

**Oral History Number: 378-002**  
**Interviewee: (Haysel) Diane Sands**  
**Interviewer: Erin Cunniff and G. G. Weix**  
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**Project: Montana Feminist Oral History Collection**

Erin Cunniff: —Erin Cunniff, interviewing Diane Sands for the Montana Feminist History Project, December 15, 2000 in the Women’s Studies Office. Okay, so let’s start with your name.

Diane Sands: Haysel Diane Sands. H-A-Y-S-E-L.

EC: Okay. And your address?

DS: You really want to do that—?

EC: Do you want to just wait and do this...?

DS: Oh, (unintelligible) or some of it.

EC: You said you were going to be easy on me. What did you want to answer on the background information?

DS: What do you really want to know that? I could just write in the blanks. What do you want to know?

EC: Let’s do—

DS: Right.

EC: What are your current activities involved in?

DS: My current activities?

Currently, when we came back to Montana...two years ago from Portland, I started working on political campaigns again. I, among other campaigns managed the campaign of Linda McCullough for State Superintendent of Public Instruction. As a result of that I have taken a job as one of her political appointees in the Office of Public Instruction. I work directly for the State Superintendent of Public Instruction. My title there is Federal State Relations, and I do a variety of things having to do with the federal legislation, congressional delegation. I manage a national teacher of the year awards program, and I (misspeak) write some grants, and particularly work at raising money from private foundations. So raising money for things like (unintelligible) education for all, and some other activities like that. So it’s a political job at the moment that I have.

EC: Are you involved in any outside volunteer activities, or is that pretty much all-in-one?

DS: I do many outside activities. Oh, I never call them volunteer activities actually. I consider them my life, so I don't really consider them that. The Feminist History Project. I'm also the state vice-president for the American Association of University Women—Montana State AAUW. I've been that for two years, and I'm running for that again, so I assume they'll re-elect me. I'm also on the board for the Montana Women's Foundation, which is a new foundation in the state of Montana that gives...raises money and gives it to organizations that work to breed systemic (unintelligible) change for women and girls in the state of Montana.

EC: Okay. Is that okay?

DS: Yes. Let's see what other ones am I on? Oh, I'm on a whole bunch of other shit, that's (unintelligible).

EC: Okay. Do you have any leader activities or any work you usually do?

DS: Well, since I live in Missoula and I work in Helena, one of the hardest things in this last year has been to try to be in two places at once, so I commute on the weekends. That has taken a lot of time. I have an apartment in Helena and live there, and I do a variety of things there with...there's a lesbian women's potluck group with about 60 that meets every month. I do different activities with some of them. I occasionally do some other work for the occasional, for PRIDE. We're having a six-year anniversary of the lawsuit that I organized—decriminalized homosexuality in the state—so I did a little history project speech for them, so a lot of little activities My true leisure activities—playing with my family, my sweetheart, our birds, and gardening the 8,000 square feet on our back hillside that's only native plants.

EC: Oh, wow! In Missoula?

DS: That was in Missoula, yeah.

EC: Does your family live in Missoula?

DS: I live in Missoula. I have primarily lived in Missoula with little jobs here and there in the last thirty years. Graduate school in D.C., managing campaigns in Idaho and Oregon, and things like that. Other than that I've lived in Missoula most of the 30, 35 years since I started college here. So Ann Mary (Dussault) and I live here, and her sister lives with us. So I live here. Then my mother, who had just moved last year from Circle to Billings where she lives, finally retired at 80-plus after having been a school teacher and then 20 years as the county librarian. My parents were both school teachers. They taught all over eastern Montana. Finally retired from the (unintelligible) and moved to my dad's hometown which is Circle. My mother's hometown

is Bozeman. My mother has now moved to Billings, where two of my sisters currently live. I have a sister in Billings and Fairfield and a brother in Portland.

EC: Okay. That's why you went to Portland? (Unintelligible)

DS: Ann Mary and I were both frustrated with the lack of income in this state, and she got recruited for a job with Eco Trust, which is an environmental...doing economic developments in the rain forests—the temperate rain forests in North America. So we talked about moving to Portland, and so we did. She got recruited and did a job for them, and I ended up working for...managing a state-wide campaign on public finance and the budgets. Oh, that's the other board I'm on is Montana's...What are we calling it? The Montana Citizen's League, which is working to create public financing for elections in the state of Montana.

EC: How did you feel about the difference politically, socially in Portland say, as opposed to a place like Missoula?

DS: They're very similar.

EC: You think so?

DS: Yes, and partly because my experience as a legislator and, and the work that over the years I've done as a...with all these feminist organizations, many of which are regional in nature. For example, the woman who is the head of the Senate in the state of Oregon is an old friend through NARAL [National Abortion and Reproductive Rights League] from 30 years ago. So partly because of the job I was moving into, partly from having been a legislator, and partly just these old relationships. My partner's also an ex-legislator. She was majority leader and also...so we know a lot of those people already out there. So we both pretty much instantly had access to everybody from the governor and all those political people (unintelligible). They're very similar here. Portland's politics are very much like Missoula's. Pretty much no difference. The state's the same. Their eastern Oregon is very conservative, and western Oregon has pockets of diversity, but in that sense it's very much like Montana. The economy is similar in that way. Except Montana's economy is very bad in general, and there's no money to be made here, and (unintelligible) organizing jobs start at 40,000 dollars a year there.

EC: Oh, wow. I think let's move, okay, or talk about when you first came to school here and you first started getting involved.

DS: My getting involved started before I ever came here. The way I would explain how I got involved in this is in part people think that they chose their life, and in part you do choose your life. I do choose this life. On the other hand, the fact that I am white and the fact that I was a baby-boomer born in 1947, went to the...chose the university specifically here because of its political tradition already. I had a little taste of (unintelligible) at MSU [Montana State University-Bozeman], and, and my family didn't have the money to send me out of state. I was

pretty interested in a couple of places out of state, but then my family's very educated on both sides. They taught on reservation schools. We never had a house. We never owned a house. We never had a new car. But the expectation was always that everyone would go to school. Even my great grandmother on my mother's side had a college education. On my dad's side, all of the women also had master's degrees. So the expectation that you would go to school and could do anything you damn well wanted to do and is really partly a factor of choice, but it's also a factor of the family that you happen to be born into. I'm well aware that if I was an Indian girl I...in Frazer, some of my classmates...my choices would be very different than mine were because I could go to school, because I had access to enough money to be able to do that, and parents that were supportive of that. I wasn't pregnant, or in jail, or dead.

Being a child of the '60s, the fact that you're born in a certain era, you know the 19...the early '60s, people like Kennedy and all had an enormous impact on it. My grandmother on my mother's side was a National Democratic Committee-woman. She worked a lot with Mansfield. She was also (unintelligible) of Christ. Did not trust Kennedy at all because he was Catholic. She was anti-Catholic, did not vote for him because of that. So politics was much discussed in my family, and so I was quite interested in that. When we first moved onto a reservation when I was in the fourth grade, I remember seeing the racial differences in the way that people were treated. I was outraged in the fourth grade...and gender inequity. I was a little...and the oldest child is the other thing to understand, which I think makes a difference, because you're basically treated as an adult. Then I never had rules. My mother said to me, "You have to do what you believe is right, regardless of the consequences." We talked about that, and even in the seventh grade I really made my own ethical and moral decisions. My mother allowed me to experiment. I decided to go visit the Baptist church when I was in the first grade. I went over, and went to this separate little Baptist church because I liked this minister in the second and third grade while my mother is off going to a different church. So that kind of permission in fact, to be experimental and do what I thought I was interested in, not every kid and certainly not every girl has a chance to do.

EC: The women in your family—did they consider themselves feminists or label themselves feminists?

