From Institutions to Independence:

A History of People with Disabilities in Northwest Ohio



Ward M. Canaday Center for Special Collections The University of Toledo Libraries



WHEN THE CRIPPLED CHILDREN SING

When you lose your love of living,
And you can not find the why
And your heart keeps getting colder
While your spirit breathes a sigh,
Dreams and fancies never lift you
On a strong and soaring wing,
Then it's time you went a calling
Where the crippled children sing.

They forget their little bodies
With their crutches, straps and braces,
While their healthy little spirits
Shine out through their pretty faces,
And they weave a spell of music
Round your heart and make it ring,
With the matchless joy of childhood
When the crippled children sing.

All intent to watch their leader
While she smiles them into tune,
They pick up the chords of heaven
Like the birds in rosy June.
Bending backs and bones all crooked
Seem to them a little thing,
And they slip out into freedom
When their teachers let them sing.

Come, old crabby, stingy croaker,
Young in years, but spirit old,
With a sour look of bother
Making efforts turn to gold.
Here is heaven, here be joyful,
You can be a happy King,
If you live the way you feel it
When the crippled children sing.

Poem by the Rev. Allen Stockdale, Toledo Rotarian, ca. 1925

"An ability to take care of oneself by oneself is one of the greatest gifts man has. Its loss is one of man's greatest tragedies."

Polio survivor Hugh Gregory Gallagher, 1954

From Institutions to Independence:

A History of People with Disabilities in Northwest Ohio

An Exhibition

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PREFACE

isability has been a part of human experience as long as there have been humans. But, as historians are only recently coming to realize, this crucial aspect of the human story has been ignored in written histories. As historian Douglas Baynton observed, "Disability is everywhere in history, once you begin looking for it, but conspicuously absent in the histories we write."

"From Institutions to Independence: A History of People with Disabilities in Northwest Ohio" is an important step toward redressing that conspicuous absence. The Regional Disability History Archive Project at the Ward M. Canaday Center for Special Collections has begun the vital work of collecting materials that document disability history; this exhibit illustrates the richness of that work.

Why is it important to place disabled people* in history—in the histories that we write? Certainly it is important to document that disabled people make contributions too; countering the long-running canard that disabled people are worthless can hardly be over-valued. But recognizing the role of disability in human history is necessary for an even more important reason: disabled people are and always have been an essential part of the human fabric, and we ignore that fact at our own peril.

Why peril? It is dangerous for humankind not to see the world as it is—especially when we think we are seeing it clearly, especially when we are using that flawed perspective on the world to take actions that affect the lives of real people. How we think about the world and how we understand our places within it have great consequences. When we act as if disabled people are only "consumers," are only what the Nazis called "useless eaters," we lose sight of the truth that our tribe, our nation, is not made up of the independent here and the dependent over there, that we are all in fact interdependent, all part of a grand fabric of which none of us is able to step outside, that none of us can step back far enough to see fully, even though we might like to think we can see it pretty well.

What makes up this fabric? The ideas and institutions, the patterns and textures, are certainly important. But there is no fabric without the individual threads—no one of them dictates the whole, but each is essential to it. When we decide to ignore a significant portion of the fabric, it diminishes our perspective on and understanding of the whole.

Without disabled people, there is no true, accurate picture of human history—of the world, of the nation, of northwest Ohio. Strong archives flesh out our understanding by providing details. This archive, as shown in the exhibit, is particularly strong at this point in providing contemporaneous information about how those who sought to improve the lives of disabled people set about their work, and how they understood what they were doing. This is far from the end of the story, of course, but it is an important step in telling this vital and overlooked story. And the exhibit heralds an important resource for those who study disability and disabled lives through history.

In profoundly important ways, the world is the way it is due to the decisions men and women made in the past. And we cannot understand our world as it is without some understanding of how we got here. This exhibit, and the archive it heralds, are important pieces we can use to build, to deepen our understanding.

Some day, others will write histories of today. They will look at this time and place, seeing what their ideas and the historical record of artifacts and texts allows them to see. Will they see the disabled people of today? Where will they see them? This exhibit, and this archive, suggest that disabled people will not be hidden away, will not be overlooked, as was past practice. By collecting these materials, by caring for them and making them available both to scholars and to the public, by insisting on our past, we articulate a present, and we claim a future. Ultimately, that is what the Regional Disability History Archive Project offers us: the possibility of a future of greater understanding. This is an important way of keeping faith with those who came before; this is part of fulfilling our responsibility to those who will follow us. Here is where we came from; let us learn from it as we seek to build that better future.

Jim Ferris
Director, University of Toledo Disability Studies Program

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^{*} I use the phrase "disabled people" instead of the people-first phrase "people with disabilities" in keeping with the call from Simi Linton and others to center disabled experience and claim a political identity. See *Claiming Disability: Knowledge and Identity* by Simi Linton (New York: NYU Press, 1998).



INTRODUCTION

"To seek out and archive 'real' disability history will provide a body of knowledge that will forever give substance and credibility to the thoughts, dreams, and actions of those who went before."

— Disabled Toledoan Dan Wilkins, on the significance of the Ward M. Canaday Center's Regional Disability History Archive Project.



he records that archivists choose to collect shape our historical knowledge in significant ways. Prior to the 1960s, the archival profession collected records that reflected history as the story of the privileged few. Beginning with the new social history of the 1960s, archivists branched out and collected records of under-represented groups such as labor, women, and minorities.

Yet to this day, one group has been largely neglected in this effort to more completely document our nation's past—the disabled.

In 2001, the Ability Center of Greater Toledo donated \$1.9 million to create the Disability Studies Program at the University of Toledo. The program is based on pedagogy that emphasizes disability as a cultural category of analysis from a humanities-based perspective rather than a medical-scientific one. As part of this initiative, the Ward M. Canaday Center for Special Collections, working with the program and the UT Department of History, sought to collect historical records that would serve as a research collection that could be used by students and faculty in Disability Studies and related fields. It is only after the Center began to collect these materials that we discovered barely a handful of archival repositories in the nation have disability history as a major focus of archival collecting. Because of the uniqueness of what became known as the Regional Disability History Archive Project, the Center has attracted not only records documenting disability in northwest Ohio, but also several collections of national significance. Of particular note in the latter category are the papers of the late Hugh Gregory Gallagher, one of the founders of the disability rights movement and a noted disability scholar.

With a core group of collections documenting disability history, the Canaday Center decided last year to do an exhibit that presents these materials to the public in the first major examination on the topic of disability history

in our community. Thanks to a Program for Academic Excellence grant from the Office of the Provost, we have been able to mount this exhibition and produce this catalog in a way that hopefully does the topic justice. The grant has also allowed us to present a series of speakers addressing aspects of disability history in northwest Ohio.

This exhibition has been a journey for all involved in its preparation. While we have been collecting these historical materials for the past seven years, we had little chance to do research in the collections, and this exhibit afforded us that opportunity. We have learned a great deal about local disability history, and we learned many facts that amazed us. For example:

- The Toledo State Hospital was the first state-supported mental health facility in the country built using the cottage system;
- Helen Keller and Anne Sullivan visited Toledo in 1925 during their campaign to raise money for the American Federation for the Blind:
- The Toledo Rotary was one of the first Rotary clubs in the country to identify the care of disabled children as one of its major service projects;
- Members of the Toledo Rotary were instrumental in founding the Ohio, national, and international societies for disabled children:
- Scott Nearing, dean of UT's College of Arts and Sciences from 1915 to 1917, was a eugenicist who authored the book *The Super Race* in 1912;
- In 1945, Toledoan Josina Lott organized the first non-institutional sheltered workshop for developmentally disabled adults;
- Bittersweet Farms, founded by Toledoan Bettye Ruth Kay, was the first residential home and cooperative farm for autistic adults in the country.

Clearly, northwest Ohio has played a significant role in disability history.

While this exhibit is subtitled "A History of People with Disabilities in Northwest Ohio," in some ways it fails in its goals. Viewers will discover that there is really little that tells the story of individuals. Rather, the exhibit tells the story of organizations and institutions that provided services to disabled people. Only the rare diary or

exchange of correspondence reveals the personal lives of the disabled in our community. There is also not much in the form of interpretation. We hope future historical studies will take the information presented here to the next level, and provide the interpretation and the personal stories that the subject deserves. There are also some groups and disabilities that are not well represented in the exhibit because we lack material to document them. Foremost among these is the deaf community. We hope this exhibit will encourage such groups to preserve their rich history in the Canaday Center.

The exhibit and catalog are arranged topically, but also follow a chronological path. Each subject area is discussed first within the national context, and then at the local level.

And a word on terminology used to describe various disabilities throughout the exhibit and catalog. Because this is an historical examination of disability, it includes words that are seen today as demeaning, such as "imbecile," "retarded," "insane," "crippled," "feeble-minded," and "handicapped." These words are used only as they fit within the historical context of the time, and no insults are intended. This terminology reveals much about how society viewed the disabled throughout our history. A timeline of these terms is included as an appendix to the catalog.

There are many people to thank for making this exhibit possible. First and foremost are the faculty and staff of the Ward M. Canaday Center: Kimberly Brownlee, Tamara Jones, and David Chelminski. Additional assistance was provided by Jennifer Free, doctoral student in the Department of History, who was supported by the grant and worked on the project nearly full-time this summer. With this small staff and in only five months, this exhibit and catalog were completed. Many student assistants also helped with the effort, including Brenna Dugan, Tim Fritz, Christina Boudreaux, Corey Eickholt, and Evan Morrison. Sue Benedict and Mark Walker in Photographix designed the catalog cover, and Liz Allen from the Marketing and Communication Department designed the catalog. Terry Fell provided scanning and photo duplication services. My thanks to all of them.

An advisory board provided valuable insight into the topic as we began to plan for the exhibit. Those people included: Diane Britton, Chris Diefenthaler, Michael Mechlowitz, Shelley Papenfuse, Christine Raber, Liz Sheets, Jerry Van Hoy, Jane Weber, Wendy Wiitala, Dan Wilkins, and Sharon Yaros. Diane Britton, Jerry Van Hoy, and Jim Ferris also reviewed the catalog and made valuable suggestions. My thanks to them, and especially to Jim Ferris for providing the exhibit opening lecture and preface to this catalog.

Several organizations and individuals loaned us material for the exhibit, and it is a much more riveting and informative display because of the addition of these items. My thanks to the Center for Archival Collections at Bowling Green State University; Northcoast Behavioral Health Care; Sharon Yaros; the Lucas County Board of Mental Retardation and Developmental Disabilities; the Local History and Genealogy Department of the Toledo-Lucas County Public Library; Gendron, Inc.; Goodwill Industries of Northwest Ohio, Inc.; the Wood County Board of Mental Retardation and Developmental Disabilities; the Wood County Historical Society; and the Museum of disability History. Unless otherwise noted, the items in the catalog and exhibition are from the collections of the Ward M. Canaday Center.

Finally, my thanks to the individuals—mostly anonymous—who are a part of this exhibit. Your historical experiences are slowly becoming a part of our greater historical consciousness, and as a society, we owe this to you. May this be a beginning.

Barbara Floyd Director, Ward M. Canaday Center for Special Collections The University of Toledo September 2008









CHAPTER 1. ATTICS, ALMSHOUSES, AND ASYLUMS—CARE FOR PEOPLE WITH MENTAL ILLNESS

"We have endeavored to put forth every effort for the cure of disease and use every means at our command for diverting patients from their morbid fancies and directing their thoughts into natural and healthy channels, believing that in this line lies the most important factors for restoring diseased brains to their normal functions."

— Dr. H.A. Tobey, superintendent of the Toledo State Hospital, 1895.

colonial America, mental illness was believed to be caused by demonic possession, witchcraft, or sinful behavior, and was therefore considered something to be punished. Often the mentally ill were chained in basements or attics of almshouses and jails, and even in their own homes. Others roamed the streets of their communities and survived as best they could. The responsibility for the care of the mentally ill fell primarily upon families, churches, and communities. Living conditions in almshouses were often appalling, and medical care was practically non-existent. Treatment, if given at all, most commonly involved blood-letting, the administration of opiates, the use of physical restraints, or dosing with purgatives.

This changed at the beginning of the 19th century when the concept of the "moral treatment" of the mentally ill became accepted. It was based on the belief that insanity was the result of damage caused by a person's environment, and by removing the person from that environment they might have a chance to recover. It advocated treating mentally ill persons with sympathy and kindness, in a place away from family, stress, and the overstimulation of modern society. A clean and healthy atmosphere, with good food, fresh air, productive work, exercise, and education were considered to be the keys to rehabilitation.



Dorothea Dix

Yet despite these advances, this time was not without its own untoward practices for treating mentally ill people. Whirling and rotating devices were sometimes used to calm the patient's nerves. Patients were sometimes branded with hot irons or submerged in cold water to bring them to their senses. Early in the 1840s, Dorothea Dix began investigating the treatment of the mentally ill in the United States. She started with her own state of Massachusetts, but eventually expanded her investigation to include states from New Hampshire to Louisiana. She found conditions deplorable and abuse commonplace, and began advocating for more humane treatment. She pushed for the construction and expansion of psychiatric hospitals so that more patients could be taken out of poorhouses and jails and put into places where they could receive proper treatment. As a result of her work, many new hospitals were built and the living conditions of thousands improved.

While progress was made, many mentally ill were still being kept in less-than-desirable situations. During the period following the Civil War, social reformers began to pressure states to take responsibility, and advocated for the building of asylums. The states responded, and often built the hospitals in rural areas with farm land. Patients helped work the farms, and the fruits of their labor provided much of the asylums' food supplies. The moral treatment approach continued to be used, with some success, into the early 20th century. However, during this period the country also experienced a great increase in immigration and urbanization. People began moving from the country into the cities, and were no longer able to care for their sick or aged relatives at home so they left them at state mental hospitals. These hospitals soon became overcrowded, often caring for people with disabilities other than mental illness. While originally intended to provide a pastoral atmosphere where patients could recover in a healthy, clean, stress-free environment, the hospitals became a source of stress themselves. Conditions deteriorated, and the practice of using physical restraints to subdue patients returned to use as a way to deal with overcrowding.

Toledo's Early Care for the Mentally Ill

In Toledo, early care of the mentally ill fell to the Lucas County Poor Farm, later renamed the County Infirmary. The poor farm was an idea dating back to the founding of the state, when township trustees were authorized to appoint an "overseer of the poor" to provide "outdoor relief" to the needy. By the time Lucas County was founded in 1835, responsibility for caring for the needy shifted to the counties, and the state authorized its county commissioners to build poor houses. In January 1838, the Lucas County commissioners appointed a committee to locate and acquire a site for a county poor farm, and by April they had purchased the north half of Section 16, Township

No. 3, located at the southeast corner of Detroit and Arlington. The commissioners appropriated \$1000 to develop it into a poor farm.

The Lucas County Poor Farm sustained many of society's outcasts, including the mentally ill, the infirm, the disabled, the "friendless" elderly, epileptics, paupers, alcoholics, and others who could not support themselves. In exchange, those receiving support who were physically and/or mentally able were required to work on the farm, maintaining the grounds, growing crops, caring for livestock, and performing other needed tasks.

Even after Lucas County opened its poor farm, many of the county's mentally ill were still being kept in local jails. In 1861, the commissioners voted to build an asylum on the grounds of the County Infirmary (as the Poor Farm was then called), saying that they considered it "inhuman and brutal" to continue to keep the insane in jails. The small one-story asylum building was occupied by the fall of that year. At that time the infirmary consisted of 115 acres, 83 of which were cultivated, and the patients were raising hay, oats, produce, and pork, as well as other livestock.



The Lucas County Infirmary and Hospital. (From Sharon Yaros)

In 1867, the state created the Ohio Board of State Charities, whose mission it was to "investigate the whole system of the public charitable and correctional institutions of the state" and to "recommend such changes and additional provisions as they may deem necessary." Upon investigating the Lucas County Infirmary in 1868, it found conditions to be inadequate. In its 1869 report to the governor, it noted: "Visited Lucas County Infirmary, . . and shared, no doubt, fully in the mortification experienced at the general condition of the premises and the inmates. The buildings are more at fault than the management, yet the latter could be greatly improved. Ten small rooms, illy ventilated and wholly comfortless in appearance, constitute the full capacity of the Infirmary buildings proper. . . . The insane building is of brick, small, and without the least adaptation to its use. In it, the insane, epileptic and idiotic are kept indiscriminately as to age, sex or condition."

Apparently the county took the board's comments to heart. After its subsequent inspection in 1871, the board reported that the infirmary had "undergone very marked improvement in its buildings and management.



The Northwestern Hospital for the Insane. (From Sharon Yaros)

The repulsive features of the place, reported on a former occasion, have disappeared altogether. That further improvement ought to be made, and some additional care given that would still further improve the household is still quite apparent, but that these will come in due time, no one who judges from the past can doubt."

Despite efforts to improve care for the mentally ill, the Board of State Charities reported in 1870 that there were still almost 1200 mentally ill persons in the state's infirmaries and jails. To deal with those in northwest Ohio, a new asylum was being built on the grounds of the Lucas County Infirmary but it was not yet finished. The new asylum, which was named the "Northwestern Hospital for the Insane," was completed in 1871, and the new building was intended to "succeed the Lucas County Asylum," the small building constructed a decade earlier. It was described as "an elegant and quite commodious brick structure, three stories high, and capable of accomdating [sic] from 75 to 100 patients." Although it was a county institution, it was heavily funded by the state in exchange for accepting overflow patients from the other state hospitals. This facility continued operating through the late 1880s, but ceased to exist sometime between 1887 and 1890, probably due to the opening of the Toledo Asylum for the Insane (Toledo State Hospital) in 1888.

In 1878, the Board of State Charities reported that the Lucas County Infirmary's "buildings are . . . ill-suited to their use, but, at present, in good hands, and under careful management." It also reported that the Northwestern Hospital for the Insane was being "widely and kindly managed." In 1886, the board stated that the infirmary had 240 acres, and that "a kind care [was being] exercised by the immediate management." The following year it reported that the hospital's superintendent, Dr. A. B. Wright, "has been faithful to his trust, as his house and household would attest to the most casual visitor," and the following year mentioned that a fire had originated in the laundry facility and had threatened the main building, but "by prompt and well directed efforts of the superintendent and employes [sic]," had been extinguished before causing what could have been a tragedy. It added, "Great praise is due Dr. Wright and his assistants for their heroic fight with the flames."

In 1898, the Lucas County General Hospital was built on the infirmary's grounds, and in 1911 a tuberculosis hospital was added. The infirmary's facilities eventually included five buildings—the County Home, the general and tuberculosis hospitals, and two men's buildings. One author wrote that "it constantly cares for some 300 sick, infirm, insane, epileptic and idiotic people."

The Toledo State Hospital

By 1883, severe overcrowding in Ohio's existing hospitals and the fact that over 1000 of the state's mentally ill continued to be housed in jails necessitated building an additional asylum. On April 18, the Ohio General Assembly passed an act forming a commission to locate a suitable site for the construction of a new asylum in a location remote from its existing facilities for the insane. The commission consisted of the Governor, Attorney General, Secretary of State, Auditor, and General Roehliff Brinkerhoff, a member of the Board of State Charities.

After much research and study, the commission selected a site in Toledo at what is now the southwest corner of Arlington and Detroit Avenues, across the street from the Lucas County Infirmary. The county offered to donate 150 acres of land for the project, the city of Toledo agreed to supply water at the cost of pumping it, and the local gas company offered to provide natural gas at a greatly reduced rate. The

land was well suited for such a project—it was bordered by Swan Creek, well-drained, and had fertile soil suitable for farming.

The state made it clear that it could only appropriate \$500,000 for the project, and it required that the finished facility be able to accommodate at least 650 patients. General Brinkerhoff was a strong advocate of the "detached ward system," also known as the "cottage system." He was convinced that they could build such a facility at a much lower price than one based on the previously popular and traditional Kirkbride design for asylums, in which patients were housed in attached pavilions. The members of the commission studied the options and visited three other states where the detached ward system was being used to various but lesser extents. In the end, it voted to adopt the revolutionary system for the Toledo facility.

The hospital's buildings were designed by prominent Toledo architect Edward O. Fallis, who designed several other important Toledo buildings, including the Valentine Theater. The origi-



General Roehliff Brinkerhoff, proponent of the "cottage system" for the Toledo State Hospital.



Construction of the Administration Building and the Chapel, Toledo State Hospital. (From the Toledo-Lucas County Public Library)

nal plans called for 34 structures including 20 cottages, 2 strong wards, 2 infirm wards, 2 hospitals, an administration building, a chapel, a kitchen and bakery, a laundry, a storehouse, a boiler house, and 2 dining halls. Each cottage was to have a different design in order to create a domestic setting. Deliberate effort was made to eliminate any prison-like appearance, as was common in older designs.

The original estimated cost was \$564,000, but during the construction process some changes to the original plans were necessary, and some of the structures were damaged by a tornado. The commission asked for an additional \$292,000 to make the changes and repairs. In the end, construction of the facility cost \$750,000. However, due to the commissioners' innovative ideas, the finished facility was able to accommodate over 1000 patients and 200 employees. Specifically calculated, construction and furnishing of the new asylum at Toledo cost around \$700 per capita, compared to an average of around \$1100 per capita for construction of traditional asylums.

The asylum opened in January 1888, with Dr. Henry A. Tobey serving as superintendent. The first patients, mostly transfers

from other facilities in the state, were admitted in January. This was a time of change in the methods used for treating persons with mental illnesses, and the use of the cottage model fit well into the new approach because of its home-like atmosphere and freedom, which produced a sense of self-worth and independence. Tobey believed that meaningful employment, diversion, recreation, regimentation, freedom, and privileges were the best methods for restoring the "mentally disturbed." Physical restraints were rarely used, and only when absolutely necessary.

The individuals who were admitted suffered from a wide variety of mental and physical illnesses and behavioral changes. Among the causes of insanity noted in patient records were syphilis, dementia, epilepsy, alcoholism, old age, psychosis with mental deficiency, and head injury. Other causes noted were more unusual: "religious excitement," "marriage,"

Dr. Henry A. Tobey, first superintendent of the Toledo State Hospital. (From Sharon Yaros)

"jealousy," "sexual self abuse," "political excitement," "prostitution," "lactation," "seduction," "financial trouble," and "loss of pension."

Patients were initially admitted to one of the hospital buildings, but as their conditions improved they were transferred to the cottages. As was the case at the county infirmary, patients at the state asylum who could work did so. Male patients did much of the work on the new grounds—planting trees and flowers, sowing grass, building driveways, and excavating the six lagoons that were eventually part of the landscape. The female patients worked at crafts such as weaving and rug-making.

Within the first ten years, the asylum's facilities increased to include a greenhouse, two hospital buildings, an auditorium, an animal slaughterhouse, an additional boiler house, and a two-acre lake. The lake added beauty to the grounds and also served as a source of ice and extra water. In addition, some of the patients took it upon themselves to stock it with fish. The hospital also formed a cornet band during this time. A medical library was added in the administration building, a water tower was built, and additions were made to the men's hospital, the greenhouse, and to some of the cottages. A new men's hospital was built as well, which increased the capacity of the institution to 1500. Beginning in 1894, the Toledo Asylum for the Insane officially changed its name to the Toledo State Hospital.

By 1905, the hospital formed what was called "the best baseball team in Northwestern Ohio," made up of both patients and employees. That year the team lost only 5 out of 36 games played on the grounds. Patients continued to raise their own vegetables and fruits on 240 acres of land, and with the addition of hog pens and fences, they were also able to raise their own pork. In 1906, Tobey retired, and the Board of Superintendents passed a resolution expressing their sadness at his departure after so many years of service. The minutes of March 16 read: "Resolved, that in the opinion of the members of this Board, the beneficient influence of the faithful, competent and persistent endeavor of this eminent scholar and gentleman, in developing and promoting a high standard of proficiency, what is known a the Cottage System, will be felt as a blessing to mankind, and will prove a monument to the philanthropy and capability of this kind hearted friend of his race whom the world owes a debt of gratitude and affection." Dr. George R. Love replaced Tobey as superintendent.



Lake at the Toledo State Hospital. (From the Toledo-Lucas County Public Library)



The 1905 baseball team of the Toledo State Hospital. (From the Toledo-Lucas County Public Library)

Following World War I, an increase in the awareness of mental illness and improvements in its treatment resulted in overcrowding at the hospital. At the same time, the hospital changed its admission policy to allow individuals who sought treatment to commit themselves and circumvent the court process that previously had been required. Before this change, individuals who wanted help but did not wish to go through the courts did not receive treatment. To cope with the overcrowding problem, neurosyphilis and mental hygiene clinics were started, and a women's hospital was built. These additions increased the institution's capacity to 1600. The hospital also began providing outpatient services to individuals from the community and former patients. Also during this time it added a beauty shop and a retail outlet for the patients' crafts.

In 1919, Love was succeeded by Dr. O.O. Fordyce as superintendent. Treatment methods were also changing, and included hydro, occupational, and psychological therapy. A nursing school operated in conjunction with the Lucas County Hospital, and it eventually became fully accredited before being closed during World War II because of personnel shortages.

In the 1930s, the hospital added a variety of clinics that were supervised by consulting physicians. A hospital newspaper called "To-Sta-Ho" began publication, and a patient library was established. Also during this decade, a nine-hole golf course was added to the grounds and maintained by the patients, and hosted many tournaments between patients and employees. The area called the "Sunken Garden" was created and one of the six lakes was filled in. In 1939, the average daily patient population was over 2700.

Early in the 1940s, the hospital conducted a study and determined that its optimum capacity was 2054, so it became mandatory to restrict admissions. But because of World War II, patient admissions again increased due to war-related stress. At the same time, the number of nurses decreased because many left to serve in the military, and building projects stopped. During this period, the hospital tried to grow as much food as possible to aid in the war effort. It acquired a dairy herd, cultivated over 1000 acres, and increased its production of poultry, pork, and dairy products.

After the war, admissions again increased because of an influx of the aged. As for treatment methods, the hospital began using electric shock therapy, claiming a 61 percent success rate for improvement. New drug treatments were also used for various forms of psychosis, particularly Insulin and Metrozol. In 1946, Dr. J.E. Duty

succeeded Fordyce as superintendent, and in 1948, construction began on a new receiving hospital.

