.

Beyond Listing: Tools for Commemorating Historically Significant Places

The National Register and Seattle Landmarks are tools to share and preserve history *in situ* at the places where it occurred. However, they are not the only or right tool to convey the significance of places to the public. These lists give preference to places with sufficient integrity to merit conserving a historic resource. Countless places do not meet the necessary level of integrity required for listing. Yet, they still merit place-based interventions that raise public awareness of individuals, organizations, events, or aspects of everyday life that are historically significant.

Significant events, including in the history of disability activism, occurred in places where few signs remain. One striking example was the important protests that spurred the implementation of Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act. The federal building that was the site of the local Seattle Section 504 protest is long gone. The event was so critical to the national movement that it merits public commemoration and interpretation. By linking significant sites with low integrity to public art and historical interpretation programs, creative approaches can be implemented at many sites of disability activism history. 4Culture's "Beyond Integrity" initiative inspired city preservation staff to seek funding for this project.[358] In that spirit, the sites included in the theme study may not be eligible for listing but could become sites of commemoration or public historical interpretation.

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[358] 4Culture, "Beyond Integrity," accessed September 10, 2024, https://www.4culture.org/beyond-integrity/.

Recommendations

In consultation with the project manager, Heritage Conservation Consultants LLC recommends the following future actions to ensure continuing progress in integrating people with disabilities and the history of disability activism into the city's preservation programs.

City of Seattle, DAHP, and Local Governments

Nominate properties that have sufficient integrity to convey their significance to be in the National Register of Historic Places or as Seattle Landmarks.

Individual properties that merit potential further exploration and/or nomination:

- Center Park
- The Seattle Children's PlayGarden
- Bailey-Boushay House

Potential multiple property nominations that merit further exploration:

- Properties that convey the history of accessible design, including sites connected to Paul Kirk, Barbara Allen, Paul Ganes, Karen Braitmeyer, and other designers yet identified for their contributions.
- Properties connected to deaf advocates and leaders Olof Hanson and Agatha Tiegel Hanson's work, life, and organizing in Seattle's deaf community.
- Properties connected to the organization People of Color Against AIDS Network (POCAAN).

Dig deeper into intersectional disability activism histories, especially within communities of color.

Continuing outreach to Indigenous communities and communities of color in order to identify historic properties significant in the City's Native American, Latinx, Asian American, and African American histories. The Department of Neighborhoods might commission the development of research focused on further diversifying the theme study or as a stand-alone storytelling project.

Support disability activism research and work outside of Seattle.

Many of the organizing spaces, institutions, and other places relevant to Seattle's disability history are located in King County and Washington State. Support is needed to continue research and work in these areas.

Pursue opportunities to include disability activism history as mitigation or one percent for art projects.

Utilizing large infrastructure projects that generate state and local percent for art funding would offer an opportunity to integrate site-specific interpretive material into new accessibility features of streetscapes, public open spaces, buildings, and transit-related development. Also, keep this in mind when consulting on federally funded projects that require Section 106 review.

Pursue initiatives that make disability activism history accessible to the public and rooted in the present.

- *Share disability history in accessible formats like StoryMaps, websites, or brochures.*
  A digital mapping project with storytelling capacity would broaden public awareness of significant sites of disability history in the city. Promotional brochures would also highlight Seattle's landmarks of disability activism.

- *Make disability history visible in public spaces.*
  Coordinate with the city's preservation staff to advance the goal of making the city's disability activism history more visible in public spaces, such as city streets, historic sites, and public buildings. This effort requires expanding the traditional definitions of historic integrity to raise public awareness of key locations where important moments in disability activism took place.

- *Use public art to present disability history.*
  Properties associated with the city's history of disability activism are ripe for multi-sensory approaches to commemoration and interpretation, including tactile, auditory, and other strategies for audience engagement, too often minimized in purely visual approaches to public art and public historical interpretation. The engagement of artists with a wide range of disabilities is essential to creating monuments, memorials, and other commemorative projects that reach beyond the visual focus of most commemorative projects.

Establish a re-granting program to stimulate community-based initiatives related to the region's disability activism history.

Continued support for disability history work will keep much-needed momentum to ensure disability history work continues. This work will aid the continuation of preservation action at historic places that mark the efforts of people with disabilities and their allies to organize and advocate for their practical and political concerns.

Make a network of disability history advocates.

Coordinate with the University of Washington and other educational institutions to promote student work on the historic preservation of disability history-related sites and the recommendations in this study. Connect with museums and non-profit organizations to find ways to make disability history a part of their work.

Preservation Organizations and Community

Recruit and convene a working group of preservationists and people with disabilities.

This group would provide direction to the preservation community about how to focus efforts on disability history and become vocal advocates for the preservation and perpetuation of Seattle's disability history.

Support or convene a conference or symposium on disability to build an ongoing community of advocates for the city's disability heritage.

Workshops on the adaptive reuse of places that maintain integrity would provide needed guidance to owners of historic properties significant in disability history. Additionally, participation of nonprofit preservation groups could be encouraged by convening meetings or a conference on the subject of disability and historic preservation, toward the goal of building an ongoing community of advocates for the city's disability heritage.

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Gail Dubrow (she/her) is Professor of Architecture, Landscape Architecture, Planning & Public Affairs, and History at the University of Minnesota. She is a Fellow of the Society of Architectural Historians and a Distinguished Professor of the Association of Collegiate Schools of Architecture. She is the author of two award-winning books, *Sento at Sixth and Main* (2002) with Donna Graves and editor of *Restoring Women's History Through Historic Preservation* (2004), with Jennifer Goodman.