DS: There was no word as such as *feminist*. I mean, if you read Betty Freidan, you know with the problem that had no name, there was no word for that. As I said, on my mother's side, even my great-grandmother and my grandmother were extremely strong women. While I personally despised my grandmother, she was head of every woman's organization in the state of Montana. I bear her name. She was the most un-grandmotherly woman you would ever meet. In many ways I'm very much like her. If she lived in our era, she would have...she'd be feminist and do this for a job (unintelligible). In the '30s and '40s, more of a avocation. Her husband was a postman, but she ran all these different organizations. She really did all these politics, et cetera. That's what she did. She didn't nurture her family at all. Never baked a cookie, none of that. That's my mother's side.

Then my mother was a teacher and actually divorced my father when I was two, who was an alcoholic and ran around with other women. He couldn't support even the women in his family. Then she remarried. The man I consider my dad was a teacher in Eastern Montana.

On my dad's side, the person who is really notable and a role model for us is my Aunt Polly who is now in her late 80s. Never married and was a nurse and lived all over the world. She's the person who...oh, sent us things from everywhere in the world. I mean, she was in China having acupuncture in the 70s. Even though she was a nurse and started all these nursing programs and taught nursing, she was the one who was making us eat kelp pills, and was out there doing aerobic exercises. I remember in high school we thought she was wonderful. So she was very much a role model of doing wonderful things with her life.

I do not remember a conversation ever, ever, ever once in my family about an expectation any of us would get married or have children, ever. There was never a discussion that we would. The assumption was always that we'd do these other things, whatever it was. So by the time I was in high school, I was...had already gotten into quite a number of fights in different circumstances over issues around race and gender, everything from in high school, and my dad was the principal. Of course, we lived a block from the school, so again, incredible amount of privilege to...this was a school with 40 people maximum, and seven in my class. We pretty much did whatever we wanted to do. All the Indian kids were run out by the time I was a senior. There were none left. All those classmates are dead and have been dead for a long time. This is very much a segregated community—little town. But being the principal's kids and all, we could do what...pretty much whatever we wanted. We set up and organized whole separate classes. When the superintendent wouldn't let us put this picture of one of my Indian classmates who had left school in the book, I did it any way. One of the teachers said, "Girls are just less intelligent than boys." I had a screaming fight with him in class. Left, refused to ever go back. They said, "Now, Diane, I know you think these things are blah, blah, blah, blah, blah, blah, blah. But you know, you just have...For everybody else, you have to go back and be part of the class."

I said, "No. I'm never going back." (Unintelligible) is partly responsible for my feminism. Superintendent—they'd never make me go back. They let me do whatever I wanted.

Around race issues, I used...and anti-war stuff, even in high school, quite a bit of it. The presence of the civil rights movement on television too, and you could see the inequity. Teachers all the time beat up Indian kids and said, "The only good Indian's a dead Indian" in class. I used to have just tremendous fights about that even though there was not a civil—the civil rights movement was only starting nationally—was not yet present among the Indian community. My class, as I said, no Indians left there by the time I graduated, but in my sisters' classes there were. The Indian kids used to spend a lot of time at our house. In fact one young woman who is my sisters', the twins', best friend, and still is, lived at our house for some time. My dad was fired because quote, "The Indians were allowed in our house." Because two people got married. Lived across the street from each other. The girl who was white, her father was on the school board. The guy, really a very nice man—they're still married after 30 years—got

married. Her family and her brothers-in-laws, who were all on the school board and all white, did not approve. They fired my dad for it. Because they come out at our house.

So that's the environment of seeing the racial inequities, and the different expectations for boys and girls. By the time I was in high school...Then you see it on television. We first got television like, 1960, and I remember the march on Washington and Selma and the Kennedy assassination and all of that. They had an incredible impact on you. You guys in the post-modern world now may or may not...I don't know how you understand the impact of media on that. But you were present, and you were there. You could see it. I remember standing there and just carrying on to my dad about the civil rights attacks and saying, "How is this different than what's here? How is this different than what's in Frazer? Where Indians aren't allowed into certain stores, and they only live in certain parts of town? They have (unintelligible). How is this different?"

He said, "It's not." He's the only one who ever talked to me and tried to explain what the...would just acknowledge that I was in fact seeing different treatment. So at the time I chose to come to high school here. My readings and things were things like Dietrich Bonhoeffer who was a World War Two Lutheran minister who was killed in a concentration camp—about having a moral sense of self. I was very loud in the Lutheran church, and was considering going into the ministry. However, I'm the one who always had the wrong answer at confirmation and...but, you know? I was always the person who had the wrong answer. Then of course when I even ran Bible camps back there, paid less. Then I had quite a fight with the Bible camp over that. Then of course when I considered being in the ministry, and women were not allowed in the ministry. That was the end of my whole involvement with the church.

So it's one damn thing after another. But it didn't have a framework. The first framework was around racism because of the civil rights movement. Then choosing to come here in partly because it was an in-state college for the (unintelligible) and because it had a more radical tradition than Bozeman. I'd spent enough time in Bozeman as a kid with my grandparents to know that was too sleepy a place for me. Missoula at the time was known as the "Berkeley of the North." Walking on to campus the first day, lined up outside of the Lodge were the faculty and others who were protesting the war in Vietnam. I went and joined them. It was where I wanted to be.

EC: When you started school here, did you immediately get involved? You'd try to get things started up?

DS: I think I was a, kind of a shy kid actually in my own little way. At least I think I was. But I was involved in lots of organizations in high school, and we'd give...I used to love to give sermons. I was the person who always got to be the speaker, I think, so I guess by some objective standard I wasn't that shy. So I got involved with some...the anti-war group on campus at that time, which was not a particularly radical group. I don't know. Some of the older faculty and others who were having different discussions and doing these silent vigils at that time. That's how

quiet it was. I got involved with the campus ministry group because it was very politically active at the time. Very politically active.

As a result of that, in the next summer I went to Chicago to work with a program in the black community—West Side—that was a summer program for 1,000 kids. But their intention was to teach people about racism. The guy who was the campus minister at the time, John Nelson, his sister and brother both ran...one ran an alternative school, first alternative school in Chicago. The other was a Lutheran minister there. Ulysses Doss, who ran the Black Studies program here, eventually, was already there running this community organization. So that's how I met those folks, and that's how he ended up here. So we lived with different families and ran this summer program. It was with Catholic priests and nuns, and it was a very ecumenical environment which was the other impact that was going on at the time. Pope John the XXIII, you know...if you grow up in these little towns as...let's say I'm Lutheran. In the '60s, you did not interact with other faiths. We grew up with...There were Hutterites and Mennonites up there, who lived in a world of their own. Then there were the Catholics. You never went over into their churches although on my dad's side they were Catholics. So we would when we went to visit my grandparents on that side, we'd go to mass, et cetera. But generally you did not date people of other faiths. You did not know anything about them. Of course the mass was still in Lati, so these were very different worlds. My first love was a Catholic priest. Would have put my grandmother in the grave, the anti-Catholic one. You just did not cross those lines. At all. You not only have all this civil right stuff going on, but you also have, say, among the Catholic Church, the revision going on of the ecumenical movement at the time, which started to break down a lot of these barriers officially, particularly between the high churches of you know, communing and talking to each other. So, for example, the campus ministry here became very ecumenical—extremely international, political and ecumenical.

Talk about God was not really worth the conversation, or the Bible—that was not what we were talking about. We were talking about social justice issues and comparisons between Gandhi, King, and you know, Martin Luther, or whatever. They were in around political action (unintelligible). The people who then started living together and lived for a while at the Methodist student house were of all faiths. That was a very hot topic among the adult advisory councils to all of this campus ministry stuff. What were these young people all doing and talking to each other? I'd start with mass at seven o'clock in the morning every day but never on Sunday. So people started spending time together, and they would look at you sometimes like...If you'd go to mass and you weren't Catholic—and they knew you weren't Catholic—it was like, "What are you doing here?" So it was an interesting time in that regard.