During the 1950s, the patient population peaked at just over 3000. Fortunately, the new receiving hospital could hold 220 patients. An additional wing was built two years later, adding 84 beds. A co-ed cottage for geriatric patients opened, and the old water tower was converted into the hospital's post office. Treatment options increased during this period because of the development of new drugs that improved patients' conditions. There was still a shortage of doctors and nurses, but the hospital began to give support personnel more extensive training and responsibilities, some of which only nurses could do before.

By the 1960s, patient treatment primarily consisted of the use of tranquilizers and individual or group therapy. However, electric shock therapy was still used occasionally. Also, by this time some of the hospital's buildings had become unsafe for occupancy and were demolished. A new kitchen, bakery, and employee cafeteria replaced the original, and the dairy operation and herd were eliminated. The hospital operated several outpatient clinics to help patients ease back into life in their



Aerial view of the Toledo State Hospital, 1954. (From the Toledo-Lucas County Public Library)

One of the Toledo State Hospital lagoons.

respective communities after being in the hospital. They were held each month at Lima, Defiance, Sandusky, and Toledo, and there was an "aftercare clinic" located in the receiving hospital on the grounds.

In 1971, the hospital's name was changed to the Toledo Mental Health Center, and during the next 20 years the number of patients it treated dropped from over 3000 to around 300. This was due to advancements in psychotropic medications, an increase in outpatient services, and the availability of individual and group therapy at other hospitals and in the community. As the number of patients declined and structures emptied, they were razed.

A new state-supported facility, Northcoast Behavioral Healthcare, now operates on the site, and provides adult psychiatric care. Today all of the original buildings of the old state hospital are gone, and all that remains



One of the two cemeteries that remain on the former grounds of the Toledo State Hospital.

of the once bucolic grounds and grand facility that served so many people in the midst of their personal sufferings are a few of the original lagoons and two cemeteries containing the graves of former state hospital patients.

The people who came to the Toledo State Hospital for help suffered at a time when the treatment of mental illness was still a mystery. Some recovered and were able to return to society. Others came and

went several times. Still others were admitted and never left. Many who died at the hospital were claimed by family or friends and buried privately. However, for various reasons at least 2000 of those who stayed and died at the hospital were interred in cemeteries on the hospital grounds. Their graves are marked only by rows of depressions in the ground and small, brick-size stones carved with numbers, many of which have sunken into the ground and are no longer visible. The cemeteries themselves are not marked. While it is fitting that these individuals remain at rest on the former hospital grounds, the fact that their graves are not marked and their burial places are not memorialized is also a commentary on the lives that society forgot.



A marker on a grave at one of the state hospital cemeteries. (From Sharon Yaros)

Today a cemetery reclamation committee has been formed with the goal to identify and memorialize those who are buried in these cemeteries by erecting a marker or plaque indicating their locations. By doing so, the members of the committee hope to bring dignity, honor, and respect to those who are buried there.

Dorothea L. Dix, Remarks on Prisons and Prison Discipline in the United States. Boston: Munroe and Francis. 1845.

Dix, who undertook a survey of places where the mentally ill were housed in the early 19th century, found that many were in jails and prisons. "Feeble minds, too infirm of purpose to keep the straightest path, too incapable of reasoning out their truest good and best interests, and many, of constitutionally depraved propensities, these, chiefly, fill the cells of our Penitentiaries." When she asked a prison inspector at Sing Sing Prison how many mentally ill were among the inmates in 1844, the inspector responded, "As to the insane, it is difficult to give you any satisfactory answer. The line of demarcation between the sane and the insane is not

easily defined." In her testimony to state legislators in Massachusetts about the care provided to the mentally ill, Dix stated, "I proceed, gentlemen, to call your attention to the present state of insane persons confined within this Commonwealth in cages, closets, cellars, stalls, pens; chained, naked, beaten with rods, and lashed into obedience." Dix is credited with helping to get the mentally ill out of jails and almshouses and into institutions designed for their care.

Mrs. E. P. Packard, The Prisoners' Hidden Life, or Insane Asylums Unveiled. Chicago: A. B. Case, 1868.

This autobiography describes the experience of Packard, who was declared insane by her husband, a Presbyterian minister, because she expressed religious beliefs he thought "dangerous to the spiritual interests of his children and the community." Packard was held in the Jacksonville (Illinois) Insane Asylum for three years. She describes her stay in the worst ward: "It is not possible for me to conceive of a more fetid smell... This awful scent was owing to neglect in the management of the Institution. The patients here were never washed all over, although they were the lowest, filthiest class of prisoners. They could not wait on themselves any more than an infant, in many instances, and none took the trouble to wait upon them. The accumulation of this defilement about their persons, their beds, their rooms, and the unfragrant puddles of water through which they would delight to wade and wallow in, rendered the exhalations in every part of the hall, almost intolerable." As much a call for equal rights for women as it was an exposé of insane asylums of the day, Packard also published a complete text of her insanity trial.

John S. Butler, "The Individualized Treatment of the Insane." Reprinted from *The Alienist and Neurologist*, July 1886.

In his article Butler advocated for the "moral treatment" of the mentally ill, arguing that they should be treated on an individual basis and with kindness and patience. He held that accommodations for them should be made to feel more homelike and inviting than the typical institutions of the day. He wrote, "The same appliances that tend to make life in a well-ordered house beautiful and happy may be brought to bear upon the disordered mind." Having visited a hospital using such an approach, he wrote, "I saw . . . the marvelous results of the moral treatment of the insane—that individualized power, which the healthy, intelligent, enthusiastic mind holds over the 'untuned and jarring senses' of the lunatic."



Postcard of the Chapel and Administration Building of the Toledo State Hospital. (From Sharon Yaros)

Lucas County Infirmary and Lucas County Home, Record of Employees, bound volumes, 1913-23, 1923-27, and 1934-36. University of Toledo Health Science Campus Archives.

These lists document employees of the Lucas County Infirmary, and record their pay. In 1913, the superintendent and chief medical officer each received \$150 a month, while nurses received \$15, and laborers, \$5.

Postcards of the Lucas County Infirmary, ca. 1875. On loan from the collection of Sharon Yaros.

These rare postcards depict the buildings of the infirmary grounds. The cupola of the Northwestern Hospital for the Insane can be seen in the center.

Photograph, Northwestern Hospital for the Insane, ca. 1875. On loan from the collection of Sharon Yaros.

This building was constructed in 1871 by the county on the infirmary grounds. Although it was technically a county facility, it was heavily used by the state for overflow patients from state hospitals.

Architectural rendering, Maumee Valley Hospital, 1929. University of Toledo Health Science Campus Archives.

This drawing of the proposed hospital was done by the architectural firm Stophlet and Stophlet in 1929.

Postcard, Lucas County Hospital/Maumee Valley Hospital, n.d.

This building was originally constructed on the infirmary's grounds in 1931 as the county's general hospital. It still stands to-day, and has been converted to apartments for low-income senior citizens.



Postcard of the bucolic grounds. (From Sharon Yaros)

Plat drawing, Lucas County Infirmary Grounds. Plat Book of the City of Toledo in Lucas County, Ohio. Ann Arbor, MI: C. W. Chadwick, 1930.

This drawing shows the arrangement of the structures that existed on the infirmary's grounds.

Scrapbook, Maumee Valley Hospital, 1945-1953. University of Toledo Health Science Campus Archives.

LIST OF BILLS OF PARE

ASSOCIATE DINING ROOMS

TOLEDO STATE HOSPITAL

For one week of each month during the Floral Year ending Seventher 17th, 1844

AND ALSO A LIST OF THE

The menu and activities scheduled at the hospi-

tal in November 1894.

MUSEMENTS AND ENTERTAINMEN

COVEN DURING THE SAME PERIOD.

This scrapbook contains clippings, photos, and other memorabilia documenting issues about and events at the hospital.

Annual Reports, Toledo Asylum for the Insane and Toledo State Hospital, 1884, 1885, 1894.

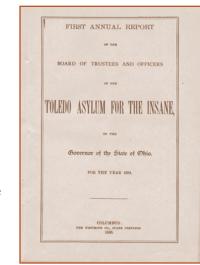
These are some of the earliest annual reports from the Toledo Asylum for the Insane and Toledo State Hospital. They date back to the beginning of the construction and document its progress through the following years. Later reports detail improvements made and needed, patient activities and incidents

that occurred at the hospital, and give statistical and financial information.

List of Bills of Fare and List of Amusements and Entertainments, 1894.Listed here is the monthly menu for the state hospital's dining rooms and activities for hospital patients. It was included in the hospital's annual report.

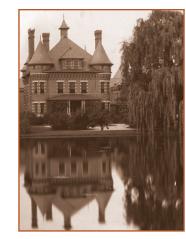
Architectural Drawings, 1884, 1886, 1887. Toledo Insane Asylum Drawings and Maps, MSS-221.

The buildings that made up the Toledo Asylum for the Insane/Toledo State Hospital were designed by prominent Toledo architect, Edward O. Fallis. Included are plans for the chapel (1884), industrial building (1887), and ice house (1886).



The first annual report, which predates the construction of the hospital.

24 FROM INSTITUTIONS TO INDEPENDENCE: A History of People with Disabilities in Northwest Ohio



The original Women's Hospital at the Toledo State Hospital, it was later converted to women's housing. (From Toledo-Lucas County Public Library) Plat drawing, Toledo State Hospital Grounds. Plat Book of the City of Toledo in Lucas County, Ohio. Ann Arbor, MI: C. W. Chadwick, 1930.

This drawing shows the arrangement of the structures that existed on the state hospital's grounds in 1930.

Postcards, Toledo State Hospital, 1888-ca. 1900. On loan from the collection of Sharon Yaros.

The buildings and park-like grounds of the state hospital were so beautiful that they were frequently pictured on postcards, and were often the setting of family picnics and other outings.

Photographs, Toledo State Hospital, ca. 1900. On loan from the Toledo-Lucas County Public Library.

Included are many early images of the hospital's patients, employees, buildings, and grounds.

Toledo State Hospital Patient Diary, 1902. On loan from the Center for Archival Collections, Bowling Green State University, MS-1769.

This diary was written by a man while he was a patient at the Toledo State Hospital in 1902.

It includes stories from his childhood, recollections about his father and brother going off to fight in the Civil War, and comments on his treatment at the state hospital.

Hefner Family Letters, 1945. On loan from the Center for Archival Collections, Bowling Green State University, MS-858.

This correspondence is between Zelma Hefner and husband, John, while he was a patient at the Toledo

Wie did not stay very long a my friends Louise, at the foot of bessel of best works End she bad some home her self, we took the cowout too in the, exact of time, i will say a or 3 months, then we the pasture the next morning and in gowing through the cernitary too the posture we moved too another place you distant, from where we were met our gost of the night livery , il was a boust, in manholten, or more North Goldo withated, near the bank as the before it was a white durham ealt, with two and ears it had out out of the pasture, some ald canal, just above the way, and was steading Monhatten corners called the though the primetarry King house, we were no

Patient diary, 1902. (From the Center for Archival Collections, Bowling Green State University) State Hospital. John Hefner was admitted in June 1945 after suffering a breakdown, and stayed there for six months. Most of the letters are from Zelma to John sending wishes for his recovery and keeping him abreast of work on the family farm.

Tombstone, ca. 1900. On loan from the Wood County Historical Society.

This tombstone is typical of the kind of stones used at state hospital and county infirmary cemeteries. Some were made of stone and others of metal, but they were generally small and marked only with a number.

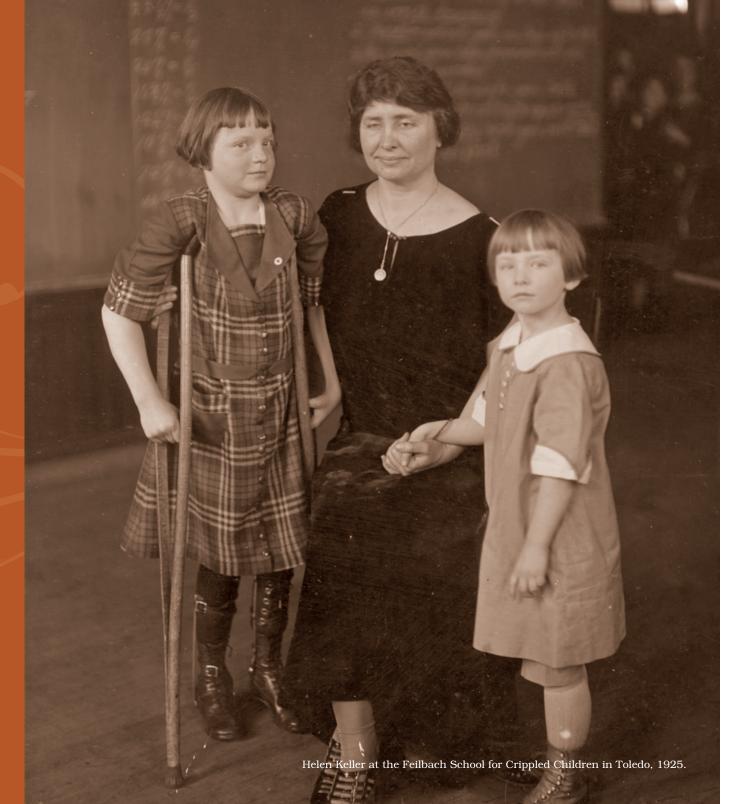
Photograph, Toledo State Hospital Cemetery, 2008.

This photograph was taken at one of the hospital's cemeteries off Arlington in south Toledo. It shows the lack of visible grave markers, and the depressions left in the ground from the collapsing graves.

Sweet: Clark paper for pale people. One grue pale long. I hope work I hope a hope you will is had better. When work I hope a hope you will it had better. When to see you we a couple days. What the history and I hope to see you we a couple days. What the hitchen such I can from part for the front parts. I sprayed the hitchen such I can the front parts. I sprayed the hitchen such I can the south to.

I am going to face the hads to work in the grades partly around too to force of the south of the see of the south the manning to very hope honey. Cather's Job See and home on furlangly. Belled me said the manning to very whether hope going the head may be followed to be had a precious supplying you will soon he with the had a precious supplying the best might been make the suffer west door inght, Betch has hear mantang a frience for it has tripe to the precious of the pre

A letter from Zelma Hefner to her husband, John. (Center for Archival Collections, Bowling Green State University)





CHAPTER 2. SHELTERED WORKSHOPS AND SOCIAL CLUBS—SERVICES FOR THE VISION AND HEARING IMPAIRED

"That evening there was a large meeting, including Rotarians and Feilbach teachers, where Miss Keller, blind and deaf, asked for funds to continue work for the blind. Miss Anne Sullivan, her wonderful teacher who taught Miss Keller to speak, showed how Miss Keller could understand what people said although she was deaf. She put fingers on both sides of the person's nose, on their lips, and on the throat to get the vibrations of the speaker's voice. Rev. Allen Stockdale was told to say something to demonstrate that she did understand him. She put her fingers at the sides of his nose, on his lips and throat. Then he said, 'Every man in the audience is jealous of me.'"

—Recollection of Helen Keller's visit to Toledo, 1925.

hile society has always held misconceptions about people with disabilities, blind persons have often suffered greater stigmatization because of fear. Eyesight is so precious and vulnerable that sighted persons fear that they could easily become blind. Like those with deformities or developmental disabilities, the blind were kept at home because it was believed their affliction reflected badly on their families. Deaf persons, too, suffered discrimination, especially those born deaf. Their lack of speech led to the belief that they were developmentally disabled, and the congenitally deaf were usually referred to as "deaf and dumb."

But the image of the blind and the deaf changed at the turn of the century when the story of Helen Keller, who had been without vision or hearing since infancy, became widely known through the 1903 publication of Keller's autobiography, *The Story of My Life*. Keller's dramatic story began in 1887 when Anne Sullivan was hired by the Keller family of Alabama to educate their child. Sullivan, herself vision impaired, taught Keller to read and write Braille, use a typewriter, and to speak. Keller went on to earn a college degree from Radcliffe, the first blind and deaf person in the country to do so.

Keller became the torchbearer for the causes of the blind. If Helen Keller could succeed, others could too. The American Foundation for the Blind, a group founded in 1921 to "work for the blind,



Helen Keller and her teacher, Anne Sullivan.

partially blind, and to do such things as are not, or cannot be done, by existing agencies," had been making consistent progress in gaining services for the vision impaired. Among their successes was legislation establishing a federal subsidy for the American Printing House for the Blind. Capitalizing on Keller and Sullivan's popularity, the organization hired the two women to raise funds. In 1924 and 1925, Keller and Sullivan visited 53 cities and gave 139 speeches, including one at the Feilbach School for Crippled Children in Toledo. While the tour fell short of the foundation's fundraising goals, Keller became a star, and her promotion of blind and deaf issues raised the public's consciousness.

Ohio's Efforts to Assist the Blind

Education for blind children was an outgrowth of the American belief that every person had the right to an education. Between 1832 and 1833, schools for blind children opened in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia. The schools were funded by philanthropists and operated as charitable organizations. By the time of the Civil War, 18 additional residential schools opened, including one in Ohio.

Ohio was one of the first states to take an interest in assisting blind people as a public responsibility. At a convention of medical experts in Columbus in 1835, attendees advocated for a public asylum for the instruction of the blind. At that time, the total number of visually impaired persons residing in Ohio was estimated at approximately 250.

In 1836, Dr. William Awl, one of those who attended the Columbus convention, traveled to New York and viewed an exhibit coordinated by officials and students of the Institution for the Blind of New York. After watching the presentation, Awl decided that "Ohio must have such an institution." Upon returning to Columbus, he drafted a resolution for the Ohio General Assembly calling for a special panel charged with collecting the data necessary to justify the creation of such an establishment.

In addition to the resolution, Awl and his close associates distributed approximately 2,000 pamphlets to justices of the peace in every township in the state requesting statistics on the blind in their townships. In 1836,



Helen Keller

the Ohio legislature passed a resolution appointing a board of trustees—which included Awl and Noah Swayne, a Toledo lawyer—and charged it with collecting information pertaining to the education of the blind in the state. As a result of the board's efforts, on April 3, 1837, the assembly passed an act authorizing the appropriation of funds to establish the Ohio Institution for the Education of the Blind. It would be a residential school open to any visually impaired or blind child between the ages of 3 and 21 who was a permanent resident of Ohio. Thus, the Ohio institution became the first state-supported school of its kind in the United States

On July 4, 1837, the institution opened its doors with a prayer service attended by over 900 people in downtown Columbus. A.W. Penniman, a graduate of a blind school in New England, was employed as the first teacher. The school opened in a temporary facility and held classes in rented rooms. The number of students enrolled at the institution remained small, at just 11 students.

From 1839 to 1846, William Chapin, formerly of the New York School for the Blind, served as superintendent. The job of superintendent of such state institutions was difficult, as they were responsible not only for the management of the agency, but also for maintaining favorable relationships with the state legislature to ensure continued funding. His administration was characterized by a steady increase in enrollment, improved conditions, and general satisfaction among the students. Included in his accomplishments was the in 1839 construction of the school's first building.

Ten years after the institution first opened its doors, the total number of students accepted climbed to 150, and 55 students graduated. Female students were taught domestic skills, and male students received vocational training that allowed them to find gainful employment after graduation. Many graduates pursued careers assisting other blind persons. For example, Samuel Bacon, an 1846 graduate, opened the Illinois Institution for the Blind and went on to become its superintendent for eight years.

The school continued a steady path of growth, and the Civil War produced an increase in students, as returning veterans with vision impairments required assistance. In 1867, the trustees proposed to Governor Rutherford B. Hayes that a new building was necessary to meet the increasing size and changing needs of the institution. Two years later, the Ohio legislature appropriated \$275,000 for a new building which allowed the school to increase its enrollment to 300.

As ideas evolved about appropriate education for the vision impaired, the school's curriculum changed accordingly. In 1897, a course in typewriting was offered for the first time, and it opened up new vocational options for the students. In 1903, the trustees appropriated \$10,000 for the construction of two gymnasiums, evidence that physical activity was often sorely lacking in the lives of visually impaired children, and moving the curriculum toward a more holistic view of education. Instructors also sought to narrow the divide between the education offered to sighted students and that offered to visually impaired and blind students.

In the early 1900s, the institution changed its name from the Ohio Institution for the Education of the Blind to the Ohio State School for the Blind. Control was transferred from the Ohio Department of Public Welfare to the Ohio Department of Education, showing the clear intent of the administrators to coordinate the education of the blind with that of fully sighted students. The school physically moved again in 1953 to another site in Columbus in order to expand its offerings and to serve more students.

Services for the Blind in Northwest Ohio

While the state of Ohio began its blind school in the 19th century, services for the vision impaired in Toledo did not begin until nearly 100 years later. In October 1923, members of the Toledo Lions Club approached the Community Chest, the local fundraising organization, requesting that "something be done for the blind." The Lions Club was a national organization founded in 1917 to promote civic welfare, and had selected services for the blind as its dedicated concern. Dr. Harry Wills, former professor of sociology at the University of Toledo, was employed to conduct a survey of blind persons residing in the Toledo area to ascertain whether there was an identifiable need for such an organization in the city.

The results of the survey indicated that such a group was both necessary and desirable. Edward Evans and Frank



A sight saving class sponsored by the Toledo Society for the Blind at a local school, 1925.



Thomas Whitaker and his guide dog Lord Byron, 1936

Saxton, members of the local Chamber of Commerce, pledged their support, and along with several prominent Toledo citizens, they appeared before the Community Chest's board of directors to request funds to organize a society for blind persons in Toledo. After several meetings with the directors to discuss the proposed goals of the society, the Community Chest agreed to fund the organization. The group was originally named the Toledo Committee of the American Federation for the Blind, with Wills serving as its first executive secretary.

In January 1924, the Toledo Committee of the American Federation for the Blind was reorganized as the Toledo Society for the Blind, and Edward E. Evans was chosen its first president. The Community Chest allocated \$1,500 to the society, and the Social Services Foundation donated office space in their downtown Toledo building. It soon became apparent that the society needed a larger space if it wanted to promote and organize social clubs and other group functions. Five months later, the society moved its office to Huron Street where it rented two rooms in another office building. At this time, the Happy Times Club (for women) and the Progressive Club (for men and women) formed, and the organization offered free classes in basket-weaving and chair-caning for members. For many participants, these skills became their first source of income, and the products produced by members sold quickly.

The organization outgrew its offices again, and in 1925 relocated to a large hall in the Valentine Building which was better able to facilitate social and recreational activities. For recreation, the society began offering popular dance classes for the young and elderly alike. The society held its first annual picnic and Christmas party, and these traditions continued for many years. The number of blind residents was estimated at around 300, but this number was likely low because some parents objected to their children being categorized as blind if they had any vision, even if it was limited.

In 1927, the Toledo Society for the Blind incorporated as a nonprofit corporation with the stated purpose "to further the interests of the blind and open to them all avenues to independence and self-support, through

investigation, education, and recreation." A \$10,000 bequest from the Edward D. Libbey estate in 1928 allowed the society to purchase a ten-room office on Michigan Street as the agency's headquarters. The space required extensive renovations, and Lions Club members volunteered and finished the task.

An issue of concern to members was the opportunity for vocational education. To fill that need, the society opened its first sheltered workshop where members did rug-weaving on a loom donated by the Business and Professional Women's Club. John Richey, a blind weaver, provided instruction to clients and filled weaving orders. Other early workshop activities included rubber mat making, stringing tags, and making hospital sponges. A donation from the estate of Noah Swayne (one of the original members of the board of trustees of the Ohio State Institution for the Blind) in 1928 provided the funds necessary for a workshop building. As a result of the Swayne bequest, all debt on the society's property was paid and a trust fund established.

Financial stability did not last long, and during the Depression, the society underwent severe financial strain. Its monthly check from the Community Chest was reduced to \$150 from \$400, and A. Estelle Parsons, the society's executive sec retary, voluntarily agreed to a reduction in pay. Because the wages that the workers earned from the workshop were minimal and inadequate to support a family,

718 Michigan Street BLIND CHAIR CANER

George Beaudry demonstrating chair caning at the Toledo Society for the Blind during Hire the Handicapped week, ca. 1947.

the organization began providing a noon meal free of charge, and the society frequently made loans—most of which were repaid in full once economic conditions improved. Also during this period, the society supplied eyeglasses to needy individuals, paid part of its clients' hospital expenses when possible, and financed proper burials for many who had no savings or insurance. In addition, the organization collected and distributed surplus food and other basic necessities that the federal government donated. By supplying blankets and underwear, the Toledo chapter of the Red Cross provided vital aid to society members during this time.

As evidence of its continued commitment to expanding employment opportunities, in 1936 the Toledo Society for the Blind placed Thomas Whitaker ("Blind Tom") in a locally operated newsstand in the Old Post Office



Toledo Society for the Blind workshop employees wrapping Jeep parts in paper liners for shipment overseas, ca. 1943.

Building. He became a well known news vendor during the 1930s and 1940s. In addition, the society began teaching independent living skills. It purchased a house on Michigan Street in 1937 where four or five blind individuals lived independently. The residents paid the rent, gas and light bills, and the society supplied furniture and fuel during the winter months. This independent living project continued until 1945 when the property was sold.

Not only did the society endeavor to open employment opportunities, it also sought equal access to culture for the blind persons. In April 1936, the Ohio Commission for the Blind designated the society as the distributor of "Talking Book" machines in northwest Ohio, providing a new means of education and entertainment. During the program's first year, over 100 machines were loaned, and Toledo's program was among the first in the United States. The society also continued to provide recreational opportunities for its clients, including swimming lessons and a one-week summer camp for blind youth on Catawba Island.

During World War II, the Toledo Society for the Blind again expanded its workshop program in order to play an active role in the civilian war effort, enlarging its physical space and employing many more workers. It secured a contract with the Ohio and Michigan Paper Company, which in turn allowed it to place 20 men and women on regular eight-hour work days for two and a half years, earning between \$25 and \$30 per week. Between 1942 and 1945, workshop participants produced thousands of waterproof liners designed to protect disassembled Jeeps for shipment overseas. After the war ended, however, the majority of blind factory workers were laid off. In response, the society organized several experimental vocational projects, including repotting plants and making flats for greenhouses. But the workers could not work fast enough to earn a reasonable salary, and the society was forced to abandon this project, and returned to rug-weaving and chair-caning as its main workshop products.

Recognizing the importance of parents to the success of vision impaired children, the society assisted in the creation of a group called the Parents of the Visually Handicapped in the 1950s. This group



The Toledo Society for the Blind workshop, ca. 1950s.