Morgan LaCasse

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Morgan LaCasse (they/them) is a Minnesota-based graphic designer and illustrator. After graduating from the University of Minnesota with a BFA in Graphic Design and a BA in Art, they began working for a marketing and communications agency. However, a balance between a desire to explore many different kinds of projects and really exploring challenging projects has led them to pursue multiple freelance opportunities and diversity-focused projects. Embracing their many interests, Morgan has experience with book design, user experience, packaging design, branding, screen printing, digital illustration, and painting. Morgan's is also a skilled user of WCAG guidelines, and has designed the REPAIR Disability Heritage Collective website and related content.

Appendices

Appendix A: Resources

Resources are included at first mention.

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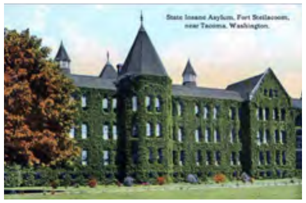
Appendix B: Properties Significant in Seattle Disability Activism History

The report's authors consulted with the Department of Neighborhoods to compile a list of properties uncovered in this study of potential significance in Seattle's history of disability activism. This list is not complete, but it includes examples known to be extant, altered, or demolished. Further research is needed to develop a comprehensive list of properties associated with this context study and to verify their current status. Some of the most significant and intact historic resources identified in this study merit preservation action, including preparing landmark nominations and recommending them for designation at the city, state, or national levels.

For significant properties that have been demolished, interpretive strategies are needed that increase public awareness and appreciation of their place in the city's history. Some might be ripe for commemoration in public art programs that engage in place-based interpretive projects and which use creative strategies for engaging public audiences. Regardless of which approach proves most appropriate for this emerging list of properties associated with the city's history of disability activism, the city must continue to work with people who mirror the full range of disabilities who make Seattle and Washington State their home, and expand their engagement as stakeholders with an investment in our shared heritage.

Theme One: The Rise of State Institutions for People with Disabilities

Property Name	Property Details	Brief Context
Northern State Hospital	Address: **NA** Condition: **Extant** Date or Period of Documented Use: **1909–1973**	The Northern State Hospital was listed in the National Register of Historic Places in 2011 as a historic district. Some of the historic buildings remain; however, others have been demolished since the hospital closed in 1973. Northern State Hospital was established in 1909 in response to overcrowding at the Western State Hospital. The hospital reflected national trends by operating as a working farm and site of agricultural labor. This labor was intended to transform patients into productive contributors to their communities. The hospital operated from 1912 to 1973.
Fort Steilacoom / Western Washington Hospital for the Insane / Western State Hospital 	Address: **9601 Steilacoom Blvd. SW - Lakewood** Condition: **Altered** Date or Period of Documented Use: **1871–Present**	The first permanent location where Seattle patients would be housed. Listed on the National Register of Historic Places as a part of the Fort Steilacoom district. The original buildings on the site that formed the asylum were demolished in 1886 to create a new, larger structure, along with renaming the site the Western Washington Hospital for the Insane. Eventually, the hospital was renamed Western State Hospital. Throughout its history, the hospital has faced numerous accusations of abuse and mistreatment, many of which have been well-documented by local and state groups. The hospital remains in operation today.

Theme One: Continued

Property Name	Property Details	Brief Context
St. John's Lunatic Asylum	Address: **Northwest corner of 8th Street and Reserve Street, Vancouver WA** Condition: **Demolished** Date or Period of Documented Use: **1862–1865**	The earliest established institution to serve the territory of Washington was the St. John's Lunatic Asylum near Fort Vancouver, which was managed under state contract by the Catholic Sisters of Charity of Providence. In 1861, they were charged with "the care, keeping, and medical treatment of the territory's insane." Starlyn Stout, "Care for the "Unfriended Insane" in Washington Territory (1854-1889)," January 30, 2022, HistoryLink.org, accessed June 17, 2024, https://www.historylink.org/File/21395.
Monticello Territorial Asylum	Address: **Longview, WA** Condition: **Demolished** Date or Period of Documented Use: **1865–1871**	James Huntington and W.W. Hays took over the territorial government contract to care for those deemed insane from the Catholic Sisters of Charity of Providence in 1865 near Longview, then called Monticello. Following local and national critiques of the conditions at the asylum and lasting damage from a historic 1867 flood, the territorial government moved the patients to the repurposed Fort Steilacoom in 1871.
Eastern State Hospital	Address: **850 Maple Street, Medical Lake, WA 99022** Condition: **Altered** Date or Period of Documented Use: **1891–Present**	Eastern State Hospital was established in 1886 and opened in 1891. The hospital was created to ease crowding at the Western State Hospital and was designed using the Kirbride Plan. The hospital continues to operate as of 2024 as a treatment hospital. The original Kirkbride building was demolished and replaced with a new building that utilized some Kirbride floor plan elements.

Theme One: Continued

Property Name	Property Details	Brief Context
Washington School for Defective Youth / State School for the Deaf and Blind / Washington School for the Blind	Address: **2214 East 13th Street, Vancouver, Washington** Condition: **Altered** Date or Period of Documented Use: **1886–1942**	The site was originally established as the Washington School for Defective Youth and served blind, deaf, and "mentally impaired" young people. The school separated blind and deaf students from those with cognitive and developmental disabilities in 1892. The schools for the blind and deaf were legally separated in 1913.
Washington Soldiers Home Orting 	Address: **1301 Orting Kapowsin Hwy E, Orting, WA 98360** Condition: **Extant** Date or Period of Documented Use: **1891–Present**	The Washington Soldiers Home Orting, opened in 1891, was the first of four soldiers' homes established in the state for honorably discharged Washington veterans, as well as their wives and widows. The site originally included cottages for couples and barracks for single men. The residents were enlisted to perform much of the maintenance on the property. As of 2024, the site is still used by the Veterans Administration.
Washington Soldiers Home Port Orchard	Address: **1141 Beach Dr E, Port Orchard, WA 98366** Condition: **Unknown** Date or Period of Documented Use: **1910–Present**	The Washington Veterans Home in Retsil, near Port Orchard, opened in 1910 to relieve overcrowding at the Orting home, and included a hospital on site. Although it originally only admitted single veterans, three years later, it began admitting veterans' widows. As of 2024, a state-of-the-art facility exists on the site, providing services to veterans.