To go to Chicago, and King had been there. We marched, and it was so interesting that you could only commune in your own church. There are Lutherans here, and there are Catholics over here, and yet this summer institute program that we were doing, or summer school. We were housed for example with the Methodist church, and there were Catholic priests, nuns, Lutheran seminarians, and those of us who were just...you know, from these campus ministry programs, all working together and living together everyday. Then you go commune alone in

your own church, and then you'd go out and march with King. The people you were marching next to, you couldn't commune with. This person who was standing there throwing bricks and trying to kill you was someone you communed with. So that started to break that down. I remember going to the Catholic church there, and people were in tears to be able to commune with people of other faiths. They had worked so closely with them, risked their lives with everyday. So all of that sort of questioning every category that society had for who you were, and how you live your life were all shattered in the '60s.

I helped participate in that, but to be born into that when you're a young person and have no other commitments and you can really do anything you want. So the questions get raised of, "Do you want to go to this...?" If you talked to someone here who's four years older than I am—Judy Smith for example, who was old enough then to go be in the Peace Corps. I was too young kind of, by four years to do that. Or to go march in Selma like Margaret Kingsland did. I was a little too young to do that. So your age and your time and your place make an enormous difference in what your experiences are and what your options are. The impact of something like all the assassinations of the '60s. First Kennedy. I'm trying to remember every detail of those four days. They just are seared into your soul. King and Robert Kennedy. Then as part of the Vietnam thing, the murder of many people on the streets here. Everything from the Panthers to Jackson State and Kent State—the shooting of students, et cetera is that we really believed in the '60s that we were in the revolution. That they would kill us. Because they did kill us.

So then you're faced with whole sets of questions about what's your moral and ethical responsibility in this life. What are you going to choose to do? The options were more than available to either, as a strategy, how do you think change happens? I was a member of SDS here in the early days of Students for a Democratic Society. When that then became more militant and then split off into the (indecipherable) underground and blowing up buildings, et cetera were things that (unintelligible). We had to think about—and remember hearing discussions about—was picking up a gun the right way to go? I very much agreed much more with the Black Panthers' philosophy than I ever did with Martin Luther King's philosophy at the time. I did not believe non-violence was the only way to go here. I knew you could not ever win with a violent revolution so I very consciously thought through that, which is interesting in this time now when we're talking about terrorism. People say terrorism has never happened on this land or here...First of all, the '60s was a whole question of terrorists of a lot of different kinds.

One of the first times when I went home after Chicago and took...I was taking anthropology and Native America studies and things like... It wasn't Native American studies, but anthropologists were courses I knew Indians were taught. So I'd take all these books home. My sister's friends would be there, and they'd look at these books on, even simple things like Plains Indians or something on Sitting Bull. They'd say "That never happened." These are Sioux people. Never heard of it. I'd hand out all these books. Then A.I.M. happened. The American Indian Movement loomed at me in '72. The militancy of that, partly in response to the federal government murdering a number of Indian people (unintelligible). Several of my sister's friends, boyfriend

went...were at Wounded Knee with A.I.M. It changed the entire world there in terms of how they saw their political options. But the realities were that being assassinated for your political beliefs or killed was an absolute reality, or being sent to jail, as all of the people who were involved. I was a draft counselor and did a lot of taking people to Canada and various other things to get out of the Vietnam War. Had several friends (unintelligible). So I mean you knew you had those kind of huge moral and ethical choices about who you were as an individual person, but who you were as a woman, who you were as a white person, who you were as an American in relationship to Vietnam, et cetera. Those questions were being asked everyday in ways you couldn't avoid, in a way that many of the succeeding generations have not had, mind you, the opportunity to define themselves vis-à-vis that. Perhaps they are now in terms of the so-called war we're at now. But those experiences really defined a whole generation of peoples' lives, and I was one of those people.

EC: So, first I say, wow! Oh, it's really interesting to hear all this from somebody personally. When was the first feminist organization that you got involved with or started? What was the roots of that? I remember reading stuff about the pregnancy referral and right after—

DS: Part of the prelude to it, I guess, is coming out of, as I had said, many of those things—feminism. All those political movements come out of a common tie and for a common reason because all of them question the structures of society. They question the issues of personal identity. What is the meaning of life? How do you create change, et cetera? So all of those were questions (unintelligible), and it makes sense. If you were a woman who was active in the anti-war movement for example...This is also the time of being hippies—sex, drugs, and rock and roll. Now, as an individual person, I did some of that. I'm not massively into that because I am more of a control freak than that. As a person, when I left high school, the things I knew I wanted...I never wanted to marry. I never wanted to be trapped. At that point what family meant in the traditional sense of being, the expectation was that you would marry. You went to a university like here. It was to get your "Mrs." degree. This was said. This was said to you. You went here. If you went to get a degree, like my family all had teaching and nursing degrees and different kinds, it was probably that you would work in that for a while. Then something happened, just in case, and you had to take care of yourself and you could take care of yourself. It wasn't that you were coming, and then going to choose whatever life you chose because that's what a human being, and a woman as a human being, does, but that women would eventually marry and have children and that set of expectations.

(Unintelligible) So this time of questioning, and you see the civil rights movement and we exchange papers. I think you've seen some of these here. We're in the anti-war movement. God, I remember being on the back of the trucks going to Seattle for draft counseling training, and as kind of a counter-culture hippie person, what that really meant was sexual freedom for men. It kind of for women, but you were viewed as a sexual object. I cannot tell you how many of these guys..."You want to smoke?" (Unintelligible) "You want to fuck?" That's all they would talk...that was how they saw women—was to wait on them to become birth mothers to them, to have their children, just random sex, whatever. A good time. I mean they did not take

women in the slightest bit seriously. It was very difficult to be heard at all as an independent person in that environment. The way that you could do it primarily was to find some guy—I partly did—which kind of insulated you from that. If you had a partner, you could kind of make them knock it off a little bit. But to be heard as a separate voice with an opinion that was respected was very difficult. Many of the young women who were involved at that time probably had opinions, but nobody ever asked them and nobody ever gave them a place to talk about it. Not drafted, so women weren't at risk in the same kind of way. So women who were supportive of that ended up being in either support roles, seldom in leadership. I remember numerous fights at, you know, SDS meetings to even be heard and not be just really put down for it was very difficult.

The Poor Peoples' Campaign, when it came through in 1968...This was a national movement of poor people to go and camp on the lawns of Congress in D.C. Thousands and thousands and thousands of people went. As they moved from the West to the East Coast, they would stop in places to camp. They camped out here on the lawn. At that time on campus if you were a woman as well, you were required to live in the dorm until you were a senior or 21. *In loco parentis* was the official policy of the University, particularly to women. If you were a man, you were out of here after your freshman year. You were not required to live in a dorm. So men were considered to be adults, women were not considered to be adults or able to make those decisions until you were a senior. There was a dean of women, Dean Clow. She knew everything all the women students were doing. She would call you into her office and talk to you about your behavior, yada, yada, yada. There were in the women's residency halls—the standards board I served on at one point—which kept track of standards, what women were doing, what girls were sneaking out of their dorms, who was having sex with who, who was not. Absolutely. You could be expelled on the basis of those behaviors.

EC: Sounds like a gossip board.

DS: Well, gossip is a form of social control. I mean, it's actually way more formal than that. It's how do you control women's behavior? The standards for women and they viewed it was that they were training you up to become women, respectable ladies of the day, with those certain standards and values. Among those certainly weren't sneaking out of the dorms, spending the night out with men, or flaunting any of the behaviors or the rules. So those boards would meet floor by floor and plan social events and things. But the other thing they did was really control women's behavior, and they reported to the dean. You could be expelled. You could be written up. You could be confined to your dorm at night. So yes. You could be locked down. You can eventually get kicked out. So in that environment, which is very different for women than men—then you have all of these political things going on—it's reasonable to think that those things would start to be challenged. So they start to lead within these other political contexts.