An eye screening for local children, 1966.

pushed for proper educational facilities for visually-impaired children in the city, part of a growing national trend away from state residential schools and toward providing blind education as part of the public education system. In 1953, the Junior League staged a production depicting the life of an average middle-class American family with a blind pre-schooler, thus helping to increase the understanding of the need for a normal family life and appropriate educational opportunities for visually impaired children.

In October 1954, the society purchased land and a vacant building on Canton Street downtown, and a sizeable gift of property from a friend of the society allowed for the construction of the new building. The sidewalks, parking lots, dog exercise yard, fencing, and interior equipment were all paid for by the Lions Club of Toledo, and the lounge was funded by the Zonta Club. The new building was dedicated as the Edward E. Evans Building, in honor of the society's first president, on June 17, 1956.

Beginning in the early 1960s, the society began its community outreach services, including "New Eyes for the Needy." Volunteers collected and repaired discarded eyeglasses and distributed them. In 1965, the society began its "Operation Lazy Eye" program to identify this common condition (amblyopia) that, if left untreated, could result in permanent impairment. By January 1966, approximately 1,200 children had been screened for the condition as a direct result of the program. The society also began to provide direct rehabilitative services in the 1960s. Several staff members received intensive training in the areas of mobility and rehabilitation instruction, and the society converted the basement of its main facility into a training room to teach orientation and mobility skills. A simulated apartment unit taught skills necessary for independent, productive lives. The rehabilitation program was made possible through a grant from the Ohio Bureau of Services for the Blind. Rehabilitation efforts were extended to children in 1982, with a dollhouse used to teach independent living skills.

In 1976, the society began a self-study and petitioned the National Accreditation Council for Agencies Serving the Blind and Visually Handicapped (NAC) for accreditation, but the NAC voted a one-year deferment prior to awarding the accreditation. Two years later, the society embarked on an extensive renovation of the administrative and direct services areas in the main building and updated and expanded its social work, rehabilitation instruction, mobility training, and prevention of blindness services. As a result, it received NAC accreditation in 1978, the 76th such agency to receive this recognition.

As a reflection of its broader mission, the Toledo Society for the Blind changed its name in June 1979 to the Sight Center. The organization made this shift in an effort to emphasize the fact that its services were not restricted to Toledo and that most of its clients were not totally blind, but had some degree of vision. Also that year, the organization began its Telecasette program that allowed blind clients to call after hours and receive up-to-date news on tape over the phone. Further audio services were offered beginning in April 1982 with "The Sight Center on the Air," a weekly radio program broadcast from Scott High School, and seven years later, it launched the Sight Center Audio Network (SCAN) where clients could hear the *Toledo Blade* and the *Bowling Green Sentinel Tribune* read in their entirety on the air. SCAN became the largest radio reading service in Ohio. Listeners had a choice of seven daily newspapers from the 23 counties that the center served, along with a sizeable selection of national and local magazines.

As a result of its increased client load, in 2003 the center was forced to decrease its service area to 16 counties in northwest Ohio. To reflect its smaller geographic focus, it changed its name to "The Sight Center of Northwest Ohio." But the following year, the center launched a Building a Vision for the Future Capital Campaign directed at raising \$1.65 million to purchase land and construct a new services building. That new building opened in 2007 on Garden Lake Parkway in south Toledo.



Horatio Hubbell, the first superintendent of the Ohio School for the Deaf. 1827-1851.

The Ohio State School for the Deaf

The education of deaf children in Ohio began even before the state school for the blind was founded. In 1823, Reverend James Hoge, inspired by a letter he read from a Pennsylvania deaf institution that invited Ohio to send its deaf children there to receive an education, undertook to "enumerate" the number of deaf people in Ohio. As a result of that counting, and at Hoge's urging, the state established an Asylum for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb in 1826. The name of the school was changed to "institution" from "asylum" the following year, and a board of trustees was named to oversee it formation.

In 1828, the legislature appointed Rev. Horatio N. Hubbell as superintendent and teacher. They sent him to the American Asylum in Hartford, Connecticut, for an 18-month period to receive advanced training in sign language and new instructional methods for deaf

people. A site for the school was chosen on East Town Street in Columbus, but because the legislature was spending most of its funds to build canals in the state, it was unable to build the institution immediately. Instead, the state authorized the board of trustees to rent a small house in Columbus for the school. It became the fifth residential facility for deaf students in the country.

Between 1829 and 1834, the institution provided instruction at three additional locations. While the school charged \$80 per year to attend, the Ohio assembly mandated that it provide a free education to one needy student from each of the nine judicial districts. In 1834, a new school opened on the East Town Street land, and it included a barn and several outbuildings. The facility, designed to accommodate between 60 and 80 students, was intended to serve the needs of Ohio deaf children for many years. Students were both schooled and lived in the building, with a matron entrusted to oversee their after school care.

Superintendent Hubbell's 1838 annual report emphasized the importance of deaf education and espoused a clear preference for teaching sign language over oral communication. In 1844, the oral-manual debate comprised a sizeable portion of the superintendent's annual report. The controversy erupted when American educator Horace Mann published his observations concerning an oral class in Germany, arguing for its exclusive use in the United States as well. Hubbell, however, warned against drawing sweeping conclusions about the oral skills of the "adventitiously deaf" and pointed to the demonstrable advantages of a visual-gestural language system. During this period, the Ohio institution trained a significant number of deaf educators. Subsequently, they secured employment at similar residential facilities throughout the country.



The Toledo School for the Deaf and Hard of Hearing at the Feilbach school. ca. 1918.

Throughout the latter half of the 19th century, the institution continued to make facility and instructional changes. Its crumbling main building constructed in 1834 was replaced in 1868 with a new building designed in the distinctive Franco-Italian style. Significant changes were also made in curriculum. The school hired deaf tradesmen to provide instruction in its vocational shops because hearing instructors often lacked the communication skills required to teach deaf students. In 1866, the institution hired its first female instructor, and a sewing department was added for women students. For the men, printing, book binding, and the publication of a daily newspaper, The Ohio Chronicle, were added to the curriculum. In 1870, the

facility began providing instruction in lip reading and articulation, which coincided with the Conference at Milan where advocates of the oral approach levied strong arguments in favor of its adoption internationally.

The dawn of the 20th century saw the school's highest enrollment rate, with over 500 students on its roster. To reflect its emphasis on education, the institution officially changed its name to the Ohio State School for the Deaf and its operation was transferred from the Department of Welfare and placed under the auspices of the Ohio Department of Education. By 1944, because of concerns over the safety of the building, the board purchased 200 acres of land on the north side of Columbus for a new facility, which opened in 1953.

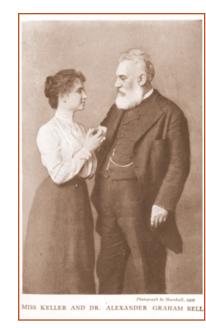
As with many state-run institutions, the federal 1975 Education for All Handicapped Children Act that mandated a "free and appropriate public education in the least restrictive environment" led to major changes for the deaf school. Enrollment at the state school decreased substantially as students were placed in public schools.

Services for Deaf Persons in Toledo

The first school for deaf children in Toledo was founded in 1911. When the Charles Feilbach School for Crippled Children opened downtown in 1918, the Toledo School for the Deaf and Hard of Hearing moved into the building. Little is known of the school, and while it appears to have been supported by the Toledo Rotary in the same manner that the Feilbach School was, there is no documentation of its programs in the Rotary records.

Other early programs for the deaf in Toledo included the Deaf Club. In the late 19th and early 20th century, deaf persons began to define themselves as a linguistic and cultural group, and deaf clubs were popular as places to gather to create a sense of community. The Toledo Deaf Club dates back to the 1930s, and was originally called the "Silent Club." In his book *Deaf Hearing Boy: A Memoir*, R.H. Miller described how his parents, both of whom were deaf, visited the club located on Adams Street often to socialize. Sports activities were an important part of its offerings, with basketball, softball, and bowling teams organized for club members. Beating a hearing team was a cause for celebration. The Toledo Deaf Club still exists today, although at a different location on Adams Street.

As with many disabilities, deaf people in Toledo were assisted through charitable and service organizations. The Quota Club of Toledo, a service organization of business women, was founded in 1931. Its primary long-term service project was to provide assistance and community-based services to hearing impaired and deaf individuals. Since its founding, the Toledo club raised funds for hearing aids, batteries, and repairs; hearing screenings; TDDs



Helen Keller and Alexander Graham Bell, 1902.

for local hospitals; and scholarships for hearing impaired and deaf individuals. The organization also awarded the Outstanding Deaf Woman of the Year honor on an annual basis. This award was "given to a hearing impaired person in recognition of her personal achievements, community service, and who is an inspiration to other deaf people." The winner of the award locally went on to compete at the state and national level. In 1993, the Toledo club donated \$4,000 to cover the costs to train a dog to assist a hearing impaired individual.

Sixty-Sixth Annual Report of the Board of Trustees and Officers of the Ohio State School for the Blind to the Governor of the State of Ohio for the Fiscal Year Ending November 15, 1902.

Annual reports of the state institutions were prepared for the governor and legislature. They gave superintendents an opportunity to outline achievements as well as needs. Included are data pertaining to student enrollment and expenditures for academic and vocational departments. The report also includes a detailed list of suggestions for the parents of students enrolled at the school.

Federal Writers Project, Lifting the Veil: Centennial Pageant, The Ohio State School for the Blind, 1837-1937. Columbus, OH: Works Progress Administration, 1937.

This is the script from a pageant presented at the Ohio State School for the Blind as part of a four-day program to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the founding of the school, and the 25th reunion of the founding of the alumni association. The Federal Theater Project of the Works Progress Administration in Ohio directed the pageant. The cast was made up of students, teachers, and alumni of the school.

Helen Keller, Our Duties to the Blind: A Paper Presented by Helen Keller at the First Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Association for Promoting the Interests of the Adult Blind, January 5, 1904. Boston: Thomas Todd, 1904.

In her speech to the Massachusetts Association for Promoting the Interests of the Adult Blind, Helen Keller advocates that the state and civic entities should assist individuals who are blind by establishing employment agencies and vocational training programs. Moreover, Keller pointed out that "idleness," defined as the lack of paid employment, is not a right for people with disabilities, but a negative stereotype that relegates individuals with disabilities to a position of lower social status, and as a result, to a status of second-class citizens.

Helen Keller, The Story of My Life. New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1903.

Keller's best-selling autobiography recounts her early years with her teacher, Anne Sullivan, and the way Sullivan first taught her words using the word "water" as her teaching tool. Keller's life story was dramatized in the play "The Miracle Worker" in 1957, and a movie version in 1962.

Helen Keller, The World I Live In. New York: The Century Company, 1914.

This very personal account describes Keller's thoughts on being a blind and deaf person. Keller describes people like herself as "the loneliest people on earth." This volume is autographed by Keller.

Helen Keller, *Midstream: My Later Life*. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., 1929. With the popularity of *The Story of My Life*, Keller published this volume about her later life as a public figure, including stories of the famous people she met such as Alexander Graham Bell, Charlie Chaplin, and Mark Twain.

Helen Keller, Helen Keller's Journal, 1936-1937. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., 1938.

Two weeks after Anne Sullivan Macy's death in October 1936, Keller began writing a journal that she continued until April 14, 1937, which would have been Macy's birthday. In it, she chronicled events such as her trip to Scotland, her return to America without Macy, the preparations for a trip to Japan, and her experiences aboard the Asama-Mara. In this probing and riveting narrative, Keller exposes the depth of her mourning following Macy's death, as well as her thoughts on King Edward's abdication, Christmas in Scotland, and her reactions to *Gone With the Wind*. This volume is autographed by Keller.

Georgette Leblanc, The Girl who Found the Blue Bird: A Visit to Helen Keller. New York: Dodd, Mean and Company, 1914.

This book is a narrative of Madame Maurice Maeterlinck's (wife of the Belgian symbolist) visit with Helen Keller. It includes a quote from Mark Twain, one of Keller's admirers, stating "the two most interesting characters of the 19th century are Napoleon and Helen Keller."

J. Georges Scapini, A Challenge to Darkness: The Life Story of J. Georges Scapini. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Doran & Company, Inc., 1929. Translated by Helen Keller.

J. Georges Scapini was blinded in World War I. His autobiography recounts the psychological difficulties he had in coming to terms with his blindness. The book was originally published in French, and translated for the American audience by Keller.

American Review for the Blind, November 1926. New York: American Braille Press.

Some weapons used in World War I, particularly poisonous gases, caused blindness among veterans. This publication was produced with funding from the Blind Relief War Fund, and distributed free of charge.

Mary Swift Lamson, Life and Education of Laura Dewey Bridgman: The Deaf, Dumb, and Blind Girl. Boston: New England Publishing Company, 1878.

Like Keller, Bridgman was a blind and deaf child who was "discovered" in 1837 by Samuel Gridley Howe. Howe took responsibility for her care, and taught her to read and write. Bridgman had a career as a popular poet in the 19th century, and died in 1889. Charles Dickens wrote about Bridgman in his book *American Notes*.

Nancy Buskett, Fingers That See. Seattle, WA: The Stuff Printing Concern, 1914.

This book, signed by the author, describes the experience of being a seeing teacher of blind children at a school in New England.

Scrapbooks and photographs, Toledo Society for the Blind/Sight Center of Toledo, 1924-1998. Records of the Sight Center of Toledo, MSS-179.

The Toledo Society for the Blind began documenting its activities through photographs and scrapbooks from its founding.

Articles of Incorporation of the Toledo Society for the Blind, 1927. MSS-179.

The founders of the society stated its purpose was "to care for and assist the blind and to further the interests of the blind and to open to them all possible avenues to independence and self support, through investigation, education, and recreation."

"A Record of Friendly Service to the Blind," 1941. MSS-179.

This pamphlet covers the period from 1923 to 1941, and provides a broad overview of the Toledo Society for the Blind's history and organizational structure, vocational and recreational pursuits, services, and bequests from individual donors.

"Twenty-Five Years of Service to the Blind," 1949. MSS-179.

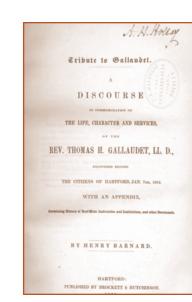
The Toledo Society for the Blind's 25th annual report is dedicated to A. Estelle Parsons, the society's long-time executive secretary.

Braille Letter and Number Card, Toledo Society for the Blind, ca. 1960. MSS-179.

This card demonstrates the Braille system for numbers and letters. Each Braille cell is made up of six dots. Various combinations of the dots alert the visually impaired or blind reader to individual letters, contractions, symbols, and numbers.

Henry Barnard, Tribute to Gallaudet: A Discourse in Commemoration of the Life, Character and Services of the Rev. Thomas H. Gallaudet, LL. D., Delivered Before the Citizens of Hartford, Jan. 7, 1852. Hartford, CT: Brockett & Hutchinson, 1852.

This tribute to Rev. Thomas H. Gallaudet includes the eulogy given at Gallaudet's funeral and other testimonials to the man who dedicated his life to deaf education.



Barnard's *Tribute to Gallaudet*, 1852.

Proceedings of the Seventh, Eighth, Ninth, and Tenth Reunions of the Ohio Deaf-Mute Alumni Association. Columbus, OH: Institution Printing Office, 1899.

This volume includes detailed transcripts of the Ohio Deaf-Mute Alumni Association's seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth reunions. According to the association's constitution, its objectives were to "maintain a Home for the Aged and Infirm Deaf of Ohio, and to promote our own improvement by holding stated meetings, and in other ways looking to this object."

Howard Glyndon (Laura C. Redden), Idyls of Battle and Poems of the Rebellion. New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1864.

Laura C. Redden was a deaf poet popular during the Civil War for her patriotic and inspiring poems. During her lifetime, Redden published more than 600 poems.

Photograph, Toledo School for the Deaf and Hard of Hearing, ca. 1918. Toledo Rotary Club Records, MSS-145.

These photographs show the students and teachers at the school that was operated as part of the Charles Feilbach School for Crippled Children.

Scrapbooks, Quota International of Toledo, 1935-1977. Quota International of Toledo Records, MSS-129. Quota of Toledo raised funds for many projects to assist the deaf community, and the club's efforts are documented in these scrapbooks.

R.H. Miller, Deaf Hearing Boy: A Memoir. Washington, D.C.: Gallaudet University Press, 2004.

This book is a personal account of growing up in Toledo and Defiance as a hearing child of deaf parents. Miller recounts the importance of the Toledo Silent Club to his parents' lives: "My parents' social life revolved around a locale on Adams Street (now demolished) called the Toledo Silent Club, which provided a place where you could have a drink or a beer and hang out. Because it depended on a membership who had very little financial resources, it was a seedy, rundown affair. If it hadn't been for the release it gave both of my parents, we'd never set foot in it."

Henry Kisor, What's that Pig Outdoors?: A Memoir of Deafness. New York: Hall and Wang, 1990.

In this autobiography, journalist Henry Kisor recounts his life as a deaf individual. During his career, Kisor covered local, national, and international events and interviewed notable authors such as Tom Wolfe, William Styron, Joseph Heller, and Bernard Malamud.

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CHAPTER 3. SOCIETY AND THE "CRIPPLE"—FROM SECLUSION TO EDUCATION

"One day in the summer of 1917, a nurse from the District Nurse Association saw a boy in a small wagon. This fourteen year old lad, born without legs and without hands, had never been to school. After talking with him, the nurse asked what he would like best of anything, and he said, 'To go to school.'"

> — From a history of the Charles Feilbach School for Crippled Children, published in the Toledo Rotary Spoke newsletter, 1946

he 19th century saw dramatic changes in the way society treated those with physical disabilities. For the first half of the century, those born disabled were secluded in their homes because their families bore a social and moral stigma as a result of their disabili ties. Fueled by the national belief that America was a country blessed by God and its people were His chosen ones, anyone who did not live up to these expectations due to a physical disability represented the failure of his family and a failure for the country's future.

It was believed that the improper behavior of the parents lay at the root of why a child might be born with such deformities. Too much alcohol, unsound minds, or "abnormal" sexual activity were thought to be among the causes. Therefore, families with defective children were ashamed, and keeping their children behind closed doors was a way to hide their secret.

Of course, not all physical disabilities were birth defects. With the American economy increasingly industrialized, many disabilities resulted from dangerous working conditions in factories. Industrial accidents maimed adults and children alike. Without a social safety net, such accidents had dire economic consequences for families who depended on the income of every member, even children, to survive.

Ironically, the 19th century American belief in the country's unique role in history was one of the factors that led to the greatest tragedy in American history—the Civil War. Manifest Destiny put two very different societies on the path to an inevitable showdown over whether the lands of the West would be free or slave. The bloody conflict not only changed the country forever, but also produced thousands of Americans with disabilities, and helped to change the way the country confronted disability.



Alva Bunker ca. 1917



Civil War veterans who lost limbs in the war, as depicted in the *Medical* and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion. The huge number of disabled veterans following the war helped to change America's perception of disabled people.

The technology of the Civil War created an astonishing numbers of casualties. The primary weapon was the .58 calibre Minie ball, a soft lead bullet shot with great force and velocity. Upon impact, it flattened, ripping huge holes through bone and flesh. Immediate amputations were believed to be the most effective way to save a soldier, and an estimated 40,000 were conducted during the war. Mortality rates for amputations as a result of such injuries were high: over 80 percent of those with hip joint amputations, 50 percent of those with knee amputations, and 20 percent of those with arm amputations.

Those who did survive challenged American society's view of the disabled. These men were war heroes, and locking them away denied their valor and the country's sacrifice. Since their injuries affected their ability to earn a living, the federal government provided pensions of up to \$8 a month based upon the seriousness of their injury. The war also fueled a prosthetics industry, and those with missing limbs had the right to be fitted with an artificial replacement at the government's expense.

In the five years following the Civil War, the federal government spent more on veterans than it had in its previous 80 year history. In June 1866, there were over 200,000 disability discharges from the military. Because of improvements in treating their war-related wounds, many disabled veterans lived comparatively long lives, with 43 percent still receiving benefits ten years after the end of the war. Finding work for these individuals was difficult, and the government required that they be given preference for federal jobs because pensions only provided partial income. As they got older, the disabled veterans were forced to petition for increases in benefits as their injuries became more disabling. Pension records detail sad stories of how these heroes had to attempt to document their increasing debilitation.

The Progressive Movement Addresses Disability

In response to the difficulties of disabled veterans and the increasing exploitation of the working class that resulted in dire poverty and frequent maiming, the Progressive Era produced social activists who sought to improve the conditions of the lower classes, especially disabled people who were unable to compete in an industrialized economy. In the 1890s, many philanthropic organizations began to help the disabled by creating institutions they believed would improve their lives. The Progressives believed "crippledom" was a serious social and economic problem, and disabled people could eliminate their dependency on society by being rehabilitated.



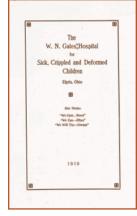
Edgar "Daddy" Allen, who started the Rotary's "crippled children's movement."

Work was a fundamental right and responsibility of every member of society, and Progressives believed work itself could cure a disabled person. Finding a job made a person's disability unimportant.

Several factors produced this change in America's perception of disability. World War I and its "improvements" in war technology produced hundreds of thousands more disabled veterans. Some 930,000 veterans applied for disability benefits within five years after the end of the war. Everyone knew someone who had been disabled by the war, including a huge number who bore psychological rather than physical scars. The War Risk Insurance Act of 1917 set up a system by which veterans were paid a pension based upon the percentage of their disability. Advancements in medical care changed the way disabled people were treated by doctors, including improvements in orthopedic surgery resulting from the Civil War and World War I experiences. Using new tools like x-rays, orthopedic surgeons could "correct" the disabled.

A goal of the post-war reformers was to return the disabled veteran to a productive role in society. In his book *Reconstructing the Crippled Soldier*, Douglas McMurtrie summarized this idea: "Perhaps one of the greatest consequences for the future is the new attitude toward the war cripple—a human waste product at last being utilized.... For the cripple who is occupied is, in truth, not handicapped. America may have some physical cripples returned from the front, but she must have no social or economic cripples resulting from her participation in this war for justice and humanity." "Curative" workshops were established to train veterans in jobs that could support his family and restore his self respect.

In addition to the disabled veteran, a particular interest of Progressive reformers was the disabled child. Progressives, unlike antebellum Victorians, believed children bore no fault for their condition and should not bear the burden for it. The crippled child, if cared for from the earliest age, could become a model of improvement. He or she could be made self-reliant and no longer be a drain on society or an embarrassment. Between 1890 and 1924, 70 institutions were built nationwide to provide disabled children with care and rehabilitation.



Brochure for the Gates Hospital, 1919

The Rotary and the "Crippled Children's Movement"

Northwest Ohio played a key role in developing rehabilitation and medical services for disabled children. In 1907, a street car accident in Elyria severely injured the son of businessman Edgar Allen. Because of the lack of medical care in the community, Allen's son died from his injuries. Allen sold his business in order to undertake a fundraising campaign to build a hospital in the town. He also discovered that Lorain County had over 200 physically disabled children who were receiving no care. After building the Elyria hospital, Allen raised money to build the W. N. Gates Hospital for Sick, Crippled, and Deformed Children adjacent to it, which opened in 1919. Allen, a

member of the Elyria Rotary, wanted to spread his mission of helping disabled children to others, so be began contacting other Ohio Rotary clubs to ask for their assistance.

But years before Allen began to organize a "crippled children's movement" in Ohio, the Toledo Rotary was already assisting disabled children. In 1915, at the suggestion of member Harry Harper, the Rotary contacted the District Nurse Association and found that disabled children were largely neglected in Toledo. In 1916, the Rotary began providing financial assistance to Toledo's disabled children, and in the first year helped 315 of them, including 35 with infantile paralysis. The issue became a passion of Toledo Rotary's President Charles Feilbach.

In 1917, the story of the boy with no legs and hands discovered by a nurse of the District Nurse Association came to the attention of the Toledo Rotary. The boy's name was Alva Bunker. His father was described as a drunkard and his mother overwhelmed by caring for the family. Despite his disabilities, Bunker managed to get around on a board mounted on roller skate wheels. Because of his disabilities, he

had never attended school, and was believed to be developmentally disabled as well. The Rotary took on Bunker's cause, and sent him to the Home for Crippled Children in Detroit because no such facility existed in Toledo. It was the first time Bunker had ever been outside of his neighborhood.

After several operations, Bunker was fitted with artificial limbs and was able to attend school. When he returned to Toledo four years later, his family did not recognize him. As an adult, Bunker became assistant superintendent at the Port Huron School for Cripples. His success further encouraged the Toledo Rotary to continue to assist other such children in the city.



Principal Nackie Wright and children at the Toledo Crippled Children's School, ca. 1920



The notice of the death of Charles Feilbach appearing in the Toledo Rotary newsletter, 1924. After Feilbach's death, the named for him

To expand his "crippled children's movement," Edgar "Daddy" Allen contacted other Ohio Rotary clubs (including Toledo), and at the state convention in January 1920, the clubs came together to create the Ohio Society for Crippled Children. The purpose of the organization was to "initiate, coordinate and direct the securing and compiling of information concerning the care and cure of crippled children." The state was divided into districts, and each district had a Rotary Club responsible for coordinating care in its region. In 1921, the Ohio Society pushed the legislature to pass a bill to "provide for the care, treatment, and education of crippled children" which required each county to pay for the care of its disabled children. This system became known as the "Ohio Plan," and was eventually adopted by other states. In a fundraising letter for the Ohio Society for Crippled Children that year, Allen wrote, "The crippled child has not had a fair chance nor a square deal. The crippled child in a large percentage of cases does not need to stay a cripple. Every crippled child that we put upon its feet or can make self-supporting, is worth \$10,000 to the State of Ohio at a cost of about \$1000 to do it."

The Toledo Society for Crippled Children, consisting largely of Rotary Club mem-Crippled Children's School was bers, was established as a chapter of the Ohio Society in 1920 and continued to take an active role in the care and education of disabled children. The same year that Alva

Bunker was sent to Detroit to school by the Toledo Rotary, Emma Roberts, a nurse with the District Nurse Association, contacted Charles Feilbach, Rotary president, and asked him if he would help start a school for disabled children in the Toledo Public School system. In 1918, Feilbach, working with school superintendent Dr. William B. Guitteau and Roberts, helped to establish the Crippled Children's School. It was housed in the old Central High School downtown (formerly the Toledo Manual Training School, predecessor to the University of Toledo), and the Rotary paid for transporting eight students to the school. Miss Nackie Wright was appointed teacher and principal, and she remained with the school until 1946. The Toledo Society for Crippled Children became overseers of the school. In 1924, the school was renamed the Charles Feilbach School following Feilbach's death, in recognition of the Rotarian's deep commitment to disabled children.