Theme One: Continued

Property Name	Property Details	Brief Context
Tulalip Indian School [Dining Hall]	Address: **4033 76th Pl NW, Tulalip, WA 98271** Condition: **Partially Demolished**	Located on the Tulalip Indian Reservation, the Boarding School was started by Catholic Missionaries in 1857, but a new school was built on the site in 1905 after the original burned down. As engines of forced assimilation, children as young as six were separated from their families, prohibited from speaking their native language, and subjected to harsh discipline.
Washington State Penitentiary	Address: **1313 North 13th Avenue, Walla Walla, WA 99362** Condition: **Extant**	The Washington State Penitentiary opened in Walla Walla in 1886, three years before statehood. It is the oldest operational prison in Washington State and among the oldest in the US.
Washington State Reformatory	Address: **16698 177th Avenue, South East, Monroe, WA 98272** Condition: **Extant**	The Washington State Reformatory opened in 1908 as the second major correctional facility in Washington. Located in Monroe, the correctional complex provides offenders with academic and vocational opportunities for self-improvement, as well as employment and counseling services.

Theme Two: The Rise of Disability Activism in the Progressive Era

Property Name	Property Details	Brief Context
Seattle Hearing and Speech Center (HSDC) / Seattle Chapter for the Hard of Hearing / Seattle League for the Hard of Hearing 	Address: **(317 Bay Building) First Avenue and University Street, Seattle** Condition: **Demolished** Date or Period of Documented Use: **1937–?**	The Seattle Hearing and Speech Center (HSDC), initially incorporated in 1937 as the Seattle Chapter for the Hard of Hearing and renamed in the 1950s, serves the Puget Sound area by teaching communication skills to adults and children. The organization started when mothers of deaf and hard-of-hearing children formed a social club with deaf and hard-of-hearing women. Over time, HSDC's programs became more expansive, incorporating both oral and manual communication strategies.
Puget Sound Association of the Deaf / Seattle Deaf Mutes Society 	Address: **2407 NW 60th St, Seattle, WA 98107** Condition: **Extant** Date or Period of Documented Use: **1975–Present**	The Puget Sound Association for the Deaf, originally the Seattle Deaf Mutes Society, was founded in 1900. They purchased a residential-style house for their organization in 1975, which is still used as of the writing of this report in 2024. Their organization's mission is to "PSAD is a community hub providing resources and opportunities to foster cultural pride, community wealth, and leadership within the Deaf community in the Salish Sea and surrounding regions."
Olof Hanson [Second home]	Address: **4747 NE 16th** Condition: **Demolished** Date or Period of Documented Use: **1920–1930**	America's first deaf architect Olof Hanson's second home.

Theme Two: Continued

Property Name	Property Details	Brief Context
Olof Hanson [First home]	Address: **4545 Brooklyn Ave, Seattle, WA, 98105** Condition: **Demolished**	America's first deaf architect Olof Hanson's first home.
Trinity Episcopal Parish Church 	Address: **609 Eighth Ave., Seattle, Washington** Condition: **Extant** Date or Period of Documented Use: **1902–Present**	In his autobiography, Olof Hanson notes that in 1909, he started a bible class at Trinity Episcopal Church. Based on the date of construction, in 1892 and renovation in 1902 by John Graham, Sr, for whom Hanson worked with on the First United Methodist Church. It is possible that Hanson was referring to Trinity Parish Church, Seattle's first Episcopal church, which is listed in the National Register of Historic Places and is a Seattle Landmark. Hanson was ordained a deacon in the Episcopal church in 1924.
Handicapped Center [First location] 	Address: **2525 S Hill Street** Condition: **Demolished** Date or Period of Documented Use: **1950s**	Site of former home of Handicapped Center. Demolished to make way for Center Park Apartments.

Theme Two: Continued

Property Name	Property Details	Brief Context
Ida Flagler Daly Home  	Address: **5008 12th Ave NE** Condition: **Demolished** Date or Period of Documented Use: **1940s–1970s**	Ida Daly was a pioneering disability rights advocate whose work transformed services for people with disabilities in Seattle. She co-founded and led the Handicapped Center, a rare advocacy organization funded and directed by people with disabilities to address their own needs. Daly was instrumental in establishing Center Park, the city's first public housing project specifically designed for people with disabilities. Her leadership extended to multiple organizations, including Creative Activities for Physical Disabilities, which was located next to this residence for a time. Daly owned an apartment house on this site, where she also provided accessible housing to tenants. Significantly, her home sits across from the step-free entrance to the U-District YWCA, a noted gathering place for disability rights organizing, as recorded in contemporary newsletters.. Mentioned in June 1953 of Good Samaritan pg 4 Across the street from YMCA at 50th and 12th NE Also Theme 3 appears in 1950 Census. She is listed as an apartment manager at the site in 1938 City Directory.
Seattle Association of the Blind / Original Lighthouse for the Blind	Address: **1208 Fourth Avenue** Condition: **Demolished** Date or Period of Documented Use: **1916**	Original site of sheltered workshop and advocacy group. Olympic Hotel constructed on this site in 1924.
The Northwest Silent Observer	Address: **1426 Fourth Avenue** Condition: **Unknown** Date or Period of Documented Use: **1909–1913**	Located at "2 Kinnear Building." *The Northwest Silent Observer* began publication in Seattle in April of 1909 with L.O. Christianson as owner and Adolph N. Struck as editor The weekly paper provided a vital means of communication among deaf people. The publication can be accessed online through Gallaudet University's archives through July 1915.
The Northwest Silent Observer II	Address: **1404 Third Avenue** Condition: **Demolished** Date or Period of Documented Use: **1913–1915**	Second location site. *The Northwest Silent Observer* began publication in Seattle in April of 1909 with L.O. Christianson as owner and Adolph N. Struck as editor The weekly paper provided a vital means of communication among deaf people. The publication can be accessed online through Gallaudet University's archives through July 1915.