Well, those of us who were active in the anti-war movement starting to raise...and then those who were involved in sort of counter-culture also started to raise them. We were aware from reading the underground newspapers that we read all of the time and these political leaflets,

and we'd traveled both coasts to be involved in marches and things. SNCC [Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee], of course, the famous thing of trying to have a paper given on the position of women within the anti-war movement, the black movement. Stokely Carmichael saying the only position for women in the movement is prone. We knew about that. So those conversations started to happen. The Poor Peoples' March came through here, camped on the lawn. Alice Windsor? Alice Windsor, fine woman. She had been on her own since she was in her teens, lived in Paris, all sort of stuff. Came here to go to school. Very involved in the anti-war movement. She was required to live in the dorm, and she refused. She camped out on the lawn at one point, and they didn't kick her out. It was quite the scandal. Actually Lynn Robson, who now lives in Helena, whose father was the Attorney General of Idaho, did the same thing on the lawn of the University of Idaho. (Unintelligible...) vigilant, refusing to live in, under this separate standard system of who can stay in and what hour. You had to be in by ten o'clock at night and check out with the house mother and all this stuff. So that refusal to play starts to happen in '68, '69. Then politically knowing about it.

So we're all out there with the Poor Peoples' Campaign in '68. I remember Alice Windsor standing up and just railing at the university faculty, kind of the men who were the leaders of SDS. These men are all probably ten years older than I am at least. Denny Brawn and Paul Warwick, the guys, just going on about their oppression of women. The language we would have used would have been the '60s oppression language. Not as feminist because the language of feminism was just in the late '60s. We were not in the middle class. Betty Friedan wrote out of the middle class. She's 20 years older than I am. She wrote really from middle class women living in suburbia. I never read that. I would not have read that. What I would have read, it would come out of the Left [New Left], and it was the women of the Left. That would have gone to, who would have been the women in the Panthers, the women in SNCC, the women in SDS. Those are the women I would listen to. I would never listen to Betty Friedan. I never read her until I started to teach feminist theory. So it's this coming out of the Left, because in the Left we were talking about what is justice. What's social justice? What's equality? What's freedom? All of those questions. Of course, you're not just going to ask them about those people? You're going to ask them about your own circumstances. So that's how the branch of feminism that I come out of evolved. Not out of the more—as we were called then—"liberal feminism" coming out of Betty Friedan, which was just really that the world shouldn't change so much, but that women should be included in it. Our worldview was really that there was fundamentally something wrong with American life and culture around capitalism, imperialism, and oppression, and that women's position in that was also one that was oppressed. That's how it sort of starts.

The first events here in the very early '70s, and you have (unintelligible) talking to in my interview with Barbara Konigsberg at the time, there's a hand-made sign in here. It's not a mimeo. Barbara Konigsberg, now Koser—maiden name—and Stephanie Henkin, were here as [Peace Corps] VISTA workers. Their husbands were also very political Lefty, heavy, heavy Lefty guys. So they'd been reading all this stuff. Well, they decided they would call a meeting of the first women's liberation group. Because she just didn't like the ones that were starting in New

York and everywhere else in the late '60s. Nobody came to the first meeting. They didn't advertise it very well. So they set up the table the next week at the University Center. Well, I immediately went and signed up the first day to start these consciousness-raising groups, which is the methodology that we took. Primarily just sit and talk about our experience and read all of this literature and share, and you have these sign-up lists. We had over 200 women in Missoula, who were members of the early women's liberation movement, who came to these consciousness-raising groups.

There was sort of a somewhat set format. They were like eight weeks long, and had different topics, and were lead by someone who was sort of semi-trained to do that. Then there was a council of those groups, a representative from each one of them that met to coordinate more other activities, sort of citywide. These were community and campus. There was no distinction between them. Another world that is not currently a reality here. We have a very separate university from community now. We were not in any way separate then, in anything really. I mean, there were more people involved in both, and activism crossed both lines. Everything in the community was part of the university, and vice versa.

We'd meet in different people's homes, and hold these discussions about everything from sex, and you know, and all these wild pamphlets you see coming out here too. You know, all these little ten-cent pamphlets were things that we'd get from the *Furies*, or some East coast or West coast feminist writing, or things that would appear in Leftist publications. You know, like *The Berkeley Rag*, or any of a number—the Seattle papers or whatever. People were traveling back and forth constantly. Whether they were going to Woodstock, at a rock concert, or whether they were going to a political event, or whatever. There was just a lot of movement around. Not by phone. Not by television so much. Not by computer at all, but just by physically moving around. There was a lot of that kind of activity. For example, in 1971, Barbara Koser and I went as the delegates to an international Vietnamese women's conference in Vancouver, Canada. The United States was at war with Vietnam. This was an act of treason to go. This is an international conference sponsored by the Black Panther women, the Women's Liberation, and International Women's League of Peace and Freedom. It was held in two places, not in the United States because the women were Viet Cong that came. It was held in Vancouver, Canada, and held in Toronto. It was a four-day conference.

It was the first big conference like this I had ever gone to. It had delegations—huge numbers of Panther women. Not women who would have associated with King, but people who were very far to the Left. These were—it was a very much Leftist conference. Women's Liberation, International, and there were a couple women from here from the International Women's League of Peace and Freedom. Sandra [Perring?] being one of them. We went to this conference. It was the first time I had been in an environment that was totally all women, and tons of lesbians too. It was really interesting. By three or four days you look around, you see a heterosexual couple, you know, "Now, what are you guys doing together?" It was all this Leftist politics, and was focused of course around the United States' war with Vietnam. The four guests were Viet Cong women leaders who had spent months crawling out of Vietnam, in many

cases out of South Vietnam to come to this conference. Women who went back into the United States, we were all urged to go through secondary borders. Many of 'em were strip-searched. All the materials confiscated and taken. It was a risky business to go to this conference. They knew all this, and it went into your F.B.I. file.

EC: Everything did?

DS: Yeah. But it gave you again, that connection to all of these movements being connected to each other, and willing to understand that when you're fighting around issues of social justice, you may place yourself somewhere more active in one branch than another, whether it's the anti-war movement, or around race, or class, or gender. But the connection between those and the political realities that tied them together, and the fundamental dynamics of oppression and liberation (unintelligible).

EC: Do you feel like when more women's organizations started to form in this community that other organizations were involved with them? I, I remember G.G. saying that there really wasn't an African-American Studies or Native American Studies before the Feminist Studies. Is...?

DS: No. I mean, first of all there were other women's groups around, you know and again you're kind of in an age-graded world. I mean, one thing I realized was that because the political activists in the anti-war movement in fact were male faculty members for the most part - there were a few women—those men's wives were the political activists in the International Women's League of Peace and Freedom. Flo Chessin, Elaine Silverman, Jean Pfeiffer... These are all women that you will interview as part of G.A.S.P. [Gals Against Smog and Pollution] They were very involved already in environmental, early environmental stuff. In their dresses, out there. They were involved in some of the anti-war stuff, but their husbands really took the leads in those kinds of areas, and they had already formed these separate women's organizations that were active around international women's peace issues, and around environmental issues. But they're again, ten to twenty years older than I am. We would not have had minimal interactions with 'em. I mean, we knew each other but, we didn't share the whole same life experience. Plus they'd not have been out smoking dope and running around naked. They had little children at home, I remember, a very different kind of place in their life. That created some barriers there. But those groups were out there, and we'd interact with 'em periodically.

There really wasn't much of an African-American community here, except the football player boys until 1968, when...King was assassinated. Because I had been living in that community, and I'd go hear Jesse Jackson, and go to King's thing, but philosophically I didn't totally agree with them. Really agreed much more with the Panthers' assessment of this country as being even a more radical position. But when King was assassinated, Chicago burned to the ground. The community I lived in burned to the ground. As a result of that, Ulysses Doss came to this campus overnight to get away, because both the mayor and the gangs were trying to kill him. He came here, and partly to hide out, but to save his life. He stayed here. As a result of that, he

was then asked to—the campus ministries helped work it out with the university so that Ulysses could teach here. So that's when the Black Studies Program first started. The first classes that he taught, you know, I took all of 'em cause I had known him already for quite some time.

And the ones that Dick Charlo, who's now an old inherited chief now up on Flathead, Dick and I, and you know, a lot of people who then sort of became head of—there weren't Native American Studies Programs, cause that didn't exist then. That's where we all went to have these discussions, was in those classes, (unintelligible).