William Standart, who visited the Feilbach School every day.

Having succeeded at creating the Ohio Society for Crippled Children, Elyria's Edgar Allen and his Toledo Rotary friends, including Ed R. Kelsey, created the National Society for Crippled Children in 1921, and the International Society for Crippled Children in 1923. The international group was dedicated "to the service of the interests of crippled children throughout the world, to repair the tragedies of human nature and accidents which are registered on the bodies of little children, and to see that the bent are straightened, the broken are repaired, the weak are strengthened, and all educated." With the establishment of the International Society, the Rotary became one of the first major philanthropic organizations with an interest in assisting disabled people on an international scale. Today, the Rotary continues this effort by working to eradicate polio worldwide.

The Charles Feilbach School for Crippled Children

The Feilbach School continued to rely on the Toledo Rotary for support. Rotary reports of the 1920s show monthly expenses of nearly \$1000 went to the school. The Rotary sponsored a Christmas party each year, helped to pay the salary of Principal Wright, and provided clothing and essentials like toothbrushes to the students. Some of the Rotary members made the school a personal project, including Will Standart, one of the founders of the Standart-Simmons Hardware Store. He visited the school every day, and gave each student a gift of a silver pencil on his or her birthday.

In 1930, the Toledo Board of Education approved building a new Feilbach School, which was constructed the following year on the corner of Stanley Court and Wilson Place off Cherry Street. Edgar Allen sent a telegram expressing his joy on the new school's opening. Pupils participated in many of the same activities as other school children—planting trees, putting on school plays and Christmas pageants, and going on field trips and picnics (often with the help of Rotary members). Boy Scout and Girl Scout troops were established at the school. A newspaper article from 1933 told the story of two male students, one without a right leg and the other without a left leg, who shared a pair of shoes each year for eight years until they were fitted with artificial limbs. The



Students in a music class at the Feilbach School, ca. 1925.

students also sent birthday messages to President Franklin Roosevelt and collected money to support Roosevelt's polio rehabilitation center in Warm Springs, Georgia.

The Feilbach school operated in the building near Cherry Street until 1976, when it moved to a new location on Glendale Avenue in south Toledo. That school, the Glendale-Feilbach School, was built to be fully accessible to disabled children.

The work begun by Edgar Allen in Elyria to raise awareness of the needs of disabled children took on a new phase in 1934 with a fundraising project to sell "Easter Seals." The Easter theme was selected because the resurrection of Christ seemed a fitting symbol for an effort aimed at resurrecting disabled children. Money raised by selling the seals was used to support the National Society for Crippled Children, and eventually evolved into the National Easter Seals Society. Thus, northwest Ohio continued to play a key role in assisting disabled children.



The Boy Scout troop at Feilbach School, ca. 1930.

The Medical and Surgical History of the War of the Rebellion, Prepared in Accordance with the Acts of Congress, Under the Direction of the Surgeon General Joseph K. Barnes, United States Army. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1870-1888.

From the beginning of the Civil War, the office of the Surgeon General instituted a systematic plan to collect com-



The new Feilbach School off Cherry Street ca. 1931.

plete documentation of battlefield injuries. Army doctors were asked to send specimens to the Army Medical Museum in Washington. In addition to specimens, physicians were required to complete detailed reports on treatments. When veterans filed pension requests, these requests were forwarded to the Surgeon General's Office, where an attempt was made to verify the disability based upon the reports and specimens. After the war, the reports were compiled into a heavily illustrated set of six volumes of over 6000 pages, estimated to cost over \$100,000 to print. The books were used by doctors after the war as case studies for dealing with traumatic injuries, particularly orthopedic injuries.



A dental hygiene class at the Feilbach School, ca. 1931.

Buchanan and MacGahan Law Firm, Military Pension Applications, 1875-1889. MSS-046.

Until 1890, pensions for Civil War service were given only to veterans with physical or mental disabilities directly related to their military service. This volume contains pension applications from Toledo veterans, and outlines their cases for why they should be granted pensions. The application of John Broadbecke was typical. The application describes how, during service in Tennessee, his limbs became swollen. Later, he became nearly deaf in his right ear. He was discharged in 1864, and was "obtaining his sustenance from manual labor." He sought a pension to assist him because his disabilities limited his ability to work.

Douglas C. McMurtrie, Reconstructing the Crippled Soldier. New York: Red Cross Institute for Crippled and Disabled Men, 1918.

While U.S. soldiers fought briefly in World War I, the casualties were staggering. After the war, considerable effort was made to provide vocational training to disabled veterans, as many felt that rehabilitation was the best way to make them "whole" again. This booklet describes various European rehabilitation programs, and includes photographs of disabled veterans employed in many different vocations. The Red Cross Institute for Crippled and Disabled Men in New York was established as the first specialized trade school for the disabled, and taught such skilled trades as welding, printing, and mechanical drawing. The book suggested that "the individual citizen must help by his attitude to encourage the crippled soldier to the privilege of self-support rather than ignominy of dependence."

Daily Report, Toledo Federation of Charities, 1904-1905. Family Service of Northwest Ohio Records, MSS-075.

The Toledo Federation of Charities was the first social service agency in the city. Members of the organization included wives of some of the city's most prominent businessmen. In the model typical of Progressive Era reformers, the women would review requests for assistance, and judge whether the recipients were "worthy" of aid. With no other agency to help them, many of those who sought help were disabled. The entry for November 1, 1904, was typical: "Young man, crippled in his right arm, called to sell stationary. Has an invalid wife."

Toledo Rotary Spoke, February 10, 1916. Toledo Rotary Club Records, MSS-145.

This issue of the Toledo Rotary newsletter describes the early efforts of the local Rotarians to assist disabled children. The Toledo Rotary was one of the first Rotary clubs in the country to help such children.

Ed Kelsey scrapbook, Toledo Rotary crippled children activities, 1916-1935. MSS-145.

This scrapbook, kept by Toledo Rotary secretary (and later president) Ed Kelsey, documents the activities of the Rotary to assist disabled children from the beginning. Included is information on a special tribute to Charles Feilbach on his death in 1924.

Photographs of Alva Bunker, ca. 1917-1921. MSS-145.

These photographs of Alva Bunker, taken before and after his stay at the Detroit Home for Crippled Children, show his reconstructed arm and feet and his improved mobility. Bunker became the inspiration of the Toledo Rotary to continue its works with disabled children.



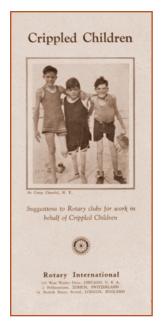
Feilbach School students receive stockings at Christmas, ca. 1931.

Pamphlet, the W. N. Gates Hospital for Sick, Crippled, and Deformed Children, Elyria, Ohio, 1919. MSS-145.

The Gates Hospital was founded in 1919 through the efforts of Edgar Allen. While intended to serve the crippled children of Lorain County, the hospital soon became known nationally and attracted children and parents from around the country. The cost for services was \$1.50 per day.

Minutes of the Toledo Society for Crippled Children. The Ability Center of Toledo Records, MSS-190.

The first minute book of the Toledo Society for Crippled Children includes the articles of incorporation for the organization. Also included are the signatures of the first members, which included many of the most important men in Toledo business circles.



Rotary International made disabled children one of its major philanthropic efforts due to the work of the Ohio Rotary clubs, including Toledo.

Constitution of the National Society for Crippled Children and minutes of first meeting, 1921. MSS-145.

With the success of the Ohio Society for Crippled Children, Allen and his Rotary friends established a national society in 1921. Toledo Rotarians were well represented in the organization, with Charles Feilbach, Burt Chollett, and Ed Kelsey among the officers and managers. In 1934, the National Society began selling Easter Seals, and the group eventually evolved to become the National Easter Seals Society.

Letter to Paul Harris, President Emeritus, International Association of Rotary, from Edgar Allen, 1921. MSS-145.

In this letter to the head of the International Rotary, Edgar Allen outlines the progress made by the Ohio Society for Crippled Children to assist disabled children in the state. The letter ends with a plea to Harris asking the International Rotary to help in the cause, which Allen called "the crippled children's movement."

Senate Bill 174, for the Crippled Children of the State of Ohio, 1921. MSS-145.

The Ohio Society for Crippled Children succeeded in getting this bill passed by the Ohio legislature, which established the Ohio Plan. The plan set up regions in the state for indentifying children needing assistance, and required counties to pay for their care.

Bylaws of the International Society for Crippled Children and accompanying documents, 1922. MSS-145.

Edgar Allen and Ed Kelsey helped to establish the International Society for Crippled Children in 1923, making the Rotary one of the first philanthropic organizations to take on the cause of disabled children worldwide.

Resolution on the death of Ed R. Kelsey, from the International Society for Crippled Children, 1930. MSS-145.

This resolution recalled the lifelong efforts and passion of Toledo Rotarian Kelsey to assist disabled children.

The Crippled Child's Bill of Rights, April 1931. MSS-145.

Adopted at the Tenth Annual Convention of the International Society for Crippled Children, this document "for the first time states, from the standpoint of the child, [the international society's] program for the prevention of crippling conditions, the finding of crippled children, its care, treatment and education, and finally, its placement in the life of the World."

Scrapbooks and photographs of the Charles Feilbach School, 1921-1945. MSS-145.

These scrapbooks document all aspects of the school. In addition to the normal activities of the school, the scrapbooks include photographs and articles about a visit by Helen Keller in 1925.

Frederick Watson, Civilization and the Cripple. London: John Bale, Sons & Danielsson, Ltd., 1930.

An early work that examined the social and historical aspects of disability, this book was owned by Toledo businessman William Walbridge. Illustrated with numerous photographs, it includes a chapter on activities in the United States to assist disabled people, and was autographed by Edgar "Daddy" Allen. The book was donated by Walbridge to the library of the Toledo Society for Crippled Children in 1931.



THE GUARDIAN ANGEL

Nature's Secrets Revealed

SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE OF

THE LAWS OF SEX LIFE and HEREDITY

OR

EUGENICS

Vital Information for the Married and Marriageable of All Age a Word at the Right Time to the Boy, Girl, Young Man, Young Woman, Husband, Wife, Father and Mother; Also, Timely Help, Counsel and Instruction for Every Member of Every Home

TOGETHER WITH IMPORTANT HINTS ON

SOCIAL PURITY, HEREDITY, PHYSICAL MANHOOD AND WOMANHOOD

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Embracing a Department on Ethics of the Unmarried

PROFESSOR T. W. SHANNON, A. M.

International Lecturer; Editor Eugenics Department, Uplift Magazine; President Single Standard Eugenic Movement; Author of Self-Knowledge, Perfect Manhood, Perfect Womshood, Heredity Explained, Guide to Sex Instruction, etc.

INTRODUCED BY

BISHOP SAMUEL FALLOWS, D. D., LL. D.

MEDICAL DEPARTMENT BY

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Assisted by Celebrated Specialists

PROFUSELY ILLUSTRATED

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MARIETTA, - - - OHIO

1914

The title page of T. W. Shannon's *Nature's Secrets Revealed: Scientific Knowledge of the Laws of Sex Life and Heredity,* 1914.

The title page illustration is of the Guardian Angel who ensured sound breeding.



CHAPTER 4. CREATING THE "PERFECT" HUMAN—EUGENICS AND THE DISABLED

"The perpetuation of hereditary defect is infinitely worse than murder."

—Scott Nearing, University of Toledo Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences (1915-1917), in his book *The Super Race*, 1912.

ugenics is the "science" of improving the human race through means such as selective breeding and sterilization. Supporters believed eugenics would increase the intelligence of humanity, conserve resources, and alleviate suffering. The term was first coined in 1883 by Sir Francis Galton, a cousin of Charles Darwin. Inspired by Darwin's work *On the Origin of Species*, Galton set out to see if human ability was an inheritable trait. During the course of his studies, he observed that many British nobility had few children. He suggested that, as a means of improving the species, such able-bodied couples should be encouraged to have more children. The notion of encouraging "fit" couples to have children came to be known as positive eugenics. Negative eugenics was defined as prohibiting "defectives" from having children. The eugenics movement continued well into the 20th century and provided a justification to sterilize disabled persons and exterminate them.

Eugenics advocates applied numerous techniques to determine who was fit to reproduce and who was not. One of the oldest was physiognomy and its close cousin, phrenology, both of which involved the study of an individual's physical traits to determine character and intelligence. Physiognomy was an ancient practice; the first known mention of it appears in a treatise attributed to Aristotle. Its modern form can be traced to the popular works of Swiss pastor Johann Kaspar Lavater, first published in 1772. It mostly focused on using the facial features to determine whether a person was inclined to intelligence, mental disorders, or criminality. Physiognomy was featured prominently in the works of authors Charles Dickens, Charlotte Bronte, and Edgar Allen Poe, and the movement's popularity peaked in the 19th century. Phrenology was considered a branch of physiognomy and can be traced to the German physician Franz Joseph Gall, who developed the discipline around 1800. It relied on the reading of bumps and fissures in the skull, which were believed to determine a person's character.



Top: A first edition of Galton's *Essays in Eugenics*, 1909, and the cover of Wells's *New Physiognomy*.



The title page of Walker's Intermarriage, an early 19th book warning against bad marriage choices and poor breeding.

Both physiognomy and phrenology were often used in an attempt to determine a person's intelligence. Not surprisingly, this often led scientists to associate certain facial and skull features with feeblemindedness, criminality, and other negative traits. Racist beliefs were also based on these "scientific" traits. While physiognomy and phrenology had their places in the eugenics movement, the most influential idea was that of Social Darwinism.

Survival of the Fittest as Social Policy: Social Darwinism

In 1859, Darwin published his book On the Origin of Species, which described how organisms evolved by competing with other species. According to Darwin, those individuals with characteristics best suited to their environment would pass these characteristics on to their offspring over many generations, while those less suited would eventually die off. This "survival of the fittest" would result in an organism so changed that it could be considered a different species. Darwin's work is the basis of evolutionary theory.

Unfortunately, Darwin's theory was twisted by the pseudoscience that eventually came to be known as Social Darwinism (itself a term coined by a critic of the theory). Despite bearing Darwin's name, the concepts were not his, but rather based on the writings of Herbert Spencer and Thomas Malthus.

Spencer, a philosopher and political and sociological theorist, is perhaps best known for his support of eugenics and for coining the phrase "survival of the fittest." He believed that human existence is full of struggles that result in winners and losers. He felt that any effort to interfere with this process was counterproductive, and therefore opposed policies that would benefit the weaker members of society. This view was held by others, including birth control advocate Margaret Sanger. To these individuals, humans improve through natural processes, and governments and charities should not interfere with these processes. Those who are smart enough and strong enough will thrive, and those who are not will not. In short, Spencer's version of Social Darwinism allowed for nature to weed out the unfit.

Thomas Malthus, a political economist and demographer, promoted a theory of population growth that was used to justify sterilization. According to Malthus, a certain portion of humanity was always relegated to poverty due to the population expanding faster than available resources. His theory posited that the human population

would double while the food supply would only increase at an arithmetic rate, leading to starvation and other problems. In his Essay on Population, published in 1798, Malthus advocated both what he called "preventive" and "positive" checks on population growth. Preventive checks consisted of moral restraint, vice, and birth control (Malthus defined vice as masturbation, homosexuality, and prostitution, while birth control consisted of coitus interruptus). The upper class, Malthus believed, made effective use of moral restraint, but the poor did not, so their only options were birth control and vice. The problem with this, however, was that it did not keep them from having too many children, which led to positive population checks. These Malthus defined as famine, disease, and war, which acted as natural population reducers. He believed that charity and other paternalistic methods of helping the poor were having the opposite effect. Because he also believed in the superiority of the upper classes, he worried that trying to help those of lower station would divert resources from those who could advance civilization.

The Dark Side of Eugenics: Sterilization and Euthanasia

The intellectual discussion regarding disabled persons and other "unfit" turned into action in the early 20th century. One of the most well-known stories at the time was the case of Baby Bollinger, who was born with numerous physical abnormalities. Physician Harry Haiselden urged the baby's parents not to seek treatment for the child, even though some of the defects could have been surgically corrected. They agreed to withhold treatment, and Baby Bollinger died five days later. It was later discovered that Haiselden had refused treatment to several other babies born with disabilities, which also resulted in their deaths. In many cases, the infants' parents did not object to withholding treatment, and some parents supported Haiselden's actions to such an extent that they even wrote to him asking for his help to kill their own disabled children. The Bollinger case received considerable media attention. Support for Haiselden was widespread and included such prominent individuals as civil rights lawyer Clarence Darrow, Harvey Wiley (founder of the FDA), as well as some of the nation's largest newspapers.

In addition to the intense media coverage, the Bollinger case also inspired a movie, *The Black Stork*. In the film, a young couple wishes to marry, but is warned against doing so by their doctor (played by Haiselden himself), since the would-be husband had an un-named "hereditary" disease due to his grandfather having an affair. In an attempt to discourage them, the doctor shows them a variety of images of physically and mentally disabled people.

BIRTH CONTROL

The Limitation of Offspring by the Prevention of Conception

WILLIAM J. ROBINSON, M.D.

With an Introduction by
A. JACOBI, M.D., LL.D.
SurPresident of The American Medical Association

Browning The Institute Shirled Assistance
All the arguments for an adjust the voluntary
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THE CRITIC AND GUIDE CO.

Advertisement for a book on birth control, 1922.

They ignore his warning, marry, and end up having a child with severe deformities. Although the child's life can be saved with surgery, the doctor refuses, claiming it would be better for the baby to die. The film debuted in 1917, was remade in 1927, and continued to play in theaters until the early 1940s.

Letting disabled children die was not the only way eugenicists sought to "improve" society. In the first half of the 20th century, they also used compulsory sterilization. The United States was the first country to implement compulsory sterilization laws. Indiana was the first state to do so in 1907, although Michigan (in 1897) and Pennsylvania (1905) introduced and passed sterilization laws earlier but did not implement them. Two years after Indiana passed its law, California and Washington state followed suit, and thirty-three states would ultimately pass laws that targeted the mentally ill, the blind, deaf, epileptics, and those with physical deformities. All told, it is estimated that over 65,000 individuals were forcibly sterilized. As late as 1956, 27 of 48 states still had sterilization laws on the books, although not all were enforcing them. Support for forced sterilization began to wane after World War II, due mainly to the horrors inflicted on disabled people by German medical personnel during the Third Reich.

Eugenics in Ohio

The eugenics movement influenced the care of the disabled in Ohio, and its theories were espoused by some who oversaw the state's institutions for disabled people. John Williams Jones, superintendent of the Ohio State School for the Deaf, discussed the need to control the population of the disabled in his book The Greatest Problem of the Race—Its Own Conservation, published in 1917 by the Ohio Board of Administration, a state agency. In the book, Jones recounted how much the state expended on treating disabled people each year, and noted that nothing was spent on studying how to prevent the generation of disabilities through birth. "Prompted by the enormity of the unnecessary sin, immorality, intemperance, self abuse, and the untold expense of maintaining and caring for the products of these undesirable things, and with the hope of eradicating much of them, and aiding the people to take a step forward toward better living, the Ohio Board of Administrators endeavors to put this book in the hands of all citizens," Jones declared. The book included detailed charts show-A chart showing how breeding by "defecing how mental deficiencies were passed on through childbearing by "defectives."

> To conduct research for the book, Jones visited many of the state's institutions, reported on what he observed, and interviewed those in charge of the facilities. During a visit to the Ohio Institution for Feeble

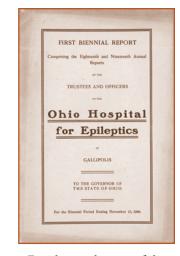
Minded Youth, Jones asked the superintendent how he was preventing the young people from reproducing. The superintendent responded that a state law required such children be sent to the state home, and that the girls and the boys were "kept entirely from each other as well as from the public."

Ohio had no laws requiring the mandatory sterilization of the disabled, even though the legislature considered such laws on several occasions. However, a 1904 state law did prohibit "the granting of marriage licenses to insane, epileptic and mentally defective persons." But it was rarely enforced. The annual report of the Ohio Hospital for Epileptics for 1909 noted that the law was largely ignored and "it should receive the support of state officials, legislators, and all good citizens."

Eugenics also had its followers in northwest Ohio. During his tours of state facilities, Jones visited the Toledo State Hospital in 1917 and spoke with the superintendent, Dr. George R. Love. Love was quoted in Jones's book as stating, "The mentally enfeebled patients in our hospitals are the end products of sin," and that "these defectives should never have been born." Love was particularly concerned about how to prevent the mentally ill from reproducing. "One of the greatest problems facing the social workers of today is, How can we prevent the production of defective and neurotic human beings? Shall we go to the marriage courts, or shall we render the individuals incapable of reproducing his kind? At the present time, we are devoting our energies to the care of these people. This, of course, is right and proper, but it is not enough. We should find the cause and if possible remove it. Until

we do this, we must continually face the expense of caring for larger and larger numbers." He encouraged lawmakers to support "reasonable legal restraints" to prohibit the disabled from producing children.

Scott Nearing, an economist who became dean of the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Toledo in 1915, held many radical beliefs. He supported equal wages for women, the redistribution of wealth from the rich to the poor, and spoke out in opposition to World War I. But he also supported eugenics and authored the book The Super Race in 1912. He wrote, "The system of human mating must be perfected and the status of social institutions must be raised in order that the individuals produced in each generation may attain an additional increment of the qualities which



First biennial report of the Ohio Hospital for Epileptics, 1909. The report suggests one reason to send epileptics to the home was to keep the sexes segregated and prevent offspring.

tives" leads to feeble-mindedness and criminality, from The Greatest Problem of the Race—Its Own Conservation, 1917.

CHART I

CHART SHOWING FEERLE-MINDEDNES

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Patients,
Physicians,
and the
License to
Kill in the
Third Reich

Revised
Edition

Revised
Edition

Hugh Gallagher's book on the extermination of disabled people by the Nazis.

will, in the end, produce the Super Race." There is some indication that Nearing's views of eugenics were tempered before his arrival in Toledo. In a speech before the Toledo Ad Club in 1916 on the subject of leadership, Nearing stated that Americans once believed leaders had to be born from a select ruling class, but that this was changing. "Leaders are to be utilized wherever found. We look for efficiency rather than for nobility of birth; for service rather than respectable lineage; for education rather than eugenics." Nearing was dismissed as dean in 1917, but not because of his support for eugenics. It was his expression of Socialist beliefs that led to his firing.

Oberlin College hosted the eugenicist William Kellicott Erskine in 1910 for a series of three lectures that were later published as a book. In the lectures, Erskine used statistics to support his belief that the intelligent classes were not producing enough children while the "undesirables" were over-producing. If this continued, Erskine saw immense problems for society, and action was needed quickly if there was any hope of reversal. He cited Indiana's sterilization law as "commendable," and urged other states to enact similar legislation. In his Oberlin lectures, he also promoted the work of the Internationale Gessellschaft fur Rassen-Hygiene in Munich, Germany, which provided medical examinations of couples prior to marriage and passed judgment of whether they should be allowed to reproduce.

Eugenics in Hitler's Germany

The persecution of "undesirables" in Nazi Germany actually began with German eugenicists in the 1920s. The economic troubles of the post-World War I era and biases harbored by the German people fueled the spread of eugenics and the rise of the Nazi party. Inspired by the eugenics movement in the United States, disabled and other "inferior" people were institutionalized, forbidden to marry, and kept from entering the country.

The Nazi emphasis on both positive and negative eugenics truly began in 1933 with the passage of the Law for the Prevention of Offspring with Hereditary Diseases only a few months after Hitler assumed power. This was followed by the Law for the Protection of the Hereditary Health of the German Nation in October of 1935, which prohibited marriage between individuals with certain hereditary disabilities. Under the sterilization law, anyone with the following disabilities was considered a candidate for the procedure: congenital feeblemindedness, schizophrenia, *folie circulaire* (manic-depressive psychosis), hereditary epilepsy, hereditary St. Vitus's dance (Huntington's Disease), hereditary blindness, or severe hereditary physical deformity. Those with hereditary disabilities were

targeted even if the disability in question was only moderate. Disabled children and infants were the first victims. By the end of the Nazi regime, between 375,000 and 400,000 disabled people were sterilized.

But sterilization did not go far enough toward Hitler's goal of a healthy, pure German nation, so in 1939 the Nazis turned to euthanasia. They established six official killing centers scattered throughout the country that exterminated disabled adults. This "cleansing" program was known as T4, named for its headquarters at Tiergartenstrasse No. 4 in Berlin. Disabled Germans were starved to death, given lethal injections, or suffocated in gas chambers. After a patient was killed, the doctors were initially careful to fabricate a logical cause of death in order to avoid suspicion. If a patient's lungs were weak, the death certificate might list pneumonia as the cause of death. If the person suffered from appendicitis, it might say that the victim died of a ruptured appendix. The T4 killings were overseen by well-established medical personnel. In fact, doctors joined the Nazi party in greater numbers than any other professional group: by 1942, more than 38,000 doctors had joined, representing nearly half of all doctors in the country.

Of the six official killing centers, one of the most notorious was the Hadamar Psychiatric Institute, where psychiatrists ultimately killed more than 10,000 mentally ill Germans in the basement. Buses sent patients to Hadamar with such frequency that they became known as "murder boxes," and children would be warned against behaving oddly lest they "be sent to the baking oven at Hadamar."

In 1941, Hitler officially put a stop to the killings because public opposition was growing louder. The killings continued in secret, however, and the program became known as "wild" euthanasia because it appeared to lack coordination. Decisions determining the criteria for euthanasia were made by physicians who were in direct contact with their patients, instead of being made by the court set up for that purpose. Instead of gassing patients in the killing centers, euthanasia took place in state hospitals via starvation, drug overdose, or lethal injection. These killings were still being controlled from Berlin, but their secrecy meant that they were largely unnoticed—and therefore unopposed—by the general public.