Theme Two: Continued

Property Name	Property Details	Brief Context
Puget Sound Association of the Deaf [Early meeting site] 	Address: **"Carpenter's Hall" on Fourth** Condition: **Demolished** Date or Period of Documented Use: **1900s**	Meeting site of PSAD as noted in *The Observer*. Building is small building on left. Demolished to build Plaza building, Photo belongs to the Museum of History and Industry, https://digitalcollections.lib.washington.edu/digital/collection/imlsmohai/id/1263/rec/1.
Puget Sound Association of the Deaf [Meeting site]	Address: **Labor Temple at 6th and University** Condition: **Demolished** Date or Period of Documented Use: **1908**	Noted in *Seattle Daily Times*, June 6, 1909: 52. Readex: America's Historical Newspapers. https://infoweb-newsbank-com.offcampus.lib.washington.edu/apps/readex/doc?p=EANX&docref=image/v2%3A127D718D1E33F961%40EANX-12850BE10CF0EB2A%402418464-12822CD73893903A%4051-12822CD73893903A%40.
Puget Sound Association of the Deaf [First meeting site] 	Address: **Mercer Island** Condition: **Unknown** Date or Period of Documented Use: **1904**	Puget Sound Association of the Deaf (PSAD) was an early deaf community and advocacy organization established in 1900.

Theme Two: Continued

Property Name	**Property Details**	**Brief Context**
Max Umbrecht Architect 	Address: **422-423 Globe Block** Condition: **Extant** Date or Period of Documented Use: **1904**	Employer/Office of Olof Hanson (Globe block at Madison and Post)
Olof Hanson Practice 	Address: **756 New York Block** Condition: **Demolished** Date or Period of Documented Use: **1905**	The nation's first deaf architect, Olof Hanson, opened offices in Seattle soon after relocating from Minnesota to Seattle in 1902. Demolished in 1923.
Office of JH Schack 	Address: **64 and 65 Downs Block (moves in 1910)** Condition: **Demolished** Date or Period of Documented Use: **1907**	Workplace of Olof Hanson during time with Schack and period of First Methodist Episcopal.
Warren School	Address: **Warren Avenue (North) and Harrison Street** Condition: **Demolished**	The Warren School, which opened in 1903, housed a pioneering program that educated children with cerebral palsy. In 1944 children who began at the Gethsemane Lutheran Church were transferred to the Warren Avenue School.

Theme Two: Continued

Property Name	Property Details	Brief Context
Washington Spastic School / Gethsemane Lutheran Church 	Address: **911 Stewart Ave** Condition: **Demolished** Date or Period of Documented Use: **1940s**	Started in basement of Gethsemane Lutheran Church in 1940s. This was likely in the 1900s carpenter gothic building demolished to construct the current 1954 church.
Firland Sanatorium	Address: **1704 E. 150th St.** Condition: **Partially Demolished**	The Anti-Tuberculosis League of King County established Firland in Richmond Highlands, which was then operated as a city facility. Daniel Huntington, the city architect, designed it in a distinctive English half-timber style. Contemporary ideas about the appropriate treatment for the deadly lung disease were expressed in its open-air cottages and expansive grounds. The property is currently owned by CRISTA Ministries, and two of the site's original hospital buildings, the Henry Administration Building and the Detweiler Building, are listed on the Washington Heritage Register.
Pulmonary Hospital of Seattle	Address: **12844 Military Road** Condition: **Unknown**	The Pulmonary Hospital of Seattle was the first tuberculosis hospital in the Pacific Northwest, opening in 1910. It was established by an endowment from the Denny family. It has been known a Riverton Hospital since 1921.
Mountain View Sanatorium [Second Location]	Address: **215 S. 36th St. Tacoma, WA.** Condition: **Unknown**	In 1914 Mountain View was established as the first county sanatorium. It was replaced in 1952 by a new facility at 215 South 36th Street in Tacoma.

Theme Two: Continued

Property Name	Property Details	Brief Context
Hotel Savoy	Address: **1220 2nd Avenue, Seattle, WA 98101-2926** Condition: **Demolished**	The first deaf architect in America, Olof Hanson, worked on the Hotel Savoy with prominent Seattle architect James Hansen Schack, Sr.
First United Methodist Church	Address: **811 5th Avenue, Downtown, Seattle, WA 98104-1608** Condition: **Extant**	The first deaf architect in America, Olof Hanson, worked with Schack & Huntington, alongside John Graham, on the First United Methodist Church in downtown Seattle
Georgetown School	Address: **730 S Homer St, Seattle, WA 98108** Condition: **Demolished**	The Georgetown School was designed by America's first deaf architect Olof Hanson.
Snoqualmie School	Address: **8001 Silva Ave SE, SE King St** Condition: **Extant**	The Snoqualmie School was designed by America's first deaf architect Olof Hanson.
Seattle Goodwill Industries / Evergreen Goodwill of Northwest Washington [First store]	Address: **Boren Avenue and Virginia Street in Seattle** Condition: **Unknown**	Evergreen Goodwill opened its first store at Boren Avenue and Virginia Street in May of 1923, selling used clothing, carpets and other goods in their stores. Goodwill's workshops employed disabled people to repair donated goods for resale.
Seattle Goodwill Industries / Evergreen Goodwill of Northwest Washington [Headquarters]	Address: **Intersection of Dearborn and South Lane Streets in Seattle** Condition: **Unknown**	Evergreen Goodwill opened its first store at Boren Avenue and Virginia Street in May of 1923, selling used clothing, carpets and other goods in their stores. Goodwill's workshops employed disabled people to repair donated goods for resale.
Easterseals Washington [Current Location]	Address: **200 W. Mercer St., Ste. 210E, Seattle, WA** Condition: **Extant**	Growing out of the National Society for Crippled Children, EasterSeals Washington was founded in 1947 to serve children and adults with disabilities across the state. Its current headquarters are at 200 West Mercer Street in Seattle.