Then Ulysses recruited a lot of these students that we'd worked with before. The summer program, (unintelligible), was also—had neighborhood youth (unintelligible), which were all these high school kids who then got paid to help work on this too. As a result of that, Ulysses would recruit a lot of those kids to come to school here. So at one point there were hundreds and hundreds of young African-American men and women who went to school here who were not athletes, because Ulysses recruited them to come here. They all came here, and were taking various classes, and they changed the campus in a lot of different ways. Among things, they did have a Black Student Union, and actually one of the women who headed that, then married one of Ulysses' brothers, Pferron. She and I became friends, and we had a consciousness-raising group together. She's now a Muslim, and doesn't speak to people who are not Muslims and not African-American. (Unintelligible) But the Black Student Union led the first takeover of the R.O.T.C. building. That came out of Kent State and Jackson State. Kent State—got the flyer here—you know, people tend to think that March 6th or May 6th date, they remember Kent State. But the day after Jackson State, which was primarily a Black college at the time, five African-American students were also gunned down. As a result of those two events, it was one of the times we took over the R.O.T.C. building. The Black Student Union led that takeover. (unintelligible) They were actually very interesting autonomous players in this community for a long time.

Native American Studies didn't exist either. But those students were starting to come to campus here as a result of the Red Power—Indian Power Movement that was starting across the country. Again, you see all of these movements connected together—

### **End of Side A, Tape 1.**

DS: —program, and the first Kyi-Yo Indian club. I remember I, in fact, headed a housing committee for the first Kyi-Yo Indian Conference way back then. People spent some time socially together, but they also had conversations together. I remember one that (unintelligible), I was just remarking with somebody else who was there was...it was a university panel, and I know it had...Ulysses was on it, black studies. I can't remember, it probably was at first, maybe Kyi-Yo Indian Conference. They got into a discussion about the war, and the view of Native Americans who participated in the highest numbers of anyone in the war, in any of these

wars, very patriotic in that sense, and participants in military coming out of that cultural tradition. Blacks of course, who were huge amounts of the people who were drafted and sent to the war had quite a different view, many of them, of the Vietnam war, and were already objecting to it, as King was when he was killed. He objected to the Vietnam War. I think Ulysses had raised that point and the knife came out and was thrown into the middle of the table too. We're not unpatriotic like you. I mean, so it was not always harmony. (Unintelligible) They'd come at these realities from a very different point of view. But, there was a lot of interchange among those initial people about—because we were tied together both in our dealings with the federal government, when the F.B.I.'s going after Native Americans coming out of Wounded Knee, and out of the A.I.M. movement and all of that, as much as going after blacks. The burning down of Chicago. Watts, Detroit. (Unintelligible) burned to the ground. It was every summer. That's what our daily life was like and the Vietnam War... There were a lot of common social events, and politics that tied all of these movements together, at least in the individual people and their conversations with each other in ways that have now become very fragmented.

That first woman, Barbara Koser that I was talking about who had started the consciousness-raising groups here, then went off to (unintelligible) and she and Johnny Bearcub started the first Indian pre-school in the state in 1972 or so.

EC: Do you feel that you were fighting, or you were up against a lot of women that had been standardized, or had been...forced into a mentality, or taught a certain mentality to stay out of government? I mean, when you were protesting, when you were organizing did you get—were there a lot of women that looked upon you as being trouble-makers or...?

DS: Oh, sure. You know, it's where you give your attention and your energy. When you first started, probably using the word feminist, well, we called ourselves women's liberationists, which is not the same as women's libbers, which is derogatory. But radical feminists, in fact, are women's liberationists in 1969 or whatever, coming out of that. You know, to a large degree, mainly it was who then were considered the counter-culture, had rejected the main culture totally, and all of its institutions. The church, its economy, the idea of going through here and trying to get a job, (unintelligible), which was just fifty dollars a month, you know? You didn't have any debt. I mean, you could go to school here for a whole semester and live just fine on five hundred dollars. I mean, and you could work in the summer and make that money. Just the massive question and rejection of pretty much every part of the culture. Just family roles, traditional family roles for women as well as for men, economic roles, the idea of getting a job and being part of that oppressive system. Total rejection of all of it, all of its institutions, you know, whether it was the church...politics and government, of all of my involvement in sort of mainstream politics, people ask me if I was involved in the Equal Rights Amendment. I consider the Equal Rights Amendment to be so much a part of sort of that Betty Friedan and that traditional world that I paid it not an ounce of attention. I would not have gone to the legislature and dealt with it whatsoever. I mean, it was just totally devalued.

Because of it, when you think about 'em, the whole thing of, you look at the federal government and its role, you know, in some ways what Kennedy had done, at least in our view then, of trying to send in the National Guard and of this stuff relative to forcing civil rights in some part to take place was considered good. But very quickly, between the F.B.I.'s tapping most of our phones, sending us to jail, killing us, and Congress had no guts whatsoever. It's always fun to hear George McGovern (unintelligible). I voted in 1968, the first time I voted for president. I voted for Eldridge Cleaver. I would no more have voted for George McGovern, who was in my view a liberal sell-out in those days. For all their talk, not a one had really opposed this war. Even Mansfield, well duh! They did, I mean, they did within their own system and their own world, try to stand out, but to those who were out fighting it and dying, it sure didn't look like it, from our... You know, we consider that we ended that war in the streets. We ended that war by people dying to end that war. Not just in Vietnam. They died in the streets. When King was killed, for example there was a (unintelligible) march, which you also see in the *Kaimin* and the papers, which was a realty store down on West Broadway, a bank building now, but, sort of like Higgins and Broadway, right there. They had had a big sign in the window talking about King being a communist, because of his anti-war stuff and things. Well, we just thought we were gonna do something about that when he was killed. So we marched down there. I was sort of the advanced scoping marcher to see who was down there. Well, I went down there. There are all the police in the back and they're waiting for us. They had all this (unintelligible). It was quite a riot. Lots of people went to jail on that one. (Unintelligible) '....get in the van. We're hauling all of you to jail.' Just for...peace, peaceable assembly. I mean, that was a normal event.

The Vietnam War stuff here—twice we took over the R.O.T.C. building. One time I remember running into Pantzer, who was the President then. (Unintelligible) S.D.S. leaders told him that we would not burn the building to ground, to the ground, which many state campuses were doing. Several hundred campuses were just totally shut down. We would not burn the building to the ground. We would not massively destroy property. There was some minor burning of records and things, but personal stuff we didn't. We would leave after two days. The deal we struck was that he would not bring in the National Guard and he would not allow the police to come on campus and kill us. Made that deal. Three years ago a woman, Donna Davis, who was on the Board of Regents as an attorney, very straight-looking, very pretty. Her husband back then was Rick Applegate, who was one of the leaders of the anti-war movement stuff, she was on the Board of Regents, and Pantzer was back in talking about the sixties, these things. He said, "You know, I made this deal with these guys, blah, blah, blah. But they didn't know it, but I had the sheriff up there with a machine gun." He lied to us, and he was gonna kill us if he had to. He'd shoot us. So, our trust of those systems wasn't very good. (Unintelligible) and still, it's becoming real hard to trust...you know, that system. So, no. It wasn't particularly about those middle-class women. It was much more across the board questioning of really pretty much everything American, and particularly middle-class life stood for and every one of its institutions were rejected. (Unintelligible)

EC: So, some of the organizations that you are initially involved with here or helped to institute, can you tell me a little bit about some of them?

DS: Oh, golly geez. Let's see.

EC: I know there's a lot.