Beginning in 1943, Hadamar began to function primarily as a center for killing children. The "children's campaign," in which physically and mentally disabled youth were killed, continued even after the war ended. It was not part of the T4 program, but like the latter, it started off small and unofficial but eventually became centralized and later dissolved into mass killings by local pediatricians, without supervision.

Although many doctors and nurses participated in the T4 program and the children's campaign, there were many who refused to cooperate. Some doctors deliberately misdiagnosed their patients, re-labeling their condition as something which did not fit the euthanasia criteria. Others asked patients' relatives to come to the hospitals and pick up their kin. Some patients were released; and others were hidden when the transport buses made their rounds. Some doctors, such as Professor Gottfried Ewald, argued against the program during T4 briefings. Although Ewald was a Nazi supporter, he was also disabled. Surprisingly, those who protested the programs were able to do so without losing their jobs, being reprimanded, or being sent to a concentration camp. As long as the protests were made within a medical context and not through public channels, there was no punishment or retribution.

The Aftermath of Nazi Eugenics

Even after Allied forces occupied the country, the killings continued. The Allies had liberated the concentration camps, but had not yet turned their attention to the hospitals, asylums, sanatoriums, and orphanages because they had not initially thought to do so. In August 1945, Robert E. Abrams, a public relations officer in the U.S. Army, was approached by a German physician who informed him that some doctors were still killing patients at the psychiatric hospital in his hometown of Kaufbeuren. Abrams accompanied the doctor to Kaufbeuren and discovered that the accounts were true. A quarter of the patients had died, killed by lethal injection or through "scientific diets" (i.e., starvation). Over a hundred of those killed were children. At Eglfing-Haar, the Public Health and Security officers of the American military government found a structure known as the Kinderhaus, the children's building, where they found 150 young patients. There was also a "special department" containing 20 children who were slowly starving to death. These incidents occurred after Germany had officially surrendered.

In 1946, Allied forces held war crime trials in Nuremberg. The first of these cases was officially known as *United States of America vs. Karl Brandt, et al.*, but was known as "the Medical Case" because 20 of the 23 defendants were doctors. Some insisted that what they had done was not wrong because they were sparing disabled persons and their families unnecessary pain and hardship. Other doctors admitted they killed because they enjoyed doing so. In most cases, the doctors and nurses on trial insisted they were simply following orders given by the state, as any loyal citizen would have done. When the final verdict was handed down in 1947, three were sentenced to death.

But justice had been only partially served. As of the late 20th century, German authorities had still failed to capture and prosecute many of the more infamous perpetrators, in part because the German medical profession was closed-mouthed and reluctant to testify against colleagues. As recently as 2002, Germany had yet to fully recognize and compensate disabled people for their persecution under the Nazi regime.

Eugenics Today?

Although eugenics had largely fallen out of favor in the United States by the 1930s, forced sterilizations did not end on a large scale until the 1960s, and the last procedure was performed in 1981.

Today, recent advances in genetic and reproductive technologies have brought into question whether we have given up trying to create a more perfect person. The ability to check for certain genetic conditions has concerned ethicists who fear that "designer babies" cannot be too far behind. It has also concerned the disabled, who worry that people may choose not to have children based on these risk factors, and that people with disabilities could be further marginalized if society becomes less tolerant and chooses children selected to have a desirable appearance and greater intelligence, and no birth defects.

Alexander Walker, Intermarriage: Or, the Mode in Which, and the Causes Why, Beauty, Health, and Intellect Result from Certain Unions, and Deformity, Disease, and Insanity, from Others.

New York: J. & H. G. Langley, 1839.

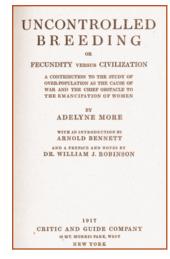
An early 19th century work that warns against making unwise marriage choices.

Samuel Wells, New Physiognomy. New York: Fowler & Wells Co., 1887.

In this book, Wells describes in great detail how reading the structure of the entire human body can determine personality and temperament, including mental "fitness."



Scott Nearing, author of *The Super Race*, 1912.



The title page of More's *UnControlled Breeding*, 1917.

Treatise on Phrenology and Advertisements, *Loma; A Citizen of Venus*, by William Windsor. St. Paul: Windsor & Lewis Publishing Co., 1897.

Included is an illustration of a phrenometrical survey performed by Windsor's assistants, as well as various advertisements for books, pamphlets, and other materials dealing with phrenology and eugenics.

Francis Galton, Essays in Eugenics. London: The Eugenics Education Society, 1909.

During the last decade of his life, Galton devoted much of his energy to the improvement of the human race through eugenics. He wrote several supportive essays, the most significant of which were collected and published as this book.

William Erskine Kellicot, The Social Direction of Human Evolution: An Outline of the Science of Eugenics. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1911.

This volume consists of three lectures on eugenics that were delivered at Oberlin College in April of 1910.

Scott Nearing, The Super Race. New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1912.

Nearing's book focuses primarily on both positive and negative eugenics.

T. W. Shannon, Nature's Secrets Revealed: Scientific Knowledge of the Laws of Sex Life and Heredity, or Eugenics. Marietta, OH: S. A. Mullikin Company, 1914.

This book combines the theories of eugenics with practical advice on proper behavior by young men and women, stressing the importance of "moral training."

John Williams Jones, The Greatest Problem of the Race—Its Own Conservation. Columbus: Ohio Board of Administration, 1917.

Written by Jones largely during the time he served as superintendent of the State School for the Deaf in Columbus, this book documents his visits to numerous state hospitals throughout Ohio. Published by a state agency, the book seeks to bring to the attention of all Ohioans the problems resulting from the reproduction of mental "defectives."

Thirteenth Annual Report of the Oxford Retreat. Cincinnati: 1896.

Located in Oxford, Ohio, the Oxford Retreat was a private hospital incorporated under state law to treat mental illness. This report, by Dr. G. F. Cook, physician in charge, includes a section entitled "The First Law of Heredity is the Law of Inheritance." In it, the doctor outlines how mental illness is passed down through parents.

First Biennial Report of the Ohio Hospital for Epileptics at Gallipolis. Springfield, OH: 1909.

The state institution in Gallipolis was the only one specifically created to treat epileptics, although they were included in the populations of all of the state hospitals. In this report by Superintendent William H. Pritchard, he states that the "epileptic should be segregated from society. He should not be permitted to marry."

Adelyne More, Uncontrolled Breeding, or: Fecundity Versus Civilization. New York: Critic and Guide Co., 1917.

Focusing primarily on pre-World War I Germany, More's book advocated birth control for numerous reasons: as a means for women to achieve true independence, to reduce infant mortality, to liberate parents from the burden of raising large families, to decrease abortion and venereal disease, and to prevent wars fought to expand countries' territory.

Norman Haire, "Sterilization of the Unfit," and Margaret Sanger, "The Morality of Birth Control." The Birth Control Review (6:2) February, 1922.

Founded and edited by Margaret Sanger in 1917, *The Birth Control Review* was "dedicated to the principle of intelligent and voluntary motherhood." As the official organ of the American Birth Control League, the *Review* contains updates on the birth control movement, political cartoons, book reviews, poetry, letters to the editor (including those with opposing viewpoints), and several speeches by Sanger. Also included is an article by Haire advocating the sterilization of disabled persons, especially the mentally ill.

Margaret Sanger, The Pivot of Civilization. New York: Brentano's Publishers, 1922.

In this book, Sanger argues against positive eugenics, which was a popular notion among her supporters. Although she believed that those with more obvious disabilities should be prevented from having children, she felt that it became increasingly difficult to determine who was unfit. Like Herbert Spencer, she felt that charity and philanthropy interfered with human progress by giving the poor an incentive to keep having children, points she also makes in this book.

Margaret Sanger, My Fight for Birth Control. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1931.

This book recounts Sanger's travels throughout the United States, Europe, and Asia and clearly illustrates her support of negative eugenics, especially after visiting some of the poorest cities and countries.

Hugh Gregory Gallagher, By Trust Betrayed: Patients, Physicians, and the License to Kill in the Third Reich. Arlington, VA: Vandamere Press, 1995.

Gallagher, a disabilities scholar and a polio survivor, wrote this history of the Nazi program to systematically kill physically and mentally disabled people. Materials used in his research are included in Gallagher's personal papers, MSS-185.

Sermon of Clemens August Graf von Galen, Bishop of Munster, from *Dokumente zur Euthanasie*, ed. Ernst Klee, Fisher Tagebuch Verlag, 1985. Hugh Gallagher Papers, MSS-185.

Known as the "Lion of Munster," Bishop von Galen was fearless in his criticism of the Nazi euthanasia programs. Although the authorities were well aware of his criticism, von Galen was never punished due to his great popularity and renown throughout Germany; it is said that even the Gestapo hesitated to arrest him. This is the text of a sermon von Galen delivered to his congregation in 1941 after writing a letter to the district attorney of Munster informing the official of the euthanasia program.







CHAPTER 5. THE DISABLING DISEASE—POLIO

"Last May—a year after the onset of my polio—I was unable to care for myself in any way. During my 8 months [at Providence Hospital] I was taught physical independence. An ability to take care of oneself by oneself is one of the greatest gifts man has. Its loss is one of man's greatest tragedies."

—Polio survivor Hugh Gregory Gallagher, 1954.

oliomyelitis is an intestinal infection spread through contact with fecal waste. Symptoms are usually slight, if noticeable at all. It is only when the virus enters the brain stem and nervous system that it becomes a dreaded disease with long-term consequences. It destroys the ability of the nerves to control the body's muscles, resulting in paralysis which can be permanent. In the most severe cases, it can immobilize the muscles that control breathing, causing death.

Commonly known as "polio" or "infantile paralysis," epidemics of the disease occurred regularly in the United States in the 19th and 20th centuries. Polio generally affected children and adolescents, particularly the upper and middle classes and those living in rural areas. The first recorded epidemic in the United States happened in Vermont in 1894. A severe epidemic in 1916 affected 27,000 people nationwide. In Toledo, the first major outbreak of polio was in 1935 at the height of the Great Depression. But it was two major outbreaks in 1946 and 1952 that defined the country's deep fear of the disease. In 1946, 25,000 people contracted polio, and in 1952, 58,000. The 1952 epidemic, the worst in the nation's history, permanently paralyzed 21,000 and killed 3000. Between 1949 and 1952, the Toledo Contagious Disease Hospital treated 468 cases of polio in the city, with 33 deaths. During the crisis, the polio ward at the hospital was greatly understaffed because volunteers stopped reporting for work due to fear of contracting the disease. In 1953, another 250 cases were reported in Toledo.

Treatments for polio were few. The iron lung, a device invented in 1928, was used to keep alive those patients whose lungs could no longer breathe on their own. The machine was terrifying, both for those who were forced to live in it, and for those with loved ones who were forced into it. The patient was placed in the machine, which encased the body from the neck down, and a vacuum created within the machine forced air in and out of the lungs. Any breach in electrical supply could mean death. As awful as the machine was, it kept many patients alive, and allowed muscles time to recover so that the patient could eventually be removed from the iron lung.



Sister Elizabeth Kenny, who advocated the use of hot packs for those with polio, 1944.

Methods for dealing with paralyzed and weakened limbs were debated. Many orthopedic surgeons believed the best way to treat limbs was to immobilize the muscles and joints with splints and casts. In 1940, Sister Elizabeth Kenny arrived in the United States from Australia, touting an entirely different form of treatment. Kenny, who claimed to be a nurse (hence the title "sister") was not. She was, however, experienced in helping polio sufferers in the outback of her native country, and she found that applying hot packs to limbs and gently exercising the muscles was far better than immobilization. Her treatment involved wool blankets cut into small strips to fit tiny arms and legs and boiled twice in hot water and then wrung out. The hot packs were applied to the limbs (but not the joints) and reapplied every two hours. Kenny claimed remarkable "cures" using her technique, stating that she could restore movement in paralyzed arms and legs, and could make the afflicted walk again. Her self promotion and her battle against the medical establishment eventually led her to leave the United States on less-than-amicable terms. In 1941, however, the *Journal of thea American Medical Association* released the results of a careful study of her method, and agreed that Kenny's hot packs were better than immobilization.

The experience of Hugh Gregory Gallagher was typical of the ferocity in which polio struck. In the spring of 1952, Gallagher was 19 years old and a student at Haverford College. One day in May, he woke with a backache and stiff neck, and soon he was in intense pain. Gallagher found it difficult to walk to class, and spent the next night at the infirmary as pain wracked his body. Within 24 hours, he could no longer walk. When his lungs began to fail, he was quickly whisked to an iron lung, where he stayed for six weeks. Within one week's time, Gallagher had gone from being a typical, vigorous college student to a patient on the verge of death. It was perhaps this swiftness of polio that made it such a feared disease.

While Gallagher eventually recovered enough to be removed from the iron lung, he was never able to walk again. He recorded his thoughts about the disease in a diary that he wrote in by attaching a pencil to his fingers with a rubber band. While the diary covered only a brief period of his life, Gallagher's vivid insights about how his life had changed because of polio are riveting. "I am not sure how to describe the progression of unmovement. There is no sensation, no cessation, or on-start of pain. It is just something you sense is happening. You can watch it, or rather follow it, by flexing your muscles in the area of paralysis. Ah, you say, up to here, to here, and to here. To one who is aware of what is happening, as I was not, there must be a dreadful sense of finality about it. It is the silent ending of life in a living body," Gallagher wrote in 1954 about his first days with polio. He sought to

accept his permanent paralysis, but found it difficult. "What I am after is a genuine, real serenity of will and spirit. An ability to accept any happening or adversity with a calmness and a 'peace of mind.' I'm living through a pretty severe test of this now, but no worse a one than many others have lived through." Eventually, the reality became more than he could cope with, and Gallagher suffered from deep depression about his disease and its consequences which he later described in his book *Black Bird Fly Away: Disabled in an Able-Bodied World*.

The Most Famous Polio Victim

While thousands of Americans contracted polio, it was the plight of one person that eventually led to research for a vaccine. Franklin Delano Roosevelt was born to a wealthy family in upstate New York in 1882. An only child, his mother protected and sheltered him. Through his family connections, he entered public service. In 1910, he was elected to the New York Senate, and President Woodrow Wilson appointed him assistant secretary of the Navy in 1914. He was quickly following the same path that his distant cousin, Theodore, had blazed



President Franklin Roosevelt. Of the 35,000 photographs taken of Roosevelt as president, only two show him in a wheelchair.

in becoming president of the United States. But in 1921, at the age of 39, Roosevelt was suddenly struck by polio during a vacation at his summer home in Campobello, off the coast of Maine. Sensitive to his position and his desire to have a career in politics, his family acknowledged that he had polio, but kept the press at a distance, stating that he was on the road to a complete recovery.

Roosevelt heard of a vacation resort in Warm Springs, Georgia, where naturally heated water with high mineral content increased buoyancy. He traveled to the resort in the middle of rural Georgia in 1924, and was quickly impressed by his ability to move freely in the spring water. He believed the exercises he did there could restore his ability to walk again. He was so impressed that he bought the run-down resort for \$200,000 (nearly two-thirds of his personal fortune) over the objections of his wife and mother. Soon, other polio sufferers heard of the facility, and began to flock to Warm Springs. Doctors and physical therapists were

drawn there by Roosevelt, and it became a major treatment center for those with polio. It was much more than a treatment center though—in was home for those who sought help there. As the *New York Times* reported in an article in 1930, "the most beneficial feature of the resort was being able to talk to other people who had the same problems to meet and overcome."

Medical Bailding, Georgia Warm Springs Foundation, Warm Springs, Ga.

Postcard of the Medical Building at Warm Springs, Georgia, ca. 1955.

Despite access to the best treatments available for the day, Roosevelt was never able to walk again without assistance. The disease did not, however, stop his political career. Roosevelt learned to lock both legs in braces, and by leaning on the strong arm of his son, he could swing his legs from his hips, placing one in front of the other. By doing so, he could deceive many to believe that his time at Warm Springs had indeed "cured" him. The press cooperated, and of the 35,000 photographs taken of Roosevelt after contracting polio, only two show him in a wheelchair.

Hugh Gallagher, who would also seek treatment for his polio at Warm Springs, realized years later what most biographers of the president did not—that polio would have been the defining experience in Roosevelt's life, and impacted every aspect of it. It was not a disease that he fought and beat, but rather something he struggled with every moment of every day. Gallagher called Roosevelt's ability to hide the severity of his polio his "splendid deception." Gallagher's analysis of the impact of polio on the president became the basis for his critically acclaimed book published in 1985, *FDR's Splendid Deception*. Roosevelt died at Warm Springs on April 12, 1945.

A National March to End Polio

To fund the treatment of polio survivors both at Warm Springs and locally throughout the country, in 1938 President Roosevelt created the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis. His friend Basil O'Connor was put in charge of fundraising for the foundation. O'Connor organized national parties on the president's birthday which raised millions for the foundation. He also used Hollywood celebrities like Eddie Cantor to raise money. The foundation became the largest voluntary health organization of all time, thanks to O'Connor's efforts.

Most polio survivors could not afford to come to Warm Springs for treatment, and suffered at home. The foundation's local chapters became a means by which those with polio were identified and helped. Between 1938 and 1955, the National Infantile Paralysis Foundation spent \$233 million on individual patient care. While the

birthday parties in the president's name continued to raise money, O'Connor realized that it was important to divorce the foundation from the president, and he created the March of Dimes as a fundraising tool for the foundation. School children collected millions of dimes in their classrooms, and suburban housewives were called upon to collect dimes from their neighborhoods to help fight the disease. As polio historian David Oshinsky stated in his book *Polio: An American Story*, "The portrait of mothers marching against polio became one of the indelible images of postwar America." Between 1950 and 1955, the March of Dimes raised \$250 million.

In 1950, Susan Richards was sent to Warm Springs at the age of eleven. Born in Toledo, she contracted polio in 1941 at one and a half years of age. Her father was in the broadcasting business, and at that time was general manager for WSPD radio. Because he was frequently gone, the care of Richards was left to her mother. The family moved often, eventually settling in Washington, D.C. Richards could walk, but had an atrophied leg and a deformed foot which her doctor believed could be corrected at Warm Springs. For two years, she lived at Warm Springs with many other children, most of them with more serious conditions as a result of the disease. She developed close friendships, and "came of age" at the facility. Her remembrance of her two years was later published in her book *Warm Springs: Traces of a Childhood at FDR's Polio Haven*.

Gallagher also found his time at Warm Springs to be one of relative happiness. "As it turned out, Warm Springs was the best thing that ever happened to me," he stated in his autobiography. "Before Warm Springs, I had feared that I would be forced to lead the life of a lonely cripple. At Warm Springs, I found that I could have fun again. Just because I used a wheelchair did not mean I was unable to do things, go places, exert my personality, stretch my intelligence, or use my sex appeal." One of the activities that Gallagher participated in was serving as co-editor in 1953 of *The Wheelchair Review*, a bimonthly newsletter of the Warm Springs patients. Among the news noted in the November 21, 1953, issue was that two former patients were attending college at the University of Toledo.

The Race for a Vaccine

While continuing to fund individual patient care, the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis turned its attention in the 1940s to finding a vaccine that would protect against polio. The task was daunting. First, they would need to determine how many different types of polio virus existed. Then, a safe supply of each type would

need to be identified to maintain the research. Finally, in order to figure out how to stop the virus, the researchers would need to discover how the virus traveled through the body.

Between 1949 and 1951, three distinct types of viruses were discovered. Two dueling research laboratories fought to see which would be the first to develop a safe vaccine. In 1954, Jonas Salk won the race by developing a killed virus vaccine that was successfully tried on 600,000 children. Even though Salk was the first, the live virus vaccine of Albert Sabin marketed in 1962 became the vaccine most widely accepted by the medical profession. While Sabin was the hero of the scientific community for his vaccine, Salk was the hero of the people for being the first to develop a way to end the dreaded disease.

In Toledo, getting access to the Salk vaccine in the first years of its existence proved difficult, and supply did not meet demand. In 1955, Toledo received 20 percent of the Salk vaccine—some 12,000 doses—available in Ohio. To make the doses last longer, it was decided to delay booster shots in favor of giving as many as possible their first shot. A bus load of first and second grade students from Birmingham School were the first to be vaccinated at the Health Department on April 22, 1955.

In 1962, the Academy of Medicine of Toledo and Lucas County and the Toledo Academy of Pharmacy started Project EPIC—"eradicate polio in the community." This was the first mass immunization program in Toledo's history. Using the Sabin Type III oral vaccine, more than 300,000 children and adults were vaccinated that year, but this was not without some fear. Nationally, the Type III vaccine resulted in a small number of polio cases. The Academy of Medicine questioned whether to go forward, but did so, switching to the Type II Sabin vaccine which it provided to over 900,000 people in northwest Ohio.



Postcard of the Opportunity Home on Central Avenue, ca. 1940.

The Opportunity Home

When it came to caring for Toledo polio patients, once again the Toledo Rotary and the Toledo Society for Crippled Children led the way. In 1925, the society received \$50,000 from the estate of glass executive Edward Drummond Libbey for the purpose of creating a convalescent hospital or home for disabled children needing long-term care. The society established a committee to study the need for such a home and how it might operate. In 1930, the society leased the former Old Ladies' Home at Central and Collingwood for five years at the cost of \$150 a month to serve as the first children's convalescent center. The Toledo Rotary agreed to pay \$3000 to cover the

operating deficit for the home in its first year. Between 1931 and 1934, 37 percent of the patients were polio survivors.

In May 1935, the Toledo Society for Crippled Children began discussing the possibility of constructing a new facility for children because the Old Ladies' Home was inadequate. The large number of polio cases was overwhelming the home, which also operated a school for the residents. Toledo Public Schools gave the society land on Central Avenue to build the new facility, which was constructed at the cost of \$300,000 in 1937. On its opening day in 1938, over 30,000 people toured the facility.

In 1939, the name of the facility changed from the Crippled Children's Home to the Opportunity Home at the suggestion of the society's publicity committee. "It was the opinion that the name 'Opportunity Home' better expresses the opportunity we wish to exist for the children than any other name submitted," the directors noted in the society's minutes.

While the Opportunity Home provided long-term care to hundreds of Toledo children stricken

with polio, the realization that a vaccine could wipe out the disease became clear to the directors as early as 1950. Since the home specialized in the care of those with polio, the end of the disease would necessitate a change in focus. In March of that year, the president of the Toledo Society for Crippled Children authorized the board to articulate the requirements necessary for the Opportunity Home to become a full-fledged children's hospital that would treat all childhood aliments. Before that change occurred, however, the Opportunity Home had to deal with the polio epidemic of 1952. That year, the home had its most rapid increase in patient load in its history. A group of polio emergency volunteers were called upon to assist.

In 1955, with Salk's vaccine successfully tested, the Toledo Society for Crippled Children agreed to change the name and mission of the Opportunity Home to the Children's Hospital of Toledo. The society continued to operate the hospital. Within two years, the number of polio cases dropped to 24, one of the lowest levels since the institution was created.



A nurse provides therapy to a child with polio at the Opportunity Home, ca. 1940.

Splints were often used to immobilize the muscles of children with polio, as seen in this photograph from the Opportunity Home, ca. 1940.



Children at the Opportunit Home, ca. 1950.

While it had changed its mission to move away from treating polio patients, the hospital still struggled to survive. In 1963, realizing it was no longer viable, the board of the Toledo Society for Crippled Children agreed to sell the hospital to the Diocese of Toledo, and it became St. Anthony's Villa, an orphanage.

With the sale of the hospital, the Toledo Society for Crippled Children returned to matters of assisting disabled children. One of the society's concerns was the lack of pre-school programs for disabled children because the Feilbach School had none. In 1965, the society opened Opportunity Kindergarten in the former Libbey mansion at the corner of Woodruff and Scottwood in Toledo's Old West End to help these children. That school operated until 1973, when the Feilbach School began a pre-school program, and the Opportunity Kindergarten closed its doors. With the demise of its last institution, the Toledo Society for Crippled Children began to question the future direction of the organization.

Fundraising letter for the Toledo Society for Crippled Children, December 6, 1929. Toledo Rotary Club Records, MSS-145.

This letter outlines the society's goals for a proposed new convalescent center. "The establishment of such a home will not conflict in any way with the wonderful cooperation offered by the various hospitals in the medical and surgical care of crippled children, nor detract from the educational work carried on by the Board of Education through the Charles Feilbach School for Crippled Children. It will, however, make more effective the treatment given in hospitals and will return to the schoolroom a stronger and more perfect body for education."

Minutes of the Toledo Society for Crippled Children, 1930. Ability Center of Toledo Records, MSS-190.

These minutes record the Board of Trustees' decision to lease the Old Ladies' Home for use as a convalescent home for the long-term care of disabled children in Toledo.

Superintendent's Report, Toledo Society for Crippled Children, December 31, 1936. MSS-190.

This report summarizes the cases dealt with by the convalescent center since its opening. Note that nearly a third of all cases were related to polio.

President's Report, Toledo Society for Crippled Children, February 8, 1938. MSS-190.

President George Shepard remarked on the culmination of the group's efforts to build a new convalescent facility. To answer those who worried about how the society would pay for the operation of the new home, Shepard states, "May I point out, however, the Toledo Society for Crippled Children is a corporation not for profit and while the expenses must be kept within the range of sound operation, without extravagances or unwise expenditures of any kind, that in the last analysis—we will gauge our profit by the measuring rod of 'how many crippled kiddies did we help and did we do a good job?'"

Elizabeth Kenny, And They Shall Walk: The Life Story of Sister Elizabeth Kenny. Written in collaboration with Martha Ostenso. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1944.

This book tells the life story of the woman who developed a new method for treating polio patients that involved applying hot packs and exercising the muscles. A ceaseless self-promoter, Kenny describes in the book how she stood up to the medical establishment in promoting her method.



Learning to walk again after polio at the Opportunity Home, ca. 1950.



A picnic at the Opportunity Home, ca. 1950.

Wallace H. Cole, John F. Pohl, and Miland Knapp, The Kenny Method of Treatment for Infantile Paralysis. New York: The National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, 1942.

This report by three physicians expresses support for Kenny's hot packs method, and describes the treatment in simplified terms, although it warns that the treatments should only be given by highly specialized technicians.

Hugh Gregory Gallagher diary, 1953. Hugh Gallagher Papers, MSS-185.