Theme Two: Continued

Property Name	Property Details	Brief Context
Camp Casey Conference Center	Address: **1276 Engle Road, Coopville, WA 98239** Condition:	Camp for children with disabilities established by the Kiwanis Club.
Good Samaritan Hospital	Address: **114 14th Ave. N.W., Puyallup, WA** Condition: **Extant**	Puyallup's first sanitarium opened in the Meeker Mansion from 1910 to 1915. Soon thereafter, the ladies of the Grand Army of the Republic turned it into a rest home for Union soldiers of the Civil War. "In 1922 five area doctors...opened the Puyallup Clinic, a community hospital they build with their own money. The building is still standing in the 100 block of 4th Ave. NW. In 1935, the Clinic was renamed Puyallup General Hospital....[and] in 1951, the Lutheran Welfare Society took over management of operation, and again changed its name to the now familiar Good Samaritan Hospital." Cited in "Good Samaritan Hospital, History," accessed November 10, 2024, https://www.puyallup.com/good-samaritan-hospital-history/.

Theme Three: Civil Rights Era of Disability Activism

Property Name	Property Details	Brief Context
University YMCA 	Address: **5003 12th Ave NE** Condition: **Extant** Date or Period of Documented Use: **1950–1970**	Meeting place for handicapped groups. Across the street from Ida Daly's rooming house. Noted for its accessible design. *Good Samaritan* Apr 1953 p 3.
Center Park Apartments	Address: **2121 26th Ave S** Condition: **Extant**	"First public housing project made for people with disabilities" Designed by Paul Kirk, product of Ida Daly and Handicapped Center organizing. Because it was a known accessible site served as a meeting point for other groups and activism.
Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) Regional Offices 	Address: **2nd and Union** Condition: **Demolished** Date or Period of Documented Use: **1977**	Former HEW Offices, site of Section 504 protests in Seattle. Previously the Rhodes department store. https://digitalcollections.lib.washington.edu/digital/collection/seattle/id/3256/rec/12.

Theme Three: Continued

Property Name	Property Details	Brief Context
Paul H. Kirk Office 	Address: **2000 Fairview Ave E** Condition: **Extant** Date or Period of Documented Use: **1961**	Offices of well known modernist architect with mobility disabilities. Designer of Center Park and multiple location of Handicapped Center. Known for integrating ramps into his public projects.
Creative Activities for the Physically Disabled 	Address: **5014 12th Ave NE** Condition: **Extant** Date or Period of Documented Use: **1960s–1980s**	Former site of Creative activities for the physically disabled. Arts and culture organization associated with Ida Daly. Right next to her former home and lodging house and University YWCA a frequent organizing site for disability rights group as mentioned in the *Good Samaritan*. Current Location seems to be 203 N 85Th St.
Washington Talking Book Library 	Address: **2021 9th Ave** Condition: **Extant**	Washington Talking Book & Braille Library is a specialized state library, located in Seattle, that services individuals who are unable to read standard print materials. It was founded as the Braille Service of the Seattle Public Library in 1906, but has been a state institution since 1975.

Theme Three: Continued

Property Name	Property Details	Brief Context
Chicken Soup Brigade 	Address: **1016 E Pike St, Seattle, WA, 98122, USA** Condition: **Extant** Date or Period of Documented Use: **1983–present**	Founded in 1983, the Chicken Soup Brigade was an early AIDS support organization that provided meals and support to those living with AIDS. It is still in operation today, but operations have expanded to include food delivery and support to seniors and people with medical conditions other than AIDS.
Seattle Clinic for Venereal Health / Seattle Gay Clinic	Address: **402 15th Ave East** Condition: **Extant** Date or Period of Documented Use: **1979–1982**	Seattle Gay Clinic was founded in 1979 (originally called the Seattle Clinic for Venereal Health, named changed in 1981) to provide STD testing and treatment for gay men. When the AIDS crisis hit Seattle, the organization helped found other resource and treatment centers, such as the Northwest AIDS Foundation and the Chicken Soup Brigade. The Clinic remained at this location until 1982.
People of Color Against AIDS Network (POCAAN) I / Grace Gospel Chapel 	Address: **4001 9th Ave NE** Condition: **Extant** Date or Period of Documented Use: **1987–1994**	University Friends Meeting House was the original meeting location of POCAAN which was founded in 1987 as a response to the need for safe support systems for people of color during the AIDS pandemic. The organization provides HIV testing, PrEP, and other support systems for BIPOC living with AIDS. POCAAN offices have moved several times. Their first location was in the basement office space of the church addressed: 814 NE 40th St. The meeting house also held the early services for the Grace Gospel Chapel, an LBGTQ friendly congregation, before they established their own home.