DS: Well, the... Yeah, there are a lot of them. We started three groups a week and thought nothing of it. As Sir de Tocqueville said, in his *Democracy in America*, one of the things that so marks Americans is their ability to form groups, because that's how we think about creating change is we form groups. That's not true everywhere. When I used to work with the Argentines on this 'Partners in Americas' thing, one of the things that's so interesting about how Argentines and these women's organizations were, they don't organize. They do not because it's so dangerous in some of these countries that have been under dictators for periods of time, the gathering of three or more people is a cause to be arrested or killed. So, they do not think of ever forming a group to deal with any issue. We just do. You know? So, yeah, we formed a hell of a lot of groups. So all these early feminist groups that started—and I don't remember how the hell we got ourselves into the Women's Action Center. It doesn't exist any more. It's where the Honors College is, the old Geology Building. Probably the run-down old dumps. They had Social Work was in there. Mary Birch was our official advisor. It was sort of a wide hallway on the second floor, big open space that we got as the Women's Action Center. Downstairs was Ulysses Doss and the Black Student Union crowd, and just kind of the radicals in that building. So we had a floor up there that we did Women's Action Center in, which did kind of the coordination of these consciousness-raising groups, other kinds of meetings we had, because it was the staging area when we took over the R.O.T.C. building. That's where we staged it out of. It was a resource center for various things. We moved Pregnancy Referral Service in there for awhile, and did a lot of our legal abortion referral stuff out of there. Then we had all kinds of potlucks and support groups. There was a women's free school...

We organized—free schools were very common in the sixties. Sort of like here's these official institutions that charge you money to go to 'em. Set up free schools that come out of California free school model, the free speech movement. So setting up classes to teach yourself whatever you wanted to learn. Again, rejection in some ways of the institution's right to decide what you could learn and not learn. You'd set up your own institutions to teach yourself how to learn anything you wanted to learn. Women's free school taught everything from you know, auto mechanics.... You could go out to the Vo-Tech and take what they called "powder puff mechanics". So we had women's auto mechanics, light repair. Then among the others that we had were things like health, women's health collective. We always called ourselves collectives back then.

The women's health collective was one of the classes out of that, because one of the first institutions of course that were rejected was the medical institutions, all run by men. At that point, women were nurses, doctors were men. Men controlled all of that information and power. If you were having a child for example, it was like, they just didn't tell you hardly a damn thing. You were not considered an equal partner, or partner at all. In fact, they wouldn't hardly

tell you anything. 'Now, don't worry your head about that. We'll take care of that.' Drug you up when you were having a baby. You had to get permission to get birth control. I mean, women would go over to the Student Health Service over here, and lie, beg, borrow wedding rings, or tell stories that you were getting married next week, or whatever. The more liberal of the two doctors would actually, if you said you had a steady boyfriend, you maybe could get birth control. The other one might come out and humiliate you in the waiting room. So, you wouldn't be able to get birth control. It was very tricky.

One of the first things we did as the Women's Action Center—I remember printing up this mimeo sheet on birth control methods, and putting it under the doors in the women's dorm. House mothers come back and yanking that stuff out of there. They wouldn't let us hand out that kind of information. It was illegal. But the abortion stuff was still illegal 'til '73. Planned Parenthood didn't exist yet. But, of course, as part of our little networks nationwide, that's how we got the *McGill Handbook*, which was a Canadian university birth control handbook. The first volume, then we ordered the second volume, and actually got the students to say that they would pay for (unintelligible). When it arrived, of course, connection here again, because all these naked pictures, it talks about abortion, which is illegal in the United States. The whole front leaf talks about a model of oppression, and the role of the United States in Vietnam. These things are totally connected in our minds of course. So it has this total attack on United States, both racist, racism, international oppression, Vietnam, the war, and abortion. (Unintelligible) Confiscated 'em all. Wouldn't pay for 'em. Lock 'em up (unintelligible) weeks of hoo-ha, before they let us have them with their disclaimer saying it didn't represent the view of the university. Well, of course it has all of this explosive material in it, and to give people information, women who never even knew they had a vagina, much less that they—you know, women were considered to be—you were either a good girl and you didn't have sex, or if you had sex, you were a slut, a whore, or easy. Back to high school. I mean, you knew exactly who the girls were who were having sex. More girls were having sex than you thought but still it was not okay for women to be sexual beings. To know anything about it whatsoever, so I mean one of the first things we did was show each other our cervixes, and I still have my plastic speculum. Read whatever we could read about it, and get our hands on this material to talk about it. I mean, you had to identify your parts down there you know, to be able to even talk about sexuality or your body. The basics of it meant you try to teach yourself. That's what those women's self-help groups, health groups did is partly just dispensed information on things like, then the Birth Control handbook wasn't just about telling people about certain birth control techniques. It basically said, "You are a human being who's entitled to know something about your own body and to make decisions about your own body. Nobody, nobody, certainly no man had the right to tell you what to do with your body." That's what was revolutionary in that. That's what was totally revolutionary in that. So coming out of that group eventually, and this is where some of those women became physicians or nurse practitioners, and some of them are still in the community here and got involved with Planned Parenthood or started Blue Mountain Women's Clinic eventually. Others started the Rape Crisis Center, and started Women's Place, because of course the revolution around sexuality and rape all got tied together. There are others who didn't really get it, but so those, all of that help, that control of the body issue was

one of the most fundamental feminist concepts. Control of the body. Control about who you marry, how you marry, who you have sex with, when you have sex with them, when and if you have kids, and your sexuality. That, those core issues were among the very first that we were organized around. Being able to tell men (unintelligible), “No, not having sex with you.” Damn hard to do in those days.

EC: I know. Let’s see...

DS: So those groups all started, those organizations all sort of came out of that initial group of people who, many of ‘em wore different hats and some of ‘em had separate attachments. I mean some people just totally held stuff, and that’s pretty much all they wanted to do. Hang out in Women’s Health Collective, and the Women’s Free School. Just did that, and then they, between say 1970 and by 1975 had started Women’s Place, who, Women’s Place, the (unintelligible) clinic, and that sort of specialization (unintelligible). Then other women coming out of that were more interested in studying women’s studies. Well, and the abortion stuff too. Abortion became legal in ‘73. Planned Parenthood was started here. So that whole thing spun out in that direction. Those people who were interested in women’s studies kind of lolly-gag around. Faculty, you can ask them their own story, but those of us who wanted to pass information on that we had learned in that whole time period just decided to teach our own classes. We never asked the University permission to teach. We just taught. They ended up giving credit to all the students who came to our classes. Odd little deal. But no, we never had their approval to do that.

EC: They gave credit to them for going to those classes? Okay, let’s jump ahead to this project, the Feminist History Project.

DS: Yep.

EC: What were your goals for starting it?

DS: Well, as one of the kind of, you know, one of the first things I got involved in of course was the, starting the Women’s History Project, but really probably not ‘til...we started officially maybe ‘74, ‘75. I hadn’t really particularly liked history, although my family’s very much into history, but because there was so little stuff there on women or kids’ ordinary life in Montana, I’d pretty much rejected it. So, let me start—well I guess I took it in graduate school in D.C., like European Women’s History, and History of America, from a feminist perspective, and...so out of that, coming back to Montana, knowing I wanted to be here, saying, “You know, history is a political tool.” It was important, and of interest to me of course to do a feminist history project here, which we called The Montana Women’s History Project. The first thing, oh (unintelligible). Doing a project that would look at the history of women in Montana. So where’s the first place we decided to go? We wandered off to the historical society. They told us that of course we wanted to look at the files on the governor’s wife. No, we didn’t want to do that, even though the early governor’s wives were all very much—little did we know it at the time, knowing

nothing—were active suffragists. They lead the suffrage movement in the 1880s, '90s and turn of the century in the state, were very much women leaders that we would have found kind of interesting. But, at that point we were too radical to even look at their files. So we didn't.