In this diary, recorded the year after Gallagher contracted polio, he expresses his thoughts on the crippling disease. His insights are both highly personal and universal. He speaks on the pain of losing his independence, and how people now look at him with pity. He also talks about his impending departure for Warm Springs, Georgia, and how he hopes this rehabilitation



Advertisement for wheelchairs of the Gendron Company of Toledo, 1928. Due to the polio epidemic, the company sold many childsized chairs.

will reduce the burden he has placed on his family. "My going down to Warm Springs will give my family—especially my mother—a much needed but un-admitted rest. They have been really attentive and loyal. I must gain independence, for their sake as well as mine," Gallagher wrote in April, 1953.

Gallagher letters from Warm Springs, 1953-1954. MSS-185.

These letters, written to his parents, reveal much about how Gallagher was both coping with and rebelling against his disability. His letter to his mother is particularly pointed, and he argues that on his return home, he has no intention of going to health clinics for his physical therapy. "I want [parallel] bars at home. At home. At home. Of course the Government Crippled Children's Center has some and so does some other G.D. clinic and gym. But I'll be damned if I'll go to one twice a day or any time I want to stand up." Another letter describes a visit to Warm Springs by Eleanor Roosevelt. The only patient Roosevelt met with was Gallagher. "Well she made a point of stopping, meeting me. She was gracious and interested and I was captured by her charm."

Wheelchair Review, Volume 7, No. 16, November 21, 1953.

Co-edited by Gallagher, this newsletter for residents of Warm Springs included news about activities at the center. The newsletter highlights the ways in which the residents became a close-knit community.

Susan Richards Shreve, Warm Springs: Traces of a Childhood at FDR's Polio Haven. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2007.

This book, by Toledo native Susan Richards Shreve, describes her "coming of age" at Warm Springs. It is based upon an autobiographical novel written by her at the age of 18 called "Wooden and Wicker," a description of the wheelchairs used at Warm Springs at the time.

Gendron Company wheelchair and catalogs, 1928-1958. Catalogs on loan from Gendron, Inc., Bryan, Ohio.

The Gendron Wheel Company was founded in Toledo in 1872 by Peter Gendron. The company produced a wheel with wire spokes that was used in baby carriages, bicycles, pedal cars, and wheelchairs. The wheelchairs, while heavy and cumbersome by today's standards, greatly improved the mobility of the disabled around the world. The company moved to Perrysburg in 1941, to Archbold in 1959, and is currently headquartered in Bryan, Ohio. These catalogs show how the Gendron wheelchairs evolved over time.

Basil O'Conner, "Nothing Could Conquer Him," 1945.

This is the text of the speech delivered by O'Connor, the chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Georgia Warm Springs Foundation and friend of Roosevelt, on the occasion of the first day issue of a stamp honoring the "Little White House," Roosevelt's home at Warm Springs, where he died in April 1945.

THE GENDRON WHEEL COMPANY TOLEDO, OHIO Catalog for wheelchairs of the Gendron

Catalog for wheelchairs of the Gendro Wheel Company of Toledo, 1937.

Jean Gould, A Good Fight: The Story of FDR's Conquest of Polio. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1960. The Jean Gould Papers, MSS-014.

Jean Gould, a graduate of the University of Toledo, wrote this biography of Roosevelt's struggle with polio. Typical of the biographies of its time, it deals with the polio issue as something that Roosevelt endured, but triumphed over. Gould corresponded with both Eleanor Roosevelt and Roosevelt's son, James, in researching the book.

Roosevelt Album: Highlights in the Life and Work of the 32nd President of the United States. Edited by A. J. Ezickson. New York: Knickerbocker Publishing Company, New York, 1945.

This photograph album, published to mark Roosevelt's death, notes his work in helping to establish the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis.

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Hugh Gallagher, who led the fight to have President Franklin Roosevelt portrayed in a wheelchair at the FDR Memorial, with First Lady Hillary Clinton before the dedication ceremony, 1997.

Hugh Gregory Gallagher, FDR's Splendid Deception: The Moving Story of Roosevelt's Massive Disability—and the Intense Efforts to Conceal it from the Public. FDR Memorial Edition. Arlington, VA: Vandamere Press, 1999.

Gallagher's book was a milestone in Roosevelt historiography. While some in the disability community fault Roosevelt for hiding his disability, Gallagher believed that Roosevelt never could have been elected president if he had presented himself as anything but a strong and virile man.

Hugh Gregory Gallagher, Nothing to Fear: FDR in Photographs. Clearwater, FL: Vandamere Press, 2001.

Gallagher's last book depicts Roosevelt's life through photographs. Only two of the tens of thousands of photographs taken of Roosevelt show him in a wheelchair.

President Bill Clinton, speech on the dedication of the Roosevelt Memorial, West Potomac Park, May 2, 1997. MSS-185.

Gallagher and the National Organization on Disability led the fight to have Roosevelt depicted in a wheelchair at his memorial in Washington. Those who opposed this characterization of the president

pointed out that Roosevelt went to great lengths to hide his disability during his lifetime, and would not want his memorial to reflect what he tried to hide. Gallagher and the disability advocates disagreed, stating that Roosevelt was never ashamed of his disability. Gallagher's argument won, and a wheelchair-seated Roosevelt was later added to the memorial. This speech, delivered by President Clinton at the dedication ceremony, was autographed for Gallagher and given to him by the president in recognition of Gallagher's efforts to depict Roosevelt as he was.





Josina Lott at the sheltered workshop she founded.



CHAPTER 6. CUSTODIAL INSTITUTIONS TO COMMUNITY CARE—ASSISTING DEVELOPMENTALLY DISABLED PEOPLE

"Idiots and imbeciles as a group, though presenting certain characteristic peculiarities, properly belong to the great generic class of insane persons, the mentally deranged, and the mentally infirm; and though idiocy is, for the most part congenital, it properly includes a large number of persons who are feeble-minded from the effects of disease occurring in infancy and early childhood, before the age at which mental development is usually seen."

—R. J. Patterson, superintendent, Ohio State Asylum for the Education of Idiotic and Imbecile Youth, 1861.



he way in which American society has treated developmentally disabled people has come full circle. In the colonial era, the developmentally disabled were cared for by families in their communities, and were generally not an object of scorn or fear like the mentally ill. Rather, the popular view was that of the "village idiot," and they were idealized by Romantic America

as children of nature, pure in their innocence and possessing unique knowledge. This was not to last long. In the 1830s, society began to embrace the belief that the best way to treat such people was to institutionalize them outside of their communities and away from others.

As with the care of blind and deaf people, the emphasis of these early institutions was on education. Those who sought to educate developmentally disabled persons were influenced by the theories of Edouard Seguin of France. Seguin believed that the developmentally disabled could be educated by exciting their will and training their senses. Seguin's writings convinced Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe (who would later marry Julia Ward Howe, author of "The Battle Hymn of the Republic") to admit three "mental deficients" into his school for the blind in Boston, and Howe had some success in educating the children. Like his friend Dorothea Dix, Howe also visited institutions like almshouses where developmentally disabled people were being kept, and found their treatment disturbing. Impressed by Howe's achievements and shocked by the conditions he described, in 1848 the Massachusetts legislature appropriated \$2500 per year for three years to fund the Experimental School for Teaching and Training Idiotic Children. Howe was appointed superintendent of the school.

The early institutions focused on teaching vocational skills so that the developmentally disabled might return to their homes and find employment to become self-sufficient. The goal was to keep feeble-minded youth from becoming feeble-minded adults. But many of the children were severely disabled, and vocational rehabilitation was unsuccessful for these children. Schools began to separate their residents into two groups: those who were trainable, and those who were not. Long-term custodial care quickly became the norm.

At the turn of the century, another issue of concern to the states providing such care was the rapidly increasing populations of the institutions. Eugenicists, who believed that mental retardation was an inherited characteristic, argued that housing children in such institutions helped to ensure that girls and boys were kept separate, and would not reproduce. Many states (but not Ohio) enacted mandatory sterilization laws for developmentally disabled people to further control their population.

Institutionalization and life-long care continued as the generally accepted method for treating the developmentally disabled until after World War II, when a series of high-profile exposés revealed the poor quality of care provided to the residents of many state-supported institutions. At the same time, several well-known celebrities publically confessed their struggles in raising their developmentally disabled children. The first "parent confession" was by Pearl S. Buck, who published her book *The Child Who Never Grew* in 1950. Buck told the story of her daughter, Carol, and the difficulties she had finding appropriate care for her in institutions. Buck's book signaled that there was no longer shame in having a developmentally disabled child. This was followed three years later with Angel Unaware by Dale Evans, the story of the only child of Evans and her husband, Roy Rogers. The book was poignant, as it told the story of her "Mongoloid" daughter who died at the age of two from the perspective of the child in heaven. Evans was even more blunt than Buck in her discussion of the way society treated developmentally disabled people by putting them in institutions, which Evans concluded was so that they would not have to see them. Evans donated the royalties of her book to a new national organization called the National Association for Retarded Children, whose membership consisted mostly of parents of developmentally disabled children.

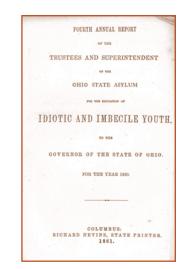
Perhaps the most prominent family to deal with the issue of mental retardation was the Kennedy family. Rosemary Kennedy, sister of President John F. Kennedy, was born in 1918 and diagnosed as mildly retarded. As she matured, she became occasionally violent and difficult to control, and the family followed their doctor's advice for a lobotomy, which was performed on Rosemary at the age of 23. The result of the operation was devastating—her mild retardation became severe. The Kennedy family became major financial supporters of efforts to assist developmentally disabled children because of Rosemary's experience. Eunice Kennedy Shriver, sister of Rosemary, started a special camp in 1962 for the developmentally disabled in Maryland. The camp inspired others, and over 300 camps modeled after Camp Shriver eventually were founded. One of these was Camp Courageous in Lucas County, created in 1963 by several parents of developmentally disabled children who were members of the Lucas County Association for Retarded Children. The idea of a national athletic competition for the developmentally disabled grew out of Shriver's camps. The Special Olympics, funded by the Joseph P. Kennedy Jr. Foundation, held its first competition in Chicago in 1968, and today it involves over 2.5 million developmentally disabled persons.

By the 1960s, large state-run institutions began to wane. The education and care for developmentally disabled children returned to the local level, with public schools and non-profit organizations providing the services. As the life expectancies of the developmentally disabled have increased with better medical care in the past few decades, how to care for disabled adults who outlive their parents has become an issue for those who provide services.

The Ohio State Asylum for the Education of Idiotic and Imbecile Youth

On April 17, 1857, the state legislature established the "Ohio State Asylum for the Education of Idiotic and Imbecile Youth." The institution opened with nine pupils in a rented building in Columbus. After the first two years, the number of pupils averaged between forty and fifty. Within the first 30 years, the institution grew to house over 600 children when, in 1881, a fire destroyed the main buildings. Fortunately, the fire was put under control "without loss of life, or even injury, to any of the inmates, officers or employees." But the fire added to the overcrowding, as only 100 children could be sent home, and the rest were consolidated into the buildings which escaped destruction until new facilities could be occupied in 1884.

By 1900, the number of those living at the school reached 1100. The school was the first to experiment with detached cottages that segregated higher functioning children from those who were lower functioning. While the institution divided its population into two groups, its stated mission remained education. The school was promoted to the Ohio legislature as providing education so each pupil could develop "such industrial power as they possess... in their own support." Male students were trained in gardening and agriculture on a farm purchased by the school,



The annual report of the Ohio State Asylum for the Education of Idiotic and Imbecile Youth, 1861



Groundbreaking for the Larc Lane School, 1962.

and females were taught domestic skills. But also noted in 1900 was the addition of new buildings to accommodate 400 of each sex who were received only custodial care. Those in charge of the school also recognized "the duty of providing against the increase of this unfortunate class, by placing them under such restrictions as will prevent the multiplying of their kind."

Josina Lott and the Developmentally Disabled Children of Toledo

In 1938, Josina Jones Lott moved from Michigan with her husband and son to the Old West End neighborhood of Toledo, where she was disturbed to find the public schools turning away children with severe learning disabilities. That September, Lott began what she called her "experiment" to prove there are no "uneducable children" by starting a day school in her upstairs Whitney Avenue apartment. She began teaching a basic first grade curriculum to one girl who had cerebral palsy, and by the end of the first year the child had mastered skills in reading, writing, and arithmetic. One child became four children, and before long she had fifteen students.

Lott sought local educational opportunities as opposed to state institutional care for her students. More

parents asked Lott to teach their children, and she moved her class of fifty students to the basement of Rosewood Presbyterian Church in 1940. She set up her educational program to conform to academic standards of the Board of Education, but stressed speech, art, and music, with tuition at five dollars a week. In those days when "these children were kept out of sight when company came," Lott recollected that she was lucky to have one parent attend the school's programs when invited to do so.

After receiving help from the Toledo Board of Education and the Chamber of Commerce, the Lott Day School, a not-for-profit corporation, formed in 1945 and moved to a building at Kelsey and Heffner streets. Seeing another unmet need, some time after moving into the new school Lott asked the school auxiliary for \$170 to open a sheltered workshop to employ students who had matured but could not find work. In doing so, she cre-



The headquarters of the Lucas County Board of Mental Retardation (established in 1967) on Collingwood Avenue in Toledo.

ated one of the first non-institutionalized programs in the nation providing vocational training for developmentally disabled people. The goal of the workshop was to train young adults in skills that would allow them to become independent.

In 1950, the Lucas County Association for Retarded Children was created by parents as an advocate group for the developmentally disabled in the county. In 1955, Lott's sheltered workshop program—officially called the Sheltered Workshop Foundation of Toledo at first, but later changed to Lott Industries—incorporated, and was located next to the Lott Day School. In 1957, Lucas County taxpayers approved a levy to support the school and workshop, and the Lucas County Child Welfare Board took over financial control of the Lott Day School. With county support, services for developmentally disabled children expanded, including the opening of Tracy School in 1961 (which later became the Jay Shuer School) in a former Toledo Public School building and the construction of the Larc Lane School a year later. Coordination of the many programs was turned over to a new organization, the Lucas County Board of Mental Retardation, in 1967.

RETARDED CHILDREN **NEED YOUR HELP** VOTE YES NOV. 5

CITIZENS' COMMITTEE FOR RETARDED CHILDREN

Advertisement in support of a tax levy to support services for developmentally disabled children, 1968.

As federal law changed in 1975 to require that all children have access to public education, the desire of parents for segregated education for the developmentally disabled declined, with children moving from Larc Lane and Jay Shuer into the public school system. As a result, the two schools closed. Lott Industries is now a private, notfor-profit corporation that serves about 1200 people in Toledo, providing employment, therapy, and recreation.

Josina Lott died in 1972 at the age of 74.

In Wood County, programs for developmentally disabled children were also an outgrowth of the parents' movement. In 1955, the parents of 12 children met to discuss the need for a school for their children in the county. Because of the largely rural nature of the county, serving developmentally disabled children was even more difficult than it was in an urban area like Toledo. The first classes were held in Ridge School in Bowling Green in 1956. The school moved several times until 1972, when the new Wood Lane School opened. The school, operated by the Wood County Board of Mental Retardation and Developmental Disabilities, continues to offer educational programs for developmen-



Toledoan Jay Shuer, middle, with Congressman Lud Ashlev 1965. Shuer was active in the establishment in 1950 of the National Association of Parents and Friends of Mentally Retarded Children, and also active in the creation of the Lucas County parents' association.



Students in the first class for developmentally disabled children in Wood County, 1956. The classes were held in Ridge School, Bowling Green. (From the Wood County MRDD Board)

tally disabled children of the county, and also operates Wood Lane Industries, a sheltered workshop for adults.

Sunshine Children's Home

While Josina Lott sought to assist those with developmental disabilities who could learn academic and vocational skills, programs for severely disabled children of northwest Ohio were started by Roy and Georgette Engler. In 1931, when their twin daughters began school, the Englers were stunned when their teacher told them that the children were mentally retarded. Subsequent examination revealed that all five of their surviving children were developmentally disabled. For the Englers, institutionalization was out of the question, and alternative services for their children were either substandard or nonexistent.

In 1949, Georgette Engler's mother gave her two-story frame house and seven acres of farmland on Maumee Western Road in Maumee to the couple. The Engler family moved into the house, and a small single-story building was erected which would become the Sunshine Children's Home. The approach from the outset was "to provide loving care in a clean, home-like environment." Assisted by their own

children, the Englers operated the home (licensed by the State of Ohio in 1951) until 1952, when an advisory board was created to provide a more formal structure and Sunshine Children's Home was incorporated as a nonprofit organization "to provide care for Down syndrome [then referred to as "Mongoloid"], spastic, and mentally retarded children."

With materials donated by local building suppliers, volunteer construction workers added a second story in 1952 to the original building to provide living quarters for the Engler family so that they could provide 24-hour supervision of the children. This would be the first of several expansions provided by volunteer construction trades people. In 1954, the Englers attracted national attention for their unique home by appearing on the May 7 broadcast of the "Welcome Travelers" radio program. In September 1957, the *Maumee Valley News* reported that "a state building inspector, who recently paid a visit to Sunshine Chil-



A student at Wood Lane School, ca. 1972. (From the Wood County MRDD Board)

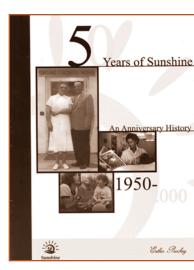
dren's Home, reported that after a thorough investigation that it was the only institution he had ever seen in which he could find no conditions to be improved."

In December 1959, women from the Central Mennonite Church in Archbold, Ohio, came to assist with mending clothes at the home. Soon members of other Mennonite churches in Fulton and Lucas Counties began visiting twice a month to help, and this tradition continues to the present day. By 1960, the Sunshine Children's Home had a capacity of around 100 children, but Roy Engler retired after forty years with the Wabash Railroad and Georgette was having health problems. On June 28, 1960, an agreement turned over ownership of Sunshine Children's Home to the Mennonite Board of Missions, with a 13-member board of trustees appointed to govern it. The agreement stipulated that a residence would be available to the Engler children as long as they lived, and that Sunshine would assist with their care if at all possible.

The Sunshine Children's Home continued to grow under the Mennonites' leadership. Thousands of Mennonite churches across Ohio and Indiana raised money for major projects, programs, equipment, and special events for residents through a popular bazaar and quilt auction which began in 1974. In 1978 (despite some resistance from neighbors) Sunshine opened its first group home, the Parkridge Lane Family Care Home. This was the first group home in Toledo for individuals with developmental disabilities, and the first of many to allow them to live in a community setting as independently as possible. In 1983, development of the Family Support Program began as a day care center for children on the grounds of Sunshine Children's Home, and eventually expanded to include family resource services, intervention services, community recreation, a respite house, as well as crisis intervention services.

By 1985, Sunshine began providing consulting services to the Association of Retarded Citizens of Fulton County and took over operation of its family care home. Two years later, Sunshine took over emergency operation of three family care homes based in Toledo. The board changed the name of the facility to Sunshine, Inc., in 1994 in recognition that while still serving children, the majority of individuals in the family care homes and supported living were now adults. From that time, the name "Sunshine Children's Home" referred specifically to the original facility on Maumee Western Road.

Roy Engler died in 1973, his wife Georgette in 1975, and their four remaining children by 1997.



50 Years of Sunshine: An Anniversary History 1950-2000, by Esther Preachley.



Bettye Ruth Kay, ca. 1980.

Bittersweet Farms and Autistic Adults

When Bettye Ruth Kay got a job in 1973 as a teacher in the first class for autistic children in Toledo Public Schools, she quickly learned that "we would not 'cure' my students' autism, so I talked with parents and professionals about what might be done to plan for these students' lives after they left school." In 1975, she visited England's Somerset Court, a community for autistic adults. That trip inspired her to help create the Autistic Community of Northwest Ohio in 1977 as a non-profit organization for the purpose of providing residential treatment for adults with autism. The following year, the group received a grant from the Ohio Department of Mental Retardation to purchase land and build a residence in northwest Ohio for autistic adults.

In the summer of 1981, the Bittersweet Farms Life Skills day program began as a one-year pilot program jointly funded by the Ohio Department of Agricultural Education and the Toledo Public Schools' Department of Adult Education on a newly-purchased 80-acre farm in Whitehouse, Ohio. The name "Bittersweet Farms" was selected because a wild bittersweet vine was found on the farm, but also in recognition of "the bitter-sweet lives of the autistic." Less than two years later, a 15-bed residential home was built, and Bittersweet Farms was licensed by the state as an intermediate care facility. It utilized activities such as animal husbandry, horticulture, woodworking, and gardening as therapy for the residents.

After only six years of operation, Bittersweet Farms encompassed seven buildings and had a staff of nearly 30 with an annual budget of \$1 million. Bettye Ruth Kay died in 1996, but the farm continues to offer a unique opportunity for autistic adults.

Zeigler Habilitation Homes

In addition to Sunshine and Bittersweet Farms, other residential programs in northwest Ohio serve the developmentally disabled. Zeigler Habilitation Homes was founded by Charlotte Zeigler in 1977, and a location on Vance Street in Toledo served as the organization's first group home. Charlotte Zeigler passed away in 2005, but her family continues her work helping persons with developmental disabilities and mental illness through its group homes.

Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Annual Reports of the Trustees and Superintendents of the Ohio State Asylum for the Education of Idiotic and Imbecile Youth, 1861-1863. Columbus: Richard Nevins, State Printer.

These reports, prepared for the governor and legislature, detail the services and programs of the state home, including how state funds were spent. In 1861, the superintendent made the case for why such a home was needed: "Nothing in human form, nothing in God's image, however imperfect and degraded, should be despised or neglected, and idiots, more than all else, need human sympathies and protection. They are part of us, in our households, and we may not even indulge the wish to ignore their presence, or banish them from our minds."



Carl Schmidt Motor Sales donated the use of a station wagon to the Wood County Association for Retarded Children in 1956.

The car provided transportation for students attending Ridge School.

(From the Wood County MRDD Board)

Pearl S. Buck, The Child Who Never Grew. New York: The John Day Company, 1950.

Originally an article published in *Ladies' Home Journal*, Buck's story was the first written by a well-known person about the difficulty of finding appropriate care for a developmentally disabled child. Buck's words were aimed at other parents in similar circumstances. "Parents may find comfort, I say, in knowing that their children are not useless, but that their lives, limited as they are, are of great potential value to the human race."

Dale Evans Rogers, *Angel Unaware*. Westwood, NJ: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1953.

Heartbreakingly told from the perspective of Evans's deceased child, this book helped to break down another barrier for parents of developmentally disabled children. If celebrities like Roy Rogers and Dale Evans were unafraid to discuss their disabled child, other parents need not feel ashamed.

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The original minutes of the first meeting of the board of trustees of the Sheltered Workshop Foundation of Lucas County, Inc., April 18, 1956. (From the Lucas County MRDD Board)



Groundbreaking for Wood Lane School, 1971. (From the Wood County MRDD Board)

Minutes, First Convention of the National Association for Parents and Friends of Mentally Retarded Children, 1950. Josina Jones Lott Papers, MSS-186.

Jay Shuer, who served on the board of the Lott School, attended the first meeting of the national organization for parents of the developmentally disabled, which later shortened its name to the National Association for Retarded Children. Shuer also helped to found the Lucas County association of parents. At the national convention, Alan Sampson, chair of the steering committee, noted the importance of the gathering: "This is a thrilling and auspicious occasion; another milestone, carved from travail and tears, and indomitable purpose, in the progress against intolerance, for understanding."

Minutes of the Board of Trustees of the Lott Sheltered Workshop Foundation of Lucas County, Inc., 1956-1958. On loan from the Lucas County Board of Mental Retardation and Developmental Disabilities.

This minute book documents the founding of Josina Lott's sheltered workshop, the first sheltered workshop for developmentally disabled persons that was not associated with a residential institution. In October of that year, the board decided to lend the workshop \$10,000 to be used for completing a new building. Members of the board were asked to personally underwrite the loan, which they did, with ten individuals loaning \$1000 each.

Scrapbooks and photographs, Wood Lane School, 1955-1978. On loan from the Wood County Board of Mental Retardation and Developmental Disabilities.

These scrapbooks document the founding and operations of educational programs for developmentally disabled children in Wood County. Included are photographs of the first class held in Ridge Elementary School in 1955, a station wagon donated to the school by Carl Schmidt of Perrysburg that was used to provide transportation that year, and the new school's groundbreaking in 1970. Also included is a parents' newsletter titled *Woody's Goodies*, which was published beginning in 1966.

Board of Trustees minutes, Bittersweet Farms, 1977. Bittersweet Farms Records, MSS-195.

These minutes document the founding of the Autistic Community of Northwest Ohio, the group that incorporated to provide residential treatment and therapy to autistic adults under the direction of Bettye Ruth Kay.

Bittersweet Farms residents' journals, 1983-1994. MSS-195.

These journals were used as therapy to help the residents of Bittersweet Farms. They record their daily activities and thoughts, and as such, give insight into the mind of the autistic.

Esther B. Peachey, 50 Years of Sunshine: An Anniversary History, 1950-2000. Maumee, OH: Sunshine Inc. of Northwest Ohio, 2000.

This illustrated history recounts how the Sunshine Children's Home was founded and developed during its first half-century.

96 FROM INSTITUTIONS TO INDEPENDENCE: A History of People with Disabilities in Northwest Ohio 97



A worker employed by Goodwill Industries of Toledo, ca. 1960. (From Goodwill Industries of Northwest Ohio, Inc.)

CHAPTER 7. "HIRE THE HANDICAPPED"—VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION FOR DISABLED PERSONS

"Promoting the employment of the handicapped involves two main activities: placing the disabled person in a suitable job, and educating the employer and the general public to the fact that the handicapped are employable."

—Shirley Roeger, a UT graduate student with cerebral palsy, 1962

ike World War I, World War II added hundreds of thousands of disabled persons to the country's population and fueled a desire to create opportunities so that they could become productive citizens. But the primary motivation for the "Hire the Handicapped" campaigns of the post-war era was not altruistic. Rather, proponents of vocational rehabilitation desired to move disabled people off social welfare and charity and into paying jobs where they could care for themselves. An outgrowth of this push for economic independence, however, was the desire of many disabled persons to be physically independent and achieve the same rights as the rest of society. In many ways, the vocational rehabilitation efforts that began in the post-war years helped to fuel what would become the disability rights movement of the 1970s and 1980s.