Theme Three: Continued

Property Name	Property Details	Brief Context
People of Color Against AIDS Network (POCAAN) II 	Address: **4437 Rainier Ave S** Condition: **Unknown** Date or Period of Documented Use: **2022**	Founded in 1983, the Chicken Soup Brigade was an early AIDS support organization that provided meals and support to those living with AIDS. It is still in operation today, but operations have expanded to include food delivery and support to seniors and people with medical conditions other than AIDS.
Disabled American Veterans Hall 	Address: **4851-4857 Delridge WAY** Condition: **Extant**	The club was purchased by a World War II veteran in 1950, and has been used as a meeting place for Disabled American Veterans for more than fifty years. It is also rented for activities such as square dancing, but no longer serves as the general community meeting place that it once was. The vestibule, eight feet deep and 23 feet wide was added in 1938; it was necessary to raise the building four feet and move it back 12 feet to accommodate this change. In the 1950s the rear of the building was extended eight feet to allow construction of a new stairway from the basement to the first floor.
Janet Taggart Home	Address: **14332 36th NE** Condition: **Extant** Date or Period of Documented Use: **1950s–1960s**	A founder of Northwest Center. House is meeting place for Education for all parents and other petitioning school district

Theme Three: Continued

Property Name	Property Details	Brief Context
Seattle AIDS Support Group 	Address: **1520 Bellevue Ave, Ste 100** Condition: **Extant** Date or Period of Documented Use: **2022**	Later called Dunshee House, now called Peer Seattle, Seattle AIDS Support Group was founded during the AIDS crisis and provided resources and support to those living with AIDS. Organization was founded in 1984. Office has been at various sites. Location current as of 2022. https://wisaard.dahp.wa.gov/Resource/763340/PropertyInventory/1644333
Seattle Gay Clinic [Second location] 	Address: **500 19th Ave E, Seattle, WA** Condition: **Extant** Date or Period of Documented Use: **1982–2008**	Second home to Seattle Gay Clinic which was founded in 1979 (originally called the Seattle Clinic for Venereal Health; named changed in 1981) to provide STD testing and treatment for gay men. When the AIDS crisis hit Seattle, the organization helped found other resource and treatment centers, such as the Northwest AIDS Foundation and the Chicken Soup Brigade. The clinic, housed within one of the Country Doctor Community Clinics, a group of clinics founded by the Black Panther party and dedicated to providing accessible health services. The clinic moved to this location in 1982 and closed in 2008.
Lifelong AIDS Alliance 	Address: **127 Broadway E, Seattle** Condition: **Extant** Date or Period of Documented Use: **2001**	Site of the first location of the Lifelong AIDS Alliance. In 2001 the Northwest AIDS Foundation and the Chicken Soup Brigade, Washington's two top AIDS service organization merged as was renamed the Lifelong AIDS Alliance. Current site of organization is 1016 e Pike St.

Theme Three: Continued

Property Name	Property Details	Brief Context
Seattle Counseling Services 	Address: **1216 Pine Street, Suite 300** Condition: **Extant** Date or Period of Documented Use: **1969–2022**	Longtime home of Seattle Counseling Services whom served the LGBTQ community.
Disability Empowerment Center / Washington Coalition of Citizens with Disabilities/ Alliance of People with disAbilities.	Address: **Good Shepard Center 4649 Sunnyside Ave** Condition: **Extant** Date or Period of Documented Use: **1990s**	Started in 1973 when a group of activists joined forces to see to the implementation of Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act. Good Shepard is a NRHP and Seattle Landmark property owned and managed by Historic Seattle.
Disability Empowerment Center / Washington Coalition of Citizens with Disabilities/ Alliance of People with disAbilities.	Address: **3530 Stone Way N** Condition: **Unknown** Date or Period of Documented Use: **1980s–1990s**	Started in 1973 when a group of activists joined forces to see to the implementation of Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act. Location until 1993. Citation found in *Seattle Times* want ads.
Disability Law Project	Address: **University of Puget Sound - Tacoma** Condition: **Unknown** Date or Period of Documented Use: **1981**	More research needed for exact site.

Theme Three: Continued

Property Name	Property Details	Brief Context
Disability Law Project - Seattle Office	Address: Condition: **Unknown** Date or Period of Documented Use: **1986**	
Bailey-Boushay House 	Address: **2720 E Madison** Condition: **Extant** Date or Period of Documented Use: **1992**	The Bailey-Boushay House, established in 1992 in Seattle, is a landmark in disability history as the first skilled nursing facility in the United States specifically designed to meet the needs of people with HIV/AIDS. Named after Thatcher Bailey and his partner, Frank Boushay, who died of AIDS in 1989, the house provided compassionate care during the height of the AIDS epidemic, when stigma and discrimination were rampant. Its pioneering model emphasized dignity, holistic support, and community, setting a precedent for long-term care facilities for marginalized groups and reflecting a critical moment in the fight for disability and LGBTQ+ rights in Seattle.
Dorian Society 	Address: **320 Malden Ave E** Condition: **Demolished**	Potentially the building next to 302 Malden. Demolished. The Dorian House was the home base of the Dorian Society, the first major gay rights group in Seattle. The house opened on July 7, 1969 and provided a space to meet and support for Seattle's gay community. Additionally, it was home for the Seattle Counseling Center for Sexual Minorities, a counseling service for gays and lesbians, one of the first in the nation.