We just decided to make it up from scratch. That's why we just started doing oral histories, and ran this project out of the early Women's Center to begin developing a history of ordinary women in the state. After, oh boy, (unintelligible). Let's see, how did this one start? Partly Judy Smith and I had been talking about it for some time, probably the last five years at least, that ...there was very little structural way to pass along the history of feminists, and how important it had been to many of us to come to understand the history of women who had gone before us. I mean, I live daily and carry many of those women with me. You know, I—it's so interesting. You spend all this time with them, like I did in graduate school, of course, at the Library of Congress reading Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton's journals, and read all of Angela Grimke's journals and—I mean, I live in—those women live in me. The things that I do are totally tied to these women who have gone before. I—I just absolutely feel like I carry them with me in every day. I have conversations with them about different things. So coming to find the history of those women in Montana has informed how we did certain things as we came to understand what they had done. Clearly one of the big fights was over the Equal Rights Amendment. Whether you came to identify with the history of Alice Paul and her history with the Women's Political Union, and their militancy against (unintelligible). Went and chained themselves to the White House fence, getting thrown in jail, being force fed et cetera. Or whether you identified more with the mainstream National American Women's Suffrage Association, which at that point was no longer particularly radical, but was certainly very mainstream and able to get the suffrage amendment passed, because of that. Where you identified with that...or how you understood that was—had more to do with who you viewed yourself as now, if you thought of yourself as being a radical feminist, I can guarantee you hands down, you identified with Alice Paul and this more radical version because it and people like Emma Goldman. You know, the socialist heroines of that past meant something to you. They empowered you. They connected you with the past. They, and the way they all wrote and thought about how you strategically approach certain problems, and what was the problem, what were the problems that we're facing on the broader scale. Those informed your decisions, and you carry them with you, whether you identified with them, or you identified with more mainstream political leaders. I think that's true today. That's why, in these conversations about doing this project, I think it becomes important to say, I mean how do young women now come to understand themselves as feminists? Who and how have we helped make sure that the information we had such a hell of a time finding, or recovering again is not lost and has to be re-found again, but is passed on in a way that's in some way constructive and helpful to younger women whom we assume were gonna be asking some of the basic same questions about who they are as women in their lives, and they can take it and use it in whatever way they do. But, the part of our obligation was understanding that as the carriers of that history and culture we have an obligation to structurally find some way to preserve it, archive it, not lose it, and also to interpret it.

Because over the years, for example, every few years the University alumni magazine decides to do some article on women or feminists and they'll call. They write these things up, and we look at it and we go, you know, not only did they not get the facts, or the facts right, but they don't get it. You know, they don't understand the broader picture of what it means, or how things fit together. I mean, it's just like—makes no sense at all. Which has been very frustrating to us. So, they want to see us as compartmentalized projects versus as a mentor, particularly as a movement, a movement where a lot of things are connected together.

So the conversations that we've had, and even before I moved to Oregon for a couple years, a group of us had sat and talked about doing some kind of a project. Not much came of it other than all, over all these years I've been the one who's kept all these files, and periodically added to it. So we came back—I guess I'll blame it on the Women's Studies Program and G.G. (Weix), who hopped up and said, "Well, we're gonna do this lecture series. You wanna get serious here and talk about?" That was sort of the instigation of getting a little more formalized. More and more people get involved, which is all the better. People of various generations that can have conversations about this because of this material being preserved. So, personally I feel like I'm carrying this tremendous historical load that I have a tremendous responsibility to pass on. Not only my view of it, which is one thing, but just the materials and the connections to other people, and getting this material archived in a way that when I'm not here, or no one of our generation is here, it can be found. It can be read. People can use it to inform their own lives. Women can use it to inform their lives. Cause I'm gonna assume there's gonna be a feminist movement for a long time. But history's a political tool and if young emerging women don't have access to information about struggles that have already been fought, or use it to just think about their own lives, then I think that's a real loss. I mean it's a way that we disempower people, and it's a way that we cripple people from providing them with the tools that they need to think about their lives. Crippled us in our development.

EC: Is the structure of the feminist project from the beginning of the women's movement in Missoula? You're talking about there are categories of environment and health, education. I mean, is that what structures the Feminist History Project or...?

DS: Oh, how is this project organized?

EC: Yes.

DS: Who knows? It changes. It's not very highly structured. I can do high structure, but I'm not particularly interested in—I'm not at all interested in high structure at this point, or even timelines or much of anything. But it's... been a joy beyond belief to find G.G., who has taken this on with such interest and passion for her own things within this. I mean, without you, this would not happen. Or would not happen very much.

G.G. Weix: Maybe because (unintelligible).

DS: Yeah.

GW: Maybe that's partly (unintelligible).

DS: That's probably partly it. Judy Smith getting cancer has moved me into this. The question of mortality moves you when you hit a certain age to say, "Days are numbered and your time is limited, so in the time I have left that's productive, what is it I can really do?" So, that sort of motivated getting this done as well. The receptivity of the archives. I mean I think the energy of different people across the state for this project sort of tells me that it's time to do it too. The tremendous support and energy (unintelligible) from the feminist, the New Women's Foundation, who's very excited about and they have fifty million things they think we should be doing. But again, after all, it's what they think somebody else should be doing. What I'm interested in doing is just plain getting this out of my office and into somebody else's official domain. So the structure of it's fairly loose. I think the structure you better ask G.G. about, because any structure it has really is within this institution versus anything that I've created. I'm not interested in that.

EC: Okay. Did you want to read some of these things, translate some of these things?

DS: I'm gonna read this one because I think if...I apologize for my handwriting, but hey, when the Women's Studies—National Women's Studies Association formed in 1977, well I had gone to G.W. and I'm not really, even for a historian, not so good on some years, and tremendously good on other years, but...excuse me. I think I went in January of 1975, because I went for the second semester at George Washington, and some of the people who were there were very involved in the founding of the National Women's Studies Association. Some of us, Judy Smith, and Mary Birch, and several of the others that were sick of teaching Women's Studies classes sometimes without the approval of the University, and some people with approval of the University. At that point, Women's Studies meant all of that. It meant community resource, community women's projects. It meant act—very activist groups that might have an educational component. Could be Rick Price's programs were involved in that, were as much part of Women's Studies, as welfare organizations were as much Women's Studies as a department. 'Cause there weren't any.

When I went off to graduate school, there were only three graduate programs in Women's Studies in the United States. Three. So the formation of a Women's, National Women's Studies Association really came out of, again, a more activist environment. So, a whole bunch of us went down to the National Women's Studies Association meeting. Drove down in two or three cars. We just had these fabulous discussions. We'd usually start one or two organizations. If you left us in a car for four hours we'd start something new. Drove down there. Participated in this conference, and I volunteered I guess to be on the founding board for the Northwest region only, so I served on that for a couple of years. It had all of the wonderful potential and problems of those early feminist organizations, where it was to be all things to all people. To have perfect politics and it had no money, no resources, no base. God help the poor thing, you know? I mean, it was pretty interesting.

Like here's one of the political struggles. Who knows? "Dear Sylvia", and this a woman I think from Minnesota who was on the founding board. She might have been the chair at the time. Yes, I mean, we had one of our founding things in May of 1978 at Easter, which was in Billings. Actually, we had a really wonderful turnout of people from all over the state who were very...much involved in Women's Studies, whether they were faculty people at a regular university or activists.

So, "Dear Sylvia, Pardon the lateness in my response to your letter of resignation from N.W.S.A. coordinating council. She (unintelligible). Your letter was right on. Clearly at the heart of what troubles the National Women's Studies Association coordinating council. I wanted to give my support for your comments. It certainly spoke to my growing alienation and concern for the administrative, financial and political directions N.W.S.A. is taking. One (unintelligible) inside contacts with the Washington D.C. Women's Studies people really alerted to me that all is not properly done in recruiting and hiring process for our first coordinator. (Unintelligible) After speaking with Toni, University of Minnesota person who's on the N.W.S.A. board—" and she's still involved probably. "—my concerns have not been put to rest. Combined with the changing terms of the job was exceeding contracts with Elaine Reuben—" who was head of my Women's Studies Program at G.W. and then became the state, the quote, national (unintelligible) N.W.S.A. "—raises serious questions as to N.W.S.A.'s employment procedure. It does not speak well for Women's Studies to bear this tainted image. I also was not polled as to the contract and have written asking for the terms and nature of our commitment, all to no avail. Even my limited understanding of our contractual commitments to Elaine distresses me."