Even before the outbreak of World War II, the federal government pushed for employment opportunities for the disabled, particularly veterans. A National Conference on the Employment of the Handicapped in 1941 presented positive reasons for employers to hire disabled workers. The conference noted studies showing that disabled workers displayed less absenteeism and suffered fewer accidents on the job. Regardless, most employers continued to resist hiring disabled people, and the national conference confirmed what many disabled believed: the reason they were not hired was deeply rooted prejudice against them. One exception was the Ford Motor Company, where founder Henry Ford had a policy of non-restrictive employment, and the company employed nearly 2000 physically disabled persons in 1941. The labor shortage during World War II temporarily improved the employment outlook for disabled workers, as men who were judged by the military as "unfit" to serve were hired by war industries. For many companies, it was the first time that they had hired disabled workers.

With huge numbers of returning veterans permanently scarred by their war experience, in 1943 Congress passed the LaFollette-Barden Act which created advanced rehabilitation services for both veterans and civilians. The act established a cost share between the federal government and the states for rehabilitation programs, and



Goodwill Industries, located on North Huro in Toledo. The building was named the Morral Building in honor of William W. Morral, who donated \$10,000 to Goodwill in 1938. (From Goodwill Industries of Northwest Ohio, Inc.)

included for the first time services for physical and mental restoration in addition to vocational rehabilitation. The National Council on Rehabilitation expanded its definition of rehabilitation that year to state, "Rehabilitation is the restoration of the physically handicapped to the fullest physical, mental, social, vocational, and economic usefulness of which they are capable."

After the war, the issue of rehabilitation of the disabled became the interest of the highest level of government with the creation in 1947 of the President's Committee on the Employment of the Handicapped. The goal of the committee was to educate the public on the need to employ disabled people. One activity of the committee was to sponsor a yearly "Employ the Physically Handicapped Week," which was celebrated in Toledo for the first time that year.

The Korean War led to further expansion of vocational rehabilitation efforts by the federal government and the states. In 1954, President Eisenhower created the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, and increased the amount of money provided by the federal government to the states to 75 percent of the cost of rehabilitation. Eisenhower justified this expansion of the federal government's role and budget in this matter by stating, "We are spending three times as much in public assistance to care for non-productive disabled people as it would cost them to become self-sufficient and taxpaying members of their community. Rehabilitated people as a group pay back in federal income taxes many times the cost of their rehabilitation." The federal rehabilitation budget between

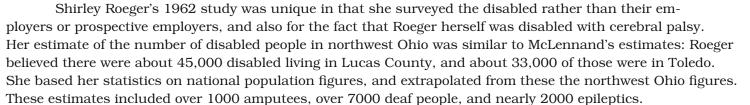
1950 and 1967 grew from \$20.5 million to \$500 million because of this expansion. In 1956, Congress offered assistance to those who were beyond rehabilitation by creating a safety net called Social Security Disability Insurance (SSDI). This program provided a federal cash benefit to workers who could no longer perform work because of a disability. With the creation of Medicare in 1965, those eligible for SSDI also received comprehensive health insurance.

Toledo's Efforts to Hire the Handicapped

Two studies of employers and the disabled conducted by University of Toledo graduate students in 1948 and 1962 reveal much about the successes (and failures) of northwest Ohio to assist disabled persons to find work. The first of these studies, undertaken by William McLennand just after World War II, surveyed employers' attitudes

toward hiring the disabled. The second, 14 years later, surveyed disabled people to gain their perspective on vocational rehabilitation.

McLennand's study estimated that in 1948 there were between 38,000 and 75,000 disabled people in northwest Ohio, and some 12 percent of all those seeking employment across the state were disabled. But of these, statistics showed that the Ohio State Employment Service referred only 4 percent to employers, and only 1.7 percent were eventually hired. Most of those placed were veterans. Persons with epilepsy and blindness had the most difficulty finding employment, and those with orthopedic disabilities had the easiest. But despite such small numbers of successful placements, the businesses that did employ the disabled reported to McLennand that they were overwhelmingly satisfied with the workers in terms of the quality of work, dependability, and compatibility with the work environment. McLennand also found that while most employers expressed positive attitudes in the abstract about hiring disabled workers, as such actions came closer to becoming reality, they were much less favorable.



Roeger's study examined both governmental and non-governmental employment opportunities for the disabled. She surveyed 75 disabled persons, and concluded that physical independence, parental care, academic and occupational training, and understanding on the part of employers were key to the quality of life for disabled people in Toledo. While some received public or family assistance, most were able to fully support themselves in their positions. Those who could find work in the area that they were trained in were the most satisfied. Roeger's study also revealed some personal stories. One of her survey subjects with cerebral palsy lived in Toledo with her parents until they divorced and she was placed in a mental institution, where she remained for over 20 years. At the age of 42, she returned to Toledo and got a job at a sheltered workshop, where she received her first occupational and academic training.



One of the Goodwill retail stores located in Toledo, ca. 1940. (From Goodwill Industries of Northwest Ohio. Inc.)



Donations to Goodwill Industries, ca. 1950 (From Goodwill Industries of Northwest Ohio, Inc.)

At the time of her study in 1962, Roeger noted several organizations employing disabled workers, although most were charitable organizations such as Goodwill Industries. Goodwill Industries of America, Inc. was founded in Boston 1902 by Edgar J. Helms, a Methodist minister. Driven by compassion for the downtrodden, Helms sought to improve the quality of life for these individuals. He traveled to the wealthier parts of Boston and requested donations of used clothing and other items, and then recruited poor men and women to restore them. In the mid-1930s, Goodwill narrowed its focus to "assisting persons with disabilities, not with charity, but with vocational testing, job training, and personal development programs aimed at competitive employment."

In 1933, Rev. Charles W. Graham, pastor of the Central Methodist Church in Toledo, convened a small meeting of local clergymen who voted to create a "barter and exchange" program as well as a free employment bureau for the poor. The group incorporated as "Organized Goodwill, Inc." and was one of eight Goodwill organizations in Ohio. In 1934, the organization changed its name to Goodwill Industries of Toledo, Inc. Like its parent organization, the local chapter sought to "help persons who were unemployed, or underemployed, due to some personal barrier to employment," including physical, mental, emotional, social, behavioral, and learning disabilities and homelessness. Graham served as the first president.

Goodwill's services for individuals with disabilities were divided into two parts: vocational rehabilitation and industrial contracting. The retail sales division began in 1933 to provide employment opportunities for individuals with disabilities who refurbished donated items that were in turn sold to the public. In 1950, Goodwill of Toledo launched its industrial contract services division to provide jobs and training opportunities by subcontracting with businesses and industries. As vocational rehabilitation became more accepted after World War II, Goodwill expanded in 1956 by creating a work evaluation department, and added a janitorial training program in 1957 and a clerical school in 1963. In the 1980s, the organization opened a commercial print shop and a food service training program. Most recently, Goodwill Industries of Northwest Ohio has operated an on-line auction site on the World Wide Web.

Other Toledo charitable organizations that worked to employ the disabled included the Salvation Army, St. Vincent de Paul Society, the Volunteers of America, and the Conlon Center. The latter was named for the bus driver who provided transportation to students at Feilbach School. It taught typing and duplication skills to severely disabled people.

Because she was a student at the University of Toledo, not surprisingly Roeger commented in her study on disability services provided by the university in the early 1960s. "Handicapped stu-

MANPOWER

Promotional brochure from the Small Business

Administration to

encourage the employ

ment of disabled workers, ca. 1962. dents attend the University of Toledo, and provisions are made for their comfort and convenience. Special parking permits, elevator keys, and ramps at building entrances are provided. Students help with transportation, note taking, and other personal needs. Faculty members are thoughtful in making special arrangements for tests, papers, and recitations," Roeger noted. Roeger's observations are in keeping with comments of UT President William Carlson, who gave several speeches on disability issues during his presidency (which spanned from 1958 to 1972). In a speech before the Toledo Rotary in 1959, Carlson stated, "[disabled students] never ask for any favors. All they ask for is a chance. They do not look for an easy way as do some who are more fortunate. They ask only that they have the opportunity

ective Placemen of shaping themselves in accordance with standards of excellence." productive Roeger concluded her study by calling for additional studies of the disabled community in the city. "These and similar studies could do much to awaken the general public ready, willing. to the needs and liabilities of the disabled, so that the individual with a physical impairand able to do a job for you, ment could more easily find a useful, productive place in society," Roeger stated. Mr. Employer The White House Conference on Handicapped Individuals, 1977

In 1974, Congress passed the "White House Conference on Handicapped Individuals Act." The act noted that at the time nearly one-sixth of the nation's population was disabled, and "it is of critical importance to this nation that equality of opportunity, equal access to all aspects of society, and equal rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States be provided to all individuals." To achieve this goal, Congress directed the President to establish the first-ever White House Conference on Handicapped Individuals, which was held in May



Goodwill Industries retail store in Toledo. ca. 1950. (From Goodwill Industries of Northwest Ohio, Inc.)



An advertising brochure for the Conlon Service Center, ca. 1962.

1977. The conference was to assess the problems of disabled people, create general awareness about the issues, and make recommendations to the President and Congress on how to improve the lives of the disabled.

Nearly 4000 people attended the conference, and 142 proposals were made by the delegates in the areas of health, education, social, and economic concerns. For the first time, the discussion of disability issues at the national level went beyond vocational rehabilitation. Slogans like "Hire the Handicapped" were no longer enough. Most importantly, the conference recognized that disabled people and their caregivers had to be involved at the highest levels of decision and policy making on disability issues. Coming at the same time that the Independent Living Movement was gaining national momentum, and immediately following protests against President Carter's Health, Education, and Welfare Secretary Joseph Califano by the disabled, the conference signaled that major changes were underway in the how society treated disabled people.

William J. McLennand, An Investigation into Employers' Attitudes Toward Employment of the Handicapped in the City of Toledo, Ohio. University of Toledo Master Thesis, 1948.

McLennand's study presents a unique look at how Toledo businesses felt about employing disabled workers at a time when many disabled veterans from World War II were seeking employment.

Shirley A. Roeger, A Study of the Relationship between the Training and the Employment of Handicapped Adults in the Toledo Metropolitan Area. University of Toledo Master Thesis, 1962.

Roeger's study, conducted 14 years later, looked at the issue from the perspective of disabled people seeking employment.



An advertisement from Tommy Sexton, a disabled worker, ca. 1962. Sexton contracted polio at the age of 16, and spent time at Warm Springs, Georgia, before returning to Toledo.

Photographs, Goodwill Industries of Northwest Ohio, ca. 1950s-1970s. On loan from Goodwill Industries of Northwest Ohio, Inc.

These photographs depict the facilities and programs of Goodwill Industries to assist disabled people in the region.

"Hire the Handicapped" promotional brochures, ca. 1962.

These brochures promote various governmental and charitable agencies that assisted disabled people to find employment. Included is a brochure from the Harry P. Conlon Business Training and Service Center. Conlon, a Rotarian, sought to ensure that once students graduated from the Feilbach School that they could find gainful employment to create an independent life and not be confined to home. The organization trained severely disabled adults to perform basic office tasks like typing and duplication. Also included is the business card of one of the

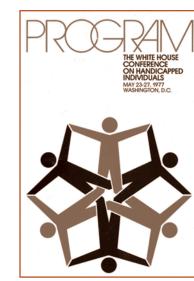
graduates of the program, advertising printing and subscription services for hire.

Programs and reports of the White House Conference on Handicapped Individuals, 1977. Lee Lawrence Papers, MSS-174.

These materials document the activities of the first White House conference that addressed disability issues beyond vocational rehabilitation. Lee Lawrence, who was disabled herself following a fall from her apartment balcony, served as the public affairs coordinator for the conference.

"Out of the Job Market: A National Crisis." The President's Commission on Employment of the Handicapped, 1986. MSS-174.

During difficult economic times, it is especially hard for disabled people to find employment. This publication noted that while the economy was recovering and unemployment declining, the percentage of disabled persons who were unemployed in 1986 was larger than it had been in 1970.



The program from the first White House Conference on Handicapped Individuals, 1977.

White House Conference, 1977.

THE WHITE HOUSE

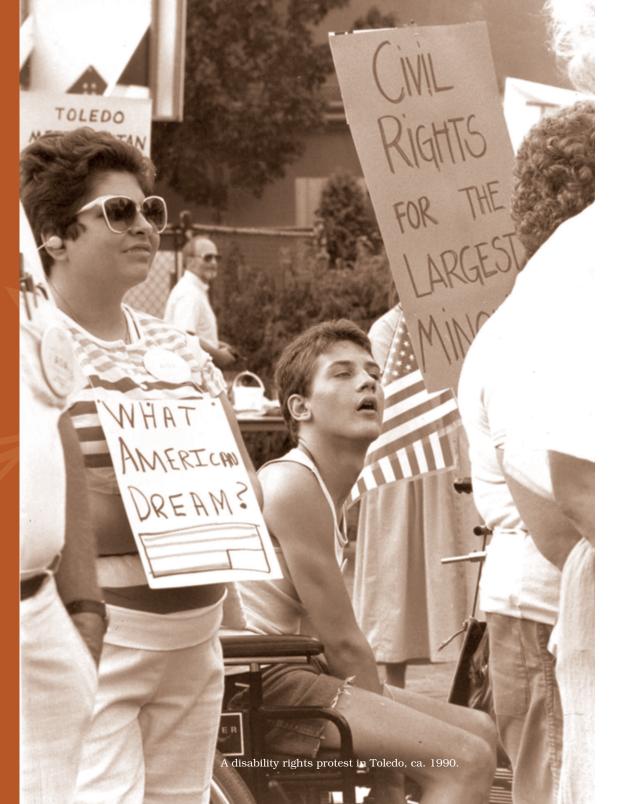
April 29, 1977

I assure you that your efforts will have my Administration's full cooperation and

I look forward to your recommendations and hope that your sessions will be highly productive and rewarding for those you serve.

President Jimmy Carter's

letter to participants of the



CHAPTER 8. OVERCOMING OBSTACLES—FROM DEINSTITUTIONALIZATION TO INDEPENDENT LIVING

"The stimulation of campus life, the challenge of study, the companionship of a wide range of new friends, has a wonderful effect on many young men and women when they come to college. But none finds this more stimulating than the handicapped student. He sees here a way to make the most out of the powers that God has given him—and often these are splendid talents, perhaps a kind of compensation for the physical cross he must bear."

—UT President William S. Carlson, 1959

"This could get very expensive if every university is going to provide a higher level of support for handicapped students. There has to be a better way to accomplish this task!"

—UT President Glen Driscoll to Ohio Board of Regents' chancellor William Coulter, 1984

fter centuries of locking them behind doors and providing custodial care in huge institutions, the way society treated disabled people began to change in the years following World War II.

There are several reasons for this paradigm shift. First, the post-war vocational rehabilitation programs aimed at training the disabled (particularly veterans) to be financially self-supporting

meant that some disabled people had the resources to live independently for the first time. "Hire the Handicapped" may have been a public relations slogan, but it integrated disabled persons into the job market, thus helping them gain social acceptance. Second, the parents' movement of the mid-1950s meant that caregivers of developmentally disabled children no longer felt alone, and they assumed active and vocal roles in determining the best care for their children. They advocated for public school education over state institutional care, which opened doors for the integration of all disabled children into local schools. Third, improvements in medical care, particularly the use of antibiotics, meant that many disabled people lived much longer than formerly possible. Hence, political leaders had a financial incentive to move disabled people to independence so they would not rely on government support their entire lives. In the mental health field, advances in psychotropic drugs helped many who might once have been institutionalized. Fourth, deinstitutionalization as a policy of state and federal governments emptied out large

custodial institutions, and returned disabled persons to their communities. Unfortunately, many found that needed services were not always available in their communities upon their return. Lastly, and most importantly, disabled people themselves began to speak out and advocate for their independence. They demanded full integration into society, particularly complete access to public services, the removal of architectural barriers, and an end to employment discrimination.

Removing Obstacles

In 1963, polio survivor Hugh Gallagher worked as an assistant in the office of Alaska Senator Bob Bartlett in Washington, D.C. In his position, Gallagher frequently conducted research at the Library of Congress. Access to the library was through a heavy, revolving door which was reached only after climbing five high steps. Obviously, the library was not accessible to persons in wheelchairs like Gallagher. However, Gallagher noticed that the back doors had only one shallow step, and that it would be easy to add a ramp there to make the building accessible. He wrote a letter to Quincy Mumford, the Librarian of Congress, requesting such a ramp. Mumford hesitated, claiming that the Architect of the Capitol would have to be consulted first. Senator Bartlett called the librarian to his office and demanded that the ramp be built. As a result, the Legislative Appropriations Act of 1964 included a provision for \$5,000 so that a ramp could be built at the rear of the library.

Gallagher's first small victory led to others. Next he turned his attention to the National Gallery of Art. Although not quite as difficult to navigate as the Library of Congress had been, he nevertheless felt that a small ramp would allow disabled persons better access. Gallagher wrote a letter to John Walker, director of the museum, asking for a ramp. Walker refused, saying a ramp was not necessary because a guard was always on duty to assist anyone who needed help getting inside. Wanting to be able to enter and exit buildings under his own power, Gallagher decided to use himself as a test case to prove how difficult it was for disabled visitors to get inside. On a cold, snowy Saturday, he wheeled himself to the bottom of the steps and sat with a watch to see how long it would take for the guard to notice him. The guard stayed at the security desk during inclement weather, however, so anyone needing help was not visible.

Gallagher's plan was foiled when two tourists noticed him and carried his chair up the stairs, but he had not finished proving his point. He wrote more letters to Walker, who then claimed that the architectural integrity

of the building would be ruined by a ramp, and that Gallagher would have to consult the board of trustees (whose chairman was Earl Warren, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court) if he wanted something done about it. Gallagher did just that, writing a letter to the board, which ultimately approved the ramp. A temporary one was constructed, but it would be another 25 years before a permanent structure was put in place.

Gallagher continued his fight, ensuring that national parks and hospitals were also made accessible. He and Bartlett forced the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts to be built as an accessible building. The defining moment of his career as an activist came when he tried to secure accessibility for the buildings of the Smithsonian Institution. Writing in Bartlett's name, Gallagher sent several letters to the Secretary of the Smithsonian, S. Dillon Ripley. Ripley was so uncooperative that Gallagher decided—with Bartlett's support—to draft legislation requiring that all buildings built entirely or partially with federal funds be accessible to everyone. He also wanted the bill to be framed in the context of civil rights. Despite efforts by Mary Switzer (head of the federal Office of Vocational Rehabilitation) to intervene, the bill was sent by Bartlett to the Appropriations Committee for approval. The Johnson administration opposed it, however, fearing that it would cost too much. Gallagher, Bartlett, and supportive senators persisted, and the bill was eventually approved by both houses of Congress. That summer, the Architectural Barriers Act of 1968 became law, which would eventually pave the way in 1990 for the Americans with Disabilities Act.

In Pursuit of Reasonable Accommodations: Section 504

Following the success of the passage of the Architectural Barriers Act of 1968, disability rights activists continued their efforts to gain legal protection. In 1973, Congress passed the Rehabilitation Act, but only after President Nixon twice vetoed it. Of the four sections of the bill, Section 504 was the most far-reaching because it promised civil rights for the disabled. The impetus for Section 504 began in 1972 when Congress failed to add a disability provision to the Civil Rights Act of 1964. However, some lawmakers thought it might be possible to attach that provision to another bill. Members of the Senate Welfare Committee did so, adding language from Title VI of the Civil Rights Act to the final draft of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973. The new provision became Section 504.

The fight for Section 504 began in the late 1960s with James Cherry, a severely disabled student attending Howard University Law School. As a white student attending an African-American school, Cherry noticed parallels



Groundbreaking for the new Toledo Society for the Handicapped building on Monroe Street, 1979.

between the struggle for racial civil rights and the fight for equal rights by the disabled. The school's administration did not agree, and denied Cherry's request for a parking space near the building where his classes were held, as well as a key to the elevator.

After passage of Section 504 in 1973, Cherry began writing to the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) to have Section 504 regulations issued so that he might make his case. He filed a lawsuit against HEW Secretary David Mathews to force the regulations, and in 1976, the court ruled in Cherry's favor. By the time the ruling was handed down, the Carter administration had assumed power, and Joseph Califano was the new secretary of HEW.

Because President Carter had promised to listen to and aid disabled people, the community expected more of him than they did of the Nixon administration. The American Coalition of Citizens with Disabilities met with Califano shortly after Carter took office because it felt the new administra-

tion was not moving quickly enough to get the Section 504 regulations signed, and threatened action if it was not done quickly. On April 5, 1977, demonstrations began after last-minute negotiations between disability leaders and Califano broke down. Califano wanted additional time to study the regulations, but activists worried this meant he was looking for ways to weaken the legislation. As a result, the disability community staged demonstrations and sit-ins at each of the HEW regional offices. In San Francisco, the sit-in lasted 25 days. Califano finally signed the Section 504 regulations on April 28 as well as the regulations for the Education for All Handicapped Children Act. The fight over Section 504 had united disability activists into a national movement.

Disability Activism Leads to the ADA

Many of the efforts to gain equal rights for disabled people were organized by activists on college campuses who used methods employed in the 1960s by Civil Rights leaders and Vietnam War protestors. Among these activists was college student Ed Roberts, who started the movement for independent living. Paralyzed by polio at age 14, Roberts completed most of his high school at home by means of a phone connected to his classroom. After high school, he wanted to attend the University of California at Berkeley, but had to sue to gain admission, which he did in 1962. But the school's dorms were not able to accommodate Roberts's iron lung, so he was given housing in the

Cowell Hospital at the Berkeley Infirmary. In time, other quadriplegics began attending Berkeley, and Roberts and his companions created a unique atmosphere in their ward.

Inspired by the student activism of the Free Speech Movement on the Berkeley campus at that time, Roberts and other disabled students began agitating for equal rights. He founded the Disabled Students Program as well as the Rolling Quads, a political activism group that fought for wheelchair access, accessible housing, and wheelchair repair. The Rolling Quads eventually moved out of Cowell Hospital into the community to be independent. Under Roberts's leadership, the group formed the Center for Independent Living (CIL) in 1972, an agency governed by and for people with disabilities. One unique regulation stipulated that at least 51 percent of the staff and the board of directors had to have a disability. Because of the efforts of Roberts, disabled persons living independently became common in Berkeley. Eventually, all 28 California counties had satellite centers for independent living and hundreds more CIL offices were founded throughout the country.

With the success of the CIL movement, Roberts continued his crusade. In 1983, he founded the World Institute on Disability with the help of Judith Heumann, who would later become U.S. Assistant Secretary of Education in the Clinton administration. The non-profit organization was dedicated to helping disabled people achieve independence and an improved quality of life.

One of the more vocal—and controversial—disability rights organizations was ADAPT. Founded in the mid-1970s, ADAPT grew out of efforts to help the severely disabled who were confined to nursing homes live independently. The organization encouraged disabled people to use direct confrontation to achieve their goals. ADAPT's early efforts focused on transportation issues, but it later dealt mainly with independent living after passage of the Americans with Disabilities Act in 1990.

Surprisingly, the ADA was the work of two Republican administrations generally opposed to expanding government regulation. In 1982, President Ronald Reagan dismissed all of President Carter's appointees to the National Council on Disability, the organization that advised presidents on disability issues. But the President soon discovered that disability rights issues transcended political ideology. Even with Republican leadership, the council issued a report its first year that recommended adding disabled persons to the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Some in the disability community were opposed to this, believing that disability discrimination was distinctive, and



Toledo Society for the Handicapped transportation buses, ca. 1981. The society provided much of the transportation for the city's disabled at the time.



Participants in Camp Cricket, a Toledo summer camp for both disabled and able-bodied children, ca. 1985.

therefore required a separate civil rights bill. Four years later, the council issued a new report entitled "Toward Independence: As Assessment of Federal Laws and Programs Affecting Persons with Disabilities—With Legislative Recommendations" that outlined changes in law to make transportation accessible and end discrimination in employment for disabled workers. This report served as the basis for an early version of the ADA, which was defeated in Congress in 1988. The 1990 version of the law, which was overwhelmingly approved by both houses of the legislature, was different in that it required people with disabilities to file complaints and lawsuits as a means to monitor compliance with its requirements. The ADA made it illegal to discriminate against disabled people in employment, and required reasonable accommodations to make buildings accessible. What was different about the ADA from Section 504 was that the ADA extended its regulations to the private sector. On July 26, 1990, the ADA was signed into law by President George H.W. Bush. In 2008, a major expansion of the ADA is under consideration by Congress.

The Disability Rights Movement in Northwest Ohio

The mission of the Toledo Society for Crippled Children changed several times from its founding in 1920 in order to meet the needs of the disabled community: from a crippled children's school, to a convalescent home, to a children's hospital, and to a disabled children's kindergarten. After the kindergarten closed in 1974, the society was once again faced with the need for a new mission. At its annual meeting that year, the articles of incorporation were amended to state that the group would support the construction of a building for "the charitable care of crippled or otherwise physically handicapped children and adults." Thus, for the first time, the organization began to address the needs of disabled adults as well as children. To reflect its new mission, the organization changed its name to the Toledo Society for the Handicapped. Land was purchased on Monroe Street in Sylvania Township, and a local architectural firm was hired to design an accessible building.

In 1978, Dr. Maurice Newberger, a member of the society's board of trustees, described for the board his experience visiting the Center for Independent Living that



Repairing wheelchairs at disable the Toledo Society for the Handicapped, ca. 1985.

had been founded by Ed Roberts in Berkeley. He noted that the center was "completely controlled and operated by handicapped individuals," and suggested that the society consider creating such a center. As a first step, he suggested the board establish a program advisory committee consisting exclusively of disabled people. The board agreed that its current representation of 20 to 25 percent disabled persons was insufficient.

On May 18, 1980, the new building was dedicated. The organization moved away from its passive agenda focused primarily on custodial care toward becoming more activist in its programs. It joined with Barrier Free Toledo to celebrate Handicapped Awareness Week. It advocated for improved public transportation, arguing that under Section 504 this was the responsibility of the Toledo Area Regional Transit Authority, not the society, which had been providing much of the disability transportation in Toledo. In recognition of its new activist agenda, the society amended its articles of incorporation again in 1981 to include advocacy in its mission.



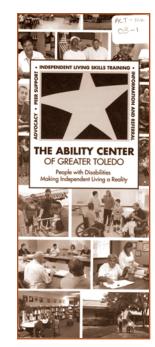
A disability rights protest over architectural barriers in downtown Toledo, ca. 1990.