Theme Three: Continued

Property Name	Property Details	Brief Context
Ida May Flagler Daly Home	Address: **5008 NE 50th** Condition: **Unknown** Date or Period of Documented Use: **1940s–1950s**	Ida Daly was a pioneering disability rights advocate whose work transformed services for people with disabilities in Seattle. She co-founded and led the Handicapped Center, a rare advocacy organization funded and directed by people with disabilities to address their own needs. Daly was instrumental in establishing Center Park, the city's first public housing project specifically designed for people with disabilities. Her leadership extended to multiple organizations, including Creative Activities for Physical Disabilities, which was located next to this residence. Daly owned a home on this site, where she also provided housing to tenants.From 1940 Census record. Lodger https://www.ancestry.com/discoveryui-content/view/64194819:2442?tid=&pid=&queryid=714f6b57-dbdf-4ac7-9537-bb9489a5c946&_phsrc=olO3&_phstart=successSource.
Temple De Hirsch Sinai 	Address: **Boylston and Marion** Condition: **Extant** Date or Period of Documented Use: **1965**	Site of Central School, first location of what would become the NW Center. Noted by Janet Taggaert in *Becoming Citizens*. It was in the basement of Temple De Hirsch Sinai. Former site demolished but 1960s building is extant.
Pier 91	Address: **2001 W Garfield St** Condition: **Demolished** Date or Period of Documented Use: **1960s–1970s**	Headquarters of ARC and Northwest Center for some time. Unclear if sites still extant. Used as cruise ship terminal in 2024.
Camp Waskowitz	Address: **45505 SE 150th St, North Bend WA** Condition: **Extant**	The Waskowitz Outdoor Education Center provides students in Highline and other school districts in the greater Seattle area with outdoor education programs. The camp is owned and operated by Highline Public Schools and it originated in 1935 as a Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) constructed facility and is now the oldest outdoor school program in the country.

Theme Three: Continued

Property Name	Property Details	Brief Context
Mt. Hood Kiwanis Camp	Address: **83500 Kiwanis Camp Rd, Rhododendron, OR** Condition: **Extant**	Founded in 1930s offers Pacific Northwest youth with developmental, intellectual, and physical disabilities. One of many camps that may have served Seattle area.
Ned Behnke Childhood Home	Address: **Medina** Condition: **Unknown**	1950s City Directories show Robert Behnke in Medina, Washington. Robert later became Mayor of Medina.
Ned Behnke Home	Address: **2202 Nob Hill Avenue N** Condition: **Extant** Date or Period of Documented Use: **1980s**	Ned Behnke was a Seattle-born deaf painter and educator whose work bridged art and activism, particularly in empowering the deaf community. A graduate of Central Washington University and the Rochester Institute of Technology, Behnke's vibrant career included teaching at Cornish College of the Arts, where he developed programs for deaf students. His art, celebrated in national exhibitions and commissions like the Seattle Hearing and Deafness Center, highlighted the intersection of visual expression and social advocacy. After his passing, his legacy inspired the creation of the Neddy Artist Award, an annual recognition of innovative artists in the Puget Sound region, and the Ned Behnke Preschool, which supports early learning for children with hearing and speech needs.
Former Foster/White Gallery	Address: **311 1/2 Occidental** Condition: **Unknown** Date or Period of Documented Use: **1960s–1970s**	Gallery associated with work of Ned Behnke and a well known gallery in West Coast art. Founded in 1966 current site is down the street at 3rd and Main but was located at this address when showing Behnke's work.
Troubleshooters for the Handicapped / Washington Protection and Advocacy System / Disability Rights Washington	Address: **315 5th Ave S #850, Seattle, WA 98104** Condition: **Extant**	Disability Rights Washington is a statewide advocacy group that protects the rights of people with disabilities. The non-profit offers information on disability rights, community education and training; and legal services to combat disability rights violations.

Theme Three: Continued

Property Name	Property Details	Brief Context
Mount Zion Baptist Church 	Address: **1634 19th Ave** Condition: **Extant** Date or Period of Documented Use: **1980s**	Rev. Patricia Hunter, assistant pastor at Mount Zion Church in 1988, was vocal about the need for churches to address the HIV/AIDS crisis. Mount Zion was instrumental in POCAAN's efforts to address the HIV/AIDS crisis in the Black community.
Fircrest 	Address: **15230 15th Ave NE, Shoreline WA** Condition: **Extant**	Fircrest was designed by architect Arnold G. Gangnes.
Nellie Goodhue Housing	Address: **1st Avenue N and (N)E 128th Street** Condition: **Unknown**	Nellie Goodhue Group Homes were established in 1970 to provide family-like residential services for people with developmental disabilities. In addition to the group home the organization provides community outings and assistance with activities of daily living.
DeafBlind Center 	Address: **1620 18th Ave STE 200, Seattle, WA 98122** Condition: **Extant** Date or Period of Documented Use: **1986**	Seattle's DeafBlind Service Center was founded in 1986 by Dan Mansfield, Don Meyer, Arlene Motulsky, and Theresa Smith. It has contributed to making Seattle a welcoming city for deafblind people by providing services that address their distinctive communications, advocacy, and other needs to support independent living.
Handicapped Center [Second location]	Address: **2106 2nd Avenue, Seattle, WA 98121** Condition: **Extant**	It was located between Pike Place Market and Lake Union.

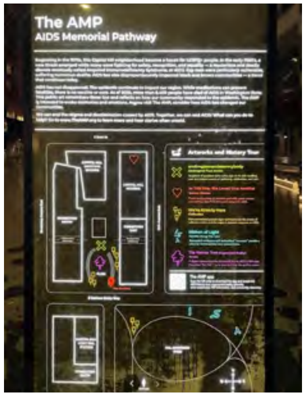
Theme Three: Continued

Property Name	Property Details	Brief Context
University of Washington [General]	Address: **1410 NE Campus Pkwy, Seattle, WA 98195** Condition: **Unknown**	University of Washington Seattle campus is significant in the history of disability activism for multiple reasons. The Buildings and Grounds office was a site of employment by the nation's first deaf architect between 1919 and his death in 1936. It also is home to the formation of the field of Disability Studies in recent years.
Center for Independence	Address: **7801 Bridgeport Way W, #200, Lakewood, WA 98499** Condition: **Extant**	By 1978, under the Rehabilitation Act Amendments, the Federal Government began funding Independent Living Centers in virtually every state and U.S. territory. The Center for Independence started at the Good Samaritan Hospital in 1981 by rehabilitation doctors, and in 2003 moved to their Lakewood location.
Washington State Independent Living Council	Address: **4565 7th Avenue SE, Lacey, WA 98503** Condition: **Extant**	As part of the 1992 amendments to the Federal Rehabilitation Act, each state established a State Independent Living Council (SILC). In Washington, former Governor Mike Lowry created the Washington SILC through Executive Order 93-04. Subsequently, the original Executive Order was amended by Governor Gary Locke in 2004. The WASILC currently operates under Executive Order 04-05.
United Cerebral Palsy (UPC) of King and Snohomish County Residential Center (Now called PROVAIL)	Address: **Shoreline** Condition: **Extant**	United Cerebral Palsy (UPC) of King and Snohomish County changed names to become PROVAIL, which provides a residential center for people with disabilities.
Northwest ADA Center	Address: **6912 220th Street SW, Mountlake, WA 98043** Condition: **Extant**	The Northwest ADA Center provides information, training and guidance on the Americans with Disabilities Act to Alaska, Idaho, Oregon and Washington. It is part of the ADA National Network.
Group Health Building Northgate	Address: **200 15th Avenue** Condition: **Demolished** Date or Period of Documented Use: **1958**	Design by Paul Kirk and noted at the time for its accessibility features.

Theme Three: Continued

Property Name	Property Details	Brief Context
Chapman Family House	Address: **2445 Warren N** Condition: **Extant** Date or Period of Documented Use: **1960s–1990s**	Home of Evelyn Chapman who helped to form the Northwest Center and an author of House Bill 90, Washington State's Education for All Act. THis house was meeting place for parents involved in advocacy for the Education for All/IDEA Act and the Mother's Guild which became the Northwest Center. Some of her story advocating for her child Coolidge is documented in *Becoming Citizens*, Gowdey Papers at UW Special Collections and Chapman Family Collection at MoHAI.
Dolan Family House	Address: **1416 33rd Avenue** Condition: **Extant** Date or Period of Documented Use: **1950s–1990s**	Home of Katie Dolan and her son Patrick. Katie was a founder of the NW Center and it was her idea to create the Northwest Mothers Guild that predated it. She was instrumental in advocacy for House Bill 90 along with Taggart, Lindquist and Chapman. House may have been a meeting site for organizing. Her story is documented in Becoming Citizens, NW Center website and in her 2006 obituary.
Lindquist Family House [First location]	Address: **2525 NE 106th** Condition: **Extant** Date or Period of Documented Use: **1950s–1970**	Cecile Lindquist was an activist and educator and co-founder of the NW Center and president of the Mother's Guilds that preceded it. She was instrumental in writing HB 90 and was later drafted along with William Dussault to write its rules and procedures. She was a lifelong advocate for people with disabilities and later was the driving force behind HB 1934 in the 80s and 90s which assisted with early life needs for children with disabilities. Further research is required to ascertain if her homes were significant gathering sites
Lindquist Family House [Second location]	Address: **10026 49th Ave NE** Condition: **Extant** Date or Period of Documented Use: **1970s–1990s**	Cecile Lindquist was an activist and educator and co-founder of the NW Center and president of the Mother's Guilds that preceded it. She was instrumental in writing HB 90 and was later drafted along with William Dussault to write its rules and procedures. She was a lifelong advocate for people with disabilities and later was the driving force behind HB 1934 in the 80s and 90s which assisted with early life needs for children with disabilities. Further research is required to ascertain if her homes were significant gathering sites

Theme Four: Activism in the Disability Justice Movement

Property Name	Property Details	Brief Context
AIDS Memorial Pathway 	Address: **920 E Barbara Bailey Way** Condition: **Extant** Date or Period of Documented Use: **2015**	This location uses a mixture of public art and technology to create a space dedicated in 2015 to the remembrance and reflection of the impact on the AIDS epidemic on Seattle.
Seattle Children's PlayGarden 	Address: **1745 24th Ave S** Condition: **Extant** Documented Use: **2003**	The Seattle Children's PlayGarden: A Garden for Everyone, represents the intersection of advocacy between local government, parents, therapists, teachers, and medical professionals. Founded in 2002 by Liz Bullard, a Speech-Language Pathologist, and championed by Dr. Abe Bergman, a pediatrician who also worked at the national level to pass legislation to protect the safety of children, the PlayGarden is an accessible and inclusive play space. The park is located south of I-90 between Mt. Baker and Beacon Hill. More broadly, the rise of accessible playgrounds has opened new public spaces to children with disabilities.
Studio Pacifica Projects	Address: **N/A** Condition:	Firm of Karen Braitmayer award winning architect and accessibility designer.

Theme Four: Continued

Property Name	Property Details	Brief Context
Seattle Central Community College	Address: **1701 Broadway, Seattle, WA 98122** Condition: **Unknown**	Important locations include the Accessibility Resource Center (ARC) and location(s) for Interpreter Training Program, among others yet to be identified.
Tactile Walking Surface Indicator [Multiple sites]	Address: **South Lake Union** Condition: **Extant** Date or Period of Documented Use: **2020s**	See the City of Seattle's "Accessible 'Tactile' Indicators Pilot Project," https://sdotblog.seattle.gov/2024/07/18/accessible-tactile-indicators-pilot-project/, for more information.

Additional Historic Properties

Property Name	Property Details	Brief Context
Group Health Building Capitol Hill	Address: Condition: **Extant** Date or Period of Documented Use: **1960**	Designed by Paul Kirk and noted for accessibility features.

Appendix C: Comments and Errata

While the contents of the report were finalized on December 20, 2024, it is conceived to be a living and working document to which comments may be added, revisions may be noted, and errors discovered over time may be corrected. To accomplish these goals, Appendix III contains forms for readers to note specific pages where additions or corrections are warranted. While the scope of any particular study is limited, it can serve as an ongoing vehicle for collecting stories overlooked in the initial project and continuing to engage those interested in heritage preservation.