But to many, the mission of the organization remained unclear. It was not until 1986 that the society's long range planning committee presented a resolution suggesting that the society officially become a Center for Inde-



A participant in a disability rights protest in downtown Toledo over enforcement of the ADA, ca. 1990.

pendent Living. The committee also suggested a change in the group's name to reflect this new mission. By 1988, the words "handicapped" and "society" had negative connotations. Recruiting new employees had become difficult because the society's name implied it was not committed to disability rights. Current employees with disabilities found it demeaning to be associated with the organization with a name that included "for the handicapped" because it represented the sort of custodial, protective care that had defined disability services for centuries. Also, the parents of potential students hesitated to send their children to its programs in fear that they would be identified with an organization whose name focused on their limitations rather than their abilities. To correct these perceptions, the board recommended changing the name to "The Ability Center of Greater Toledo," which was officially adopted in 1989. The organization began to change its programming to reflect the goals of an independent living center and reconstitute its board of trustees to include a majority of disabled persons.



Promotional brochure advertising the services of the Ability Center, ca. 2000.

Reflecting what was happening nationally, the staff of the Ability Center participated in and supported local, state, and national disability rights protests. One of its most heated battles involved the University of Toledo and a plan to construct an on-campus housing complex for fraternities and sororities in 1989. Joining with Barrier Free Toledo and the Northwest Ohio Chapter of the National Spinal Cord Injuries Association, the Ability Center sued the university because architectural plans for the buildings called for disabled access to only the first floor of the residences. Neither the recreation area in the basement nor the upper levels of living space would be accessible without assistance. The university contended that installing elevators in the building would add significantly to the cost of the project, and that the buildings met state standards for accessibility. The Ohio Rehabilitation Services Commission joined in opposition to the construction plans. Just before the suit was to be heard in U.S. District Court, the university and the groups reached a settlement that provided access not only to the fraternity and sorority housing, but also set aside funding to improve accessibility to other dormitories on campus.

The Ability Center continued in its leadership role in fighting for equal access for disabled persons. In 1992, Ed Roberts visited the Ability Center and held a seminar for 140 on the recently-approved Americans with Disabilities Act. In keeping with the organization's more activist role, the job of the executive director changed to become involved in political lobbying on behalf of disabled people, and the staff assumed roles in many national organizations that advocated for accessibility and equal rights. The center's board took stands in support of health care reform in the early 1990s, and against physician-assisted suicide in 1996. Today, the Ability Center remains active in advocating for disability rights, and continues to provide independent living skills training, information and referrals, and peer support services to disabled people living in the seven north-west Ohio counties.

Disability Rights at the University of Toledo

As the fraternity and sorority housing controversy indicated, the University of Toledo struggled to provide equal access to its buildings and services. In many ways, UT's experience was a microcosm of the issues confronted by many institutions and organizations in meeting the independence needs of disabled people.

In the 1950s and 1960s, the university addressed disabled students on an ad hoc basis. Individuals received special keys to elevators that were off limits to the general population. Arrangements were made

for assistance in note taking and access to buildings where no elevators existed. Because of the relatively small number of disabled students attending UT, these arrangements were not unusual for the time. In 1967, the university architect conducted an assessment to identify architectural barriers in the university's buildings, and prepared a plan to remedy the problems. But little happened as a result of the report. In the 1970s, the disabled students on campus found an advocate in Art Edgerton, UT's director of Affirmative Action. In 1975, Edgerton, who was disabled himself, proposed that the dean of students create an advisory board to identify issues of disabled students and develop uniform policies for addressing accessibility. It took two years to create the advisory board, which was called the Handicapped Affairs Coalition. Carolyn Eagle, a graduate student, was assigned to the committee, and her position evolved to be the full-time coordinator of the Office of Handicapped Student Services. The advisory board became the Advisory Committee for Handicapped Students, and included faculty and students. When the university threatened to abolish the Office of Handicapped Student Services in 1981, the committee and others wrote letters in support of its programs. The committee was joined in this effort by a vocal and active Handicapped Students' Association. The following year, the committee passed a unanimous resolution calling on UT to adapt all current buildings to make them accessible and require all new buildings to be completely accessible. The committee and the Office of Handicapped Student Services worked closely together to try to bring the university into compliance with Section 504.

But problems persisted. In 1983, a student fell out of her wheelchair while attempting to go up a steep ramp on the fifth floor of University Hall. A hearing impaired student registered a complaint about being told to sit at the back of the room with their interpreter, which meant that the student was not close enough to read the instructor's lips. Faculty were frustrated as well with the lack of standardized policies and services. Dr. Bernard Bopp, a professor of physics and astronomy, complained in a letter to the vice president for student affairs about the university's "meanness" toward disabled students because UT lacked even basic programs for assistance. In 1982, the administration established a committee to develop special admission requirements for the disabled, which Art Edgerton protested against. He stated there should be no "special" admission requirements for disabled persons, but rather there should be uniform admission standards for all students.

In August 1983, Carolyn Eagle prepared a report for then-president Dr. Glen Driscoll entitled "Proposal: Comprehensive Services for Handicapped Students at the University of Toledo." It called for the creation of a re-



Shelley Papenfuse introduces her assistance dog to Vice President Dan Quayle, ca. 1990

source center and adding the positions of coordinator for hearing impaired students and coordinator of adaptive education. Driscoll was not swayed by the proposal. "I have read the proposal for the creation of a Handicapped Student Services Center submitted by Carolyn Eagle. It will not surprise you to learn my reaction is pretty negative," Driscoll said in a memorandum to the vice president for student affairs. "I sympathize with the handicapped students, and I think society ought to service them if it is going to admit them to public universities.... [but] until the State provides support, or until you choose to rearrange your own budget, I will resist adding additional funds to provide services for the handicapped student except as University Legal Counsel advises me are required by law," Driscoll concluded. He forwarded his comments up to the chancellor of the Ohio Board of Regents, suggesting that it would be more cost-effective to make "a very few campuses as the center where such support will be provided rather than trying to equip every single campus." When the Ability Center of Toledo filed its lawsuit over the fraternity and sorority housing in 1989, *The Blade* noted that the Governor's Office for Advocacy for People with Disabilities reported receiving more complaints about UT than any other public university in the state in regards to accessibility issues.

Services for students gradually expanded and improved. In 1987, the Advisory Committee for Handicapped Student Services completed a report on learning disabilities, and concluded that the university must also develop support services for students affected by such disabilities. In 1989, the office changed its name from Handicapped Student Services to the Center for the Physically and Mentally Challenged. In 1992, the name changed again to the Office of Accessibility. With new services, the number of disabled students enrolled at UT increased from 67 in 1987 to over 1000 in 1994. The office now offers comprehensive services, including note taking, reading, and interpreting. The current enrollment of disabled students at UT is estimated at 1900.

Help from Man's Best Friend

As disabled people increasingly sought to be independent, new approaches developed to provide the assistance that made such independence possible. Guide Dogs for the Handicapped, Inc., a training program for assistance dogs, was founded in 1984 by Joe and Pamela Maxwell in Columbus, Ohio, so that Joe, a quadriplegic, would be less dependent on his wife. The organization became a non-profit two years later and soon began expanding throughout the rest of the state and the country.

In 1989, the name was changed to Assistance Dogs of America, Inc. (ADAI) because the board of directors felt use of the word "handicapped" was offensive and "guide dogs" was inaccurate, as this implied that only the visually impaired were served by the organization. That same year, ADAI moved its national training headquarters to Swanton in northwest Ohio. The organization currently serves those within a 250-mile radius of the Toledo area.

ADAI's purpose is to "bring together a dog in need of a home and a disabled person in need of assistance." Clients include those with cerebral palsy, spina bifida, multiple sclerosis, muscular dystrophy, rheumatoid arthritis, and strokes. Dogs placed with clients help with daily tasks such as alerting about doorbells and phones, helping to maintain balance, and traveling up and down stairs. The trained dogs provide clients with the means to live their lives on their own terms. The organization also believes one of its roles is to serve as an ambassador. By interacting with the community at school assemblies and civic gatherings, ADAI educates the public about disability, disability stereotypes, and barriers to independence.

Brochures, the Architectural Barriers Act of 1968 and the Rehabilitation Act of 1973. University of Toledo Archives.

These brochures from the President's Committee on the Employment of the Handicapped; the Architectural and Transportation Barriers Compliance Board; the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; and the Ohio Governor's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped provide practical information to institutions like the University of Toledo on compliance with the law.

Photographs, the Ability Center of Toledo, ca. 1980s. Ability Center of Toledo Records, MSS-190.

These photographs reflect the changing nature of services provided by what would become the Ability Center. Shown here is the shop for wheelchair repair, transportation buses that once provided most of the transportation services for disabled people in the city, and Camp Cricket. Also shown are protests organized by the center following the passage of the ADA to promote awareness of barriers to access in downtown Toledo.



Training an assistance dog, ca. 1990.



Many ADAI dogs are claimed from local humane societies.

The Disability Rag's Ragged Edge Magazine, Nos. 2-3, 2002.

The Ragged Edge magazine, formerly known as *The Disability Rag*, was founded in 1984 as a resource for persons with disabilities, and often contains opinion and advocacy articles. The 2002 issue contains an article by Toledoan Dan Wilkins on summer camps for disabled children, including Camp Courageous and Camp Cricket.

Documents concerning accessibility of fraternity and sorority housing at the University of Toledo, 1987-1990. University of Toledo Archives.

These materials document the dispute between the Ability Center and the University of Toledo over the construction of fraternity and sorority housing. Note that a year after the settlement was reached between the two parties, the Ability Center continued to see problems with implementing the agreement. "It is our view that the vast majority of the provisions of the settlement agreement pertaining to the on-campus sorority and fraternity housing have been either totally ignored, or approached in a totally unsatisfactory manner," Richard Gunden, president and CEO of the Ability Center, stated in a letter to UT President Frank Horton in 1990.

Publications, the Office of Handicapped Student Services and Handicapped Affairs Coalition, the University of Toledo, 1980-1987. University of Toledo Archives.

To help promote its services to disabled students, the Office of Handicapped Student Services produced a hand-book and a newsletter (titled *Campus Access*). The Handicapped Student Affairs Coalition also sponsored UT's first celebration of Handicapped Awareness Week in 1980, and produced flyers to promote the event.

"Proposal: Comprehensive Services for Handicapped Students at the University of Toledo" and related correspondence, 1983. University of Toledo Archives.

Prepared by Carolyn Eagle, the coordinator of Handicapped Student Services, this document outlines what was necessary for UT to have a fully functional program of services for disabled students. The proposal was not well received by UT President Glen Driscoll, who felt the state should fund such programs, and to pay for them from the university's budget would be at the expense of academic programs.

A Preliminary Summary of the Institution's 504 Self Evaluation, 1990. University of Toledo Archives.

After the confrontation with the disability community over access to the proposed fraternity and sorority housing complex in 1989, the University of Toledo underwent a complete assessment of accessibility to facilities and equal participation by persons with physical disabilities. Recommendations coming out of the assessment included installing automatic door openers on building entrances, revising some ramps that were too steep, improving handicapped restrooms, and including Braille markings on elevator controls and door entrances.

Constitution, Guide Dogs for the Handicapped, Inc., 1984, and minutes of the first meeting, 1986. Assistance Dogs of America, Inc., Records, MSS-175.

The original constitution of what would become the Assistance Dogs of America, and the minutes of the first meeting two years later of the Board of Founders of the organization.

Publications of the Assistance Dogs of America, Inc., ca. 2000-2007. MSS-175.

These publications promote the services of the organization and its national training facility in Swanton. As the article in the annual report of 2007 notes, many of the dogs are acquired from the humane society.

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A restroom door sticker distributed to college campuses across the country, 1987. The information on the sticker was typical of the anti-AIDS hysteria of the time. Such messages led to widespread discrimination against those with HIV/AIDS.



CHAPTER 9: THE HISTORICAL MEANING OF "DISABILITY"

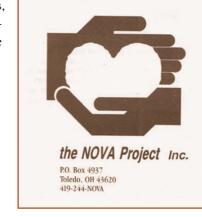


s this exhibition shows, the way society has treated disabled people has changed as our values, awareness, understanding, and knowledge have evolved. When we read Dorothea Dix's reports from the 1840s of the mentally ill chained to walls in jail cells, we are appalled. When we see the comments of the superintendent of the Ohio School for the Deaf in 1917 asking how we

can continue to allow the disabled to reproduce, we are shocked. When persons with developmental disabilities are labeled by the state as "imbecile" or "feeble-minded," or "spasmodic," or children identified as "crippled," we recoil.

The disability rights movement has done much to sensitize us about our labeling and treatment of people with disabilities. Disability history, a new field that is an outgrowth of the disability rights movement and the disability studies field, must continue to educate the public about the historical experience of those who, for centuries, lived locked away behind doors. Their history must finally become a part of our collective memory. It would be difficult to imagine our nation's history told today without a discussion of the role of African Americans, women, Native Americans, or immigrants. For the same reason, we need to know about the historical experience of disabled people. As disability historian Douglas Baynton has stated, "Disability is everywhere in history, once you begin looking for it, but conspicuously absent in the histories we write."

But an examination of disability history also makes clear that the very meaning of "disability" is constantly in flux. For example, some "disabilities" are now treated effectively with medication and the afflicted may no longer fit society's current definition of "disabled." Many who would have once spent their lives locked in state hospitals and labeled "insane" live freely in society today. Epilepsy, which in the early 20th century meant commitment to a state institution, is now controllable with medicine. Polio no longer exists in our country. Eye surgery can correct such maladies as cataracts that once meant certain blindness.



NOVA, which stands for No One's Victory Alone, was a voluntary organization created in Toledo in 1984 to provide basic social services to those HIV/AIDS



In 1992, NOVA merged with David's House Compassion, a residence that provided housing for those with end-stage AIDS. The red ribbon on the brochure was the universal symbol for AIDS.

HIV/AIDS—A Disability?

In recent years, one "disability" that has been dramatically redefined is that of human immunodeficiency virus/acquired immune deficiency syndrome. HIV/AIDS was once not just a disability, but a death sentence. In Toledo, NOVA (No One's Victory Alone) started in 1984 as a grass-roots effort to train volunteers to help people infected with HIV/AIDS by providing needed social services and support. Toledoan David Gercek, who was diagnosed with AIDS, realized that in addition to assistance with everyday matters, many of those with the disease also needed housing. In 1989, a former rectory was purchased, and named David's House Compassion in Gercek's memory. It served as a residence for those in the last stages of HIV/AIDS. In 1992, NOVA merged with David's House, and became the only HIV/AIDS service organization in northwest Ohio. Funds to operate the program came from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, the Ohio Department of Health, various local agencies, and from the Ryan White C.A.R.E. Act, which provided federal funds for HIV/AIDS programs. Over the 15 years of its existence, David's House assisted hundreds of HIV/AIDS patients and their families.

Like many people with disabilities throughout history, those with HIV/AIDS experienced discrimination and stigmatization. When it was unclear how the disease was spread, the infected were feared in the way those with polio had been feared in the 1940s and 1950s. And once the transmission route was verified, the discrimination became worse because society blamed those with the disease for what they saw as unwise lifestyle choices. Because of this discrimination, HIV/AIDS became a civil rights issue as much as a medical issue.

But as medical science developed potent drugs to combat the effects of HIV/AIDS (largely because the infected demanded research in the field), those once labeled "disabled" can live with no visible disability. As a result of the changes in HIV/AIDS treatment, David's House Compassion closed its doors in 2004. While some of its services continued to be offered by other social service agencies, its residential component was not. Just as the Opportunity Home that once provided care for polio patients in Toledo was no longer needed in the 1960s with the decline in polio cases, David's House was no longer needed with changes in the treatment of HIV/AIDS.

Ironically, as polio, HIV/AIDS, and many mental illnesses move out of public consciousness as disabilities because of advances in medical science, we have, on the other hand, a rapidly aging population with mobility limitations that will add hundreds of thousands to our definition of "disabled." While whole new groups of people are being defined as disabled, some whom society might judge to be disabled do not define themselves as such.

For example, the National Federation of the Blind believes blindness is an inconvenience, not a disability. And while medical science ameliorates some disabilities, disabled people rebel against the medical model that defines a disability as a state in need of a cure. Many in the deaf community believe surgical implants that can restore aspects of hearing are an affront to their unique culture. Actor Christopher Reeve, who spent his last years looking for a cure for spinal cord injuries, was often criticized by the disability community for his single-minded push for medical research to correct his disability rather than accepting it.

So what is the historical meaning of disability? As this exhibit shows, our definition of disability, and society's response to those who are defined as disabled, are ever changing. Perhaps the best way for society to address the issue is to work to ensure that now and in the future, the disabled have rights equal to the able-bodied. As disability scholars Doris Zames Fleischer and Frieda Zames stated, "People with disabilities is the only protected class that anyone can enter at any time through birth, accident, illness or advanced age." Therefore, protecting and promoting the rights of the disabled means protecting and promoting the rights of everyone. And incorporating the historical experience of disabled people into our history as a nation will lead to a greater understanding among us all.

AIDS-ALL Prevention Center publicity materials, 1987. University of Toledo Archives.

Typical of the HIV/AIDS hysteria that followed the outbreak of the disease, these stickers were distributed by a non-profit organization to college campuses across the country. They were intended to be placed on restroom doors. Messages such as "AIDS KILLS—one mistake and you could be dead!" fueled discrimination against those with the disease.

Correspondence with the White House, NOVA designation as a "Daily Point of Light," 1991. David's House Compassion Records, MSS-188.

President George H.W. Bush's "Points of Light" project honored a different service agency each day. NOVA was selected for this honor in 1991.

Lucas County HIV Prevention Community Plan, 1994-1996. MSS-188.

With a growing number of HIV/AIDS cases in the county, in 1994 the Lucas County Health Department issued this comprehensive plan for preventing the further spread of the disease. The study showed that most cases in the county were contracted through homosexual sex and intravenous drug use, with males between the ages of 30 and 39 the largest infected group. The study suggested public education and free HIV testing and counseling as ways to prevent the spread of the disease.

World AIDS Day Resource Booklet, 1999. MSS-188.

World AIDS Day became a symbol for action against the disease. The commemoration began in 1987 as a way to call attention to what quickly became a pandemic.

Publicity materials, David's House Compassion, ca. 1990s. MSS-188.

These materials were used to publicize the services provided by David's House Compassion.





FROM INSTITUTIONS TO INDEPENDENCE—A Timeline of Disability Laws and Regulations

1864

The Enabling Act is signed by President Abraham Lincoln and authorizes the Columbia Institution for the Deaf and Dumb and Blind to confer college degrees.

1869

The first wheelchair patent is registered with the United States Patent Office.

1883

In his book, *Essays in Eugenics*, Sir Francis Galton coins the term "eugenics" to describe his science of "improving the stock" of humanity."

1890s-1920s

Progressive reformers advocate for the creation of state workers' compensation programs.

1911

Congress passes a joint resolution to investigate the issues of workers' compensation and employer liability for monetary awards to disabled workers.

1918

Congress enacts the Smith-Sears Veterans Rehabilitation Act to promote the return to civilian employment of veterans discharged from the military due to a disability.

1920

Congress enacts the Fess-Smith Civilian Vocational Rehabilitation Act to create a vocational rehabilitation program for disabled persons.

1924

The Commonwealth of Virginia enacts a law permitting the forced sterilization of individuals determined to be "feebleminded, insane, depressed, mentally handicapped, epileptic and other."

1927

In *Buck v. Bell*, the United States Supreme Court rules that the forced sterilization of people with disabilities does not violate their fundamental rights as prescribed by the Constitution. Following the Court's decision, 27 states initiate the wholesale sterilization of "undesirables."

1933

Franklin D. Roosevelt becomes the first disabled president. During his presidency, he embarks on a campaign of "splendid deception" to minimize the extent of his disability.

1935

In New York City, the League for the Physically Handicapped protest discrimination by the Works Progress Administration. League members stage a nine-day sit in.

Congress passes the Social Security Act, which includes assistance to blind individuals and disabled children and extends vocational rehabilitation programs.

1936

Congress enacts the Randolph-Sheppard Act for the employment of blind vendors in the lobbies of federal office buildings.

1938

Congress enacts the Fair Labor Standards Act increasing the number of sheltered workshop programs for blind workers.

1943

Congress enacts the LaFollette-Barden Act which expands vocational rehabilitation programs and provides funds for health care services.

1945

President Harry S. Truman establishes an annual National Employ the Handicapped Week.

1947

The first meeting of the President's Committee on National Employ the Handicapped Week is held in Washington. Publicity campaigns stress the competence of people with disabilities.

1950

The Social Security Amendments of 1950 establish a federal-state program to aid permanently and totally disabled individuals.

1952

The President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped becomes a permanent organization reporting to both the President and Congress.

1956

The Social Security Amendments of 1956 create the Social Security Disability Insurance (SSDI) program for disabled workers aged 50 to 64.

195

The Social Security Amendments of 1958 extend SSDI benefits to dependents of disabled workers.

1961

President John F. Kennedy appoints a President's Panel on Mental Retardation to investigate the status of persons with mental retardation and develop rehabilitation programs.

The American National Standard Institute publishes standards for making buildings accessible to the physically handicapped.

1963

In an address to Congress, President Kennedy calls for a reduction in the number of institutionalized persons and a return to community care for the mentally ill and developmentally disabled. The Mental Retardation Facilities and Community Health Centers Construction Act authorizes grants for the construction of community mental health centers.

1964

President Lyndon B. Johnson signs the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

1965

Congress creates the Medicare and Medicaid programs. It also passes the Vocational Rehabilitation Amendments of 1965 authorizing federal funding for rehabilitation facilities and the creation of the National Commission on Architectural Barriers to Rehabilitation of the Handicapped.

1966

President Johnson establishes the President's Committee on Mental Retardation.

1968

Congress enacts the Architectural Barriers Act mandating that federally owned facilities be accessible to people with physical disabilities.

1970

Congress passes the Urban Mass Transit Act and mandates that all new mass transit vehicles be equipped with wheelchair lifts.

1972

The Social Security Amendments of 1972 create the Supplemental Security Income (SSI) program, relieving families from the financial responsibility of caring for adult disabled family members.

The Commonwealth of Virginia ends its sterilization program.

1973

Enactment of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 marks the single greatest achievement of the disability rights movement to date. Section 504 prohibits programs receiving federal funding from discriminating against the disabled. Disability rights activists see the law as a powerful device and make the signing of regulations to implement Section 504 a priority.

1975

Congress enacts the Education for All Handicapped Children Act mandating that state supported schools provide disabled students with a "free appropriate public education in the least restrictive environment."

1976

An amendment to the Higher Education Act of 1972 authorizes services to students with physical disabilities who are entering college.

1977

Joseph Califano, secretary of HEW, refuses to sign regulations for Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973. Demonstrations take place in ten cities, including San Francisco, where 150 demonstrators refuse to disband. Califano finally signs the regulations.

1978

Title VII of the Rehabilitation Act Amendments of 1978 authorize the first federal funding for independent living centers.

1980

Congress passes the Social Security Amendments of 1980, which results in hundreds of thousands of individuals with disabilities losing their benefits.

The Civil Rights of Institutionalized Persons Act authorizes the United States Justice Department to file civil law suits on behalf of residents of institutions whose rights are allegedly being violated.

1981

The Telecommunications for the Disabled Act mandates telephone access for deaf and hearing impaired people in public places.

1984

In response to complaints from people whose Social Security benefits have been terminated, Congress passes the Social Security Disability Reform Act.

The Voting Accessibility for the Elderly and Handicapped Act mandates that polling places be accessible.

1986

Toward Independence, a report published by the National Council on the Handicapped, outlines the legal status of Americans with disabilities and documents discrimination.

1988

The Fair Housing Act Amendments Act adds people with disabilities to those groups protected by federal fair housing legislation.

Congress passes the Technology-Related Assistance Act for Individuals with Disabilities, authorizing federal funding to state programs designed to facilitate access to assistive technology.

1989

The President's Committee on Employment of the Handicapped is renamed the President's Committee on Employment of People with Disabilities.

1990

On July 26, President George W. Bush signs the Americans with Disabilities Act during a ceremony attended by thousands of disability rights advocates. The act provides comprehensive civil rights protection for individuals with disabilities. Congress also passes the Ryan White Comprehensive AIDS Resource Emergency Act to assist communities in dealing with the growing HIV/AIDS epidemic.

1996

Senator Robert Dole becomes the first person with a visible disability since Franklin Roosevelt to run for president of the United States. Georgia voters elect Max Cleland, who was physically disabled in Vietnam, to the United States Senate.

2001

The Commonwealth of Virginia House of Delegates approves a resolution expressing remorse for its eugenics practices dating from 1924 to 1979.

Disability Terminology Timeline

10th Continu	10th Continu	Forly 20th Contrary	Lata 20th Contum	21st Continu
18th Century	19th Century	Early 20th Century	Late 20th Century	21st Century
Cripple	Cripple	Backward	Handicapped	"Person who is"
Insane	Deaf and dumb	Defective	Emotionally and behaviorally	Partially sighted
diot	Insane	Insane	disturbed	Differently abled
mbecile	Fool	Dullard	Learning disabled	Mentally ill
Lunatic	Idiot	Fool	PTSD (Post Traumatic Stress	Chronically ill
Mad	Lunatic	Idiot	Disorder)	Congenitally disabled
Deaf and dumb	Mongoloid	Silent	Mentally ill	Developmentally disabled
Blind	Abnormal	Imbecile	Down Syndrome	Learning disabled
Fool	Defective	Lunatic	Mentally handicapped	Mobility disabled
Simpleton	Cretin	Mentally retarded	Mentally retarded	Non-vocal, non-verbal
Cretin	Epileptic	Mongoloid	Polio	Visually impaired or blind
Deranged	Pauper (insane)	Moron	Autistic	Deaf or hard of hearing
Neurotic	Psychopathic	Neurotic	Schizo	Epileptic
Phobic	Feeble-minded	Pauper	Manic Depressive	Of short stature
	Imbecile	Subnormal	Bi-polar	Emotionally disabled
	Simpleton	Cripple	Psychotic	A wheelchair user
		Feeble-minded		"Person who has"
		Mentally ill		Special needs
		Spastic		A speech disability
				A communication disability

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