"Given our non-existent financial status, it seems absurd to be tied to a contract which I doubt (unintelligible). Possibly Elaine will be able to raise the money to cover her salary, but that is no certainty. Two, I also agree that our commitments to the Women's Studies newsletter are unrealistic financially. A less expensive out-of office newsletter would do the job as well and cheaper." I think Elaine was already...it must have been at the University of Maryland, I would expect. "Third, my greatest distress with the direction of N.W.S.A. at present centers around our growing financial commitments to an elite academic N.W.S.A. Raising the dues of the association, while overspending on the newsletter and coordinator is a slap in the face of poor, minority, and community women who may be interested in N.W.S.A. I feel strongly this violates the political con—"it's the founding convention! "It's difficult to...impossible to attract active persons in the feminist education from my region of N.W.S.A. It will not be more difficult and I do not—" oh, "—will now be more difficult, and I do not support what appears to be happening at the top increases these difficulties.

"I was talking to Charlotte Munch yesterday and told her my respect for your letter and how I feel these issues should be aired in some feminist media. I sent her a copy of your letter for private consumption. Personally Sylvia, I think a media article exposing this situation would be very constructive..." oh, I'm sure... "—and urge you to consider writing something, being out there in grass-roots. I have no idea, proper format or place of publication, or the amount and

nature of criticism you would be exposing yourself to by such an article and fully respect any personal reasons you may have for not wanting to put yourself in that position, but you sure have my support should you decide to take up the pen. For myself personally, I regret your leaving council. I respected the hard roads you've taken and learned from your understanding commitment to Women's Studies, in vision controlled and serving the broadest spectrum of that. Perhaps sometime you'll venture to the mountains. I would be pleased if you'd drop by for a visit (unintelligible)." I can hardly believe that. That's how we talked. What else do you want me to read that you can't figure out here?

Unidentified speaker: (unintelligible)

GW: History, yeah.

DS: Oh, this article...

GW: I thought this might be too long to read now, but we can hold onto it.

DS: Well...

GW: Well, this is draft. But then there's these notes, which seem to be loud. The Women's Resource Center.

DS: I think this is all part of...one of the classes I took at G.W. It was on oral history from a woman, a Smithsonian and we had to do an article or a paper or something, and I decided to do it on a comparison between the Women's Center at D.C. and the Missoula Women's Center because the D.C. Women's Center actually owned—the woman I lived with back there was very involved in that and starting of...actually, she's the person who sort of founded all the sexual harassment stuff and was involved with all of that. Then I actually went to work for the Women's Center at G.W. for a while. Charlotte Bunch had been their coordinator for a while, and so all these fairly famous people had actually been involved in it at one point or another. They were just starting to do their own history, which is this. I am actually wondering if the D.C. people even have a copy of this left anywhere. I should probably send it to someone.

GW: (Unintelligible)

DS: Yeah. Um huh.

GW: But this also—your draft has an excellent (unintelligible), Missoula center, with some notes on Judy Smith. I thought that it would be good to start, if you can talk about that, (unintelligible).

DS: Yeah, and I probably...oh, you know about that, but I don't remember the oral—I mean I must have interviewed her for this, but I don't have any idea where that was. Who knows? Cause it—

GW: They can start the work. You know, the students (unintelligible).

DS: Right. Absolutely.

GW: This could be their starting point.

DS: Because we would have lots of conversations of course, about national feminist issues. But (unintelligible) often talked about in D.C. was the difference between these—between urban feminism, we had called at the time, “coastal dominance” and “bi-coastal dominance”. Everybody in New York, and D.C. and California thought they started everything, and that they were the only ones who ever thought of anything, and they had the only way to organize anything. If you and everyone else was really sort of four steps behind and...held to a different standard. Always used to piss us off, but as soon as you try to talk about what that kind of difference—and it showed up in every organization from National Women's Studies Association stuff to now, and with their national conventions to environmental stuff. I mean it was everywhere, but you know, sort of coming out of it, one of the things that always struck us, and I think it's still important if you're trying to think about the whole history of feminism too, is in history they tell a frontier history and they tell a rural sociology. Talks about in these environments where you have small numbers of people—that you actually have a preference for generalization versus specialization, as is the way I recall. If you're a feminist or anything else in D.C., or New York, or California, you couldn't do everything. In order to actually—you probably devote yourself to one aspect of feminism and you would do that, and you might become the expert in that, or you might run the center on that. You probably had very little contact with these twenty other aspects of feminism. Now, in rural areas, that's totally the opposite. The selection is for the generalist, whether it's in Missoula or whether it's in Glendive; you are probably involved in half a dozen different topics. You may be a volunteer or member of half a dozen different groups. You will read and have knowledge about all those different areas. and may be considered a resource person for that. If you go to Glendive, I can tell you the three women you'll talk to who are involved in this, this, this, this and this. They started the Rape Crisis Program. They may have something to do over here with the college and Women's Studies and they do something else, which is just not how it is in the urban environments now, and it wasn't then either. I mean, very quickly these became very specialized kinds of fields, and you'll see that in the Women's Studies Programs. I think that's one of the things we've talked about in here.

Yeah and to go back to one of your earlier questions too, I view Missoula's feminism as being really in stages. There really is this early formative stage up 'til '74. And why I mark '74, that '73, '74 is, you know, '73, '74 the Vietnam War ends. So all of that infrastructure around anti-war stuff collapses. There's no need for it anymore. *Roe v. Wade* becomes legal. All the legal activity around that disappears and then formal structures like Blue Mountain, Planned Parenthood,

and all those things that are legal, and part of, eventually part of the mainstream arise out of that. A whole generation of people who just as an age group came out of the late sixties get out of the University. Graduate, move on and do other things in their life. Then Judy Smith comes to Missoula in '74. Which was a period where, Mary Birch always put it, I'm sitting down in the fucking center, pretty much by myself, burning all of these files and answering the phone. There isn't much of anybody else left around. Caroline Wheeler's kind of run out of the University. Several faculty people, women who are very important, really are run out of here. They leave. They just go the friendlier route, so they're gone. So it's kind of, pretty much kind of, I think the energy of that early initial wave were just exhausted. They left. They wanted me to restructure.

GW: Can you tell me a list of those (unintelligible)?

DS: Yep. Uh huh. (Unintelligible)...a few times there.

GW: Sally Slocum left?

DS: Sally Slocum left.

GW: And (unintelligible) was here for a year and left?

DS: Uh huh. So it was kind of a little dip in energy there, which is fine. Then Judy Smith moves to town. Everybody said—every talk that she had with someone, "Talk to Diane." (Unintelligible). You know, what do you want? Yeah, we've done that. Yeah, we've done that. Yeah, we've done that. She said she'd take these on. I went, "Great! I'm going to graduate school." Basically gave me a permission to leave. Within a year, I could leave. I needed a break. Then that same year—

GW: (Unintelligible)

DS: I needed my sabbatical. Exactly right. So that was just a fluke of coincidence but still, that was enormously helpful. So she comes up from Texas with pretty much the same experience that I had in these—the same illegal abortion stuff, some academic women's studies stuff, other stuff in the community, and so she reorganizes that energy around some new people, but some old people but just sort of new energy to reorganize it. So it has that whole separate stage that really runs from '74 until '96. Then when the campus runs Judy off campus, and basically puts the legal orders against all of us even being in the Women's Center, taking anything from the Women's Center, et cetera she was off campus. I'd already had it and left, but she... Then that, '86 the new W.O.R.D. starts and all of that. So we kept offices off campus all that time anyway, down in the (unintelligible) building. But by '86, all of this turmoil on campus about...not a concern, sort of wanting to push out anything that's irregular. So much of what we did in the Women's Center through all those years that was irregular. We brought in huge amounts of out-of-state and national money. We organized in the community across the state. We housed regional and national projects. On the one hand, campus would say, "Yeah, oh, we really like that you bring all this in." The other hand would say, "No, this is just for the students. Who are you people? Get out of here." So, then also we had, back when Judy

(unintelligible) huge amounts of money from the state for all this employment training and welfare-related work we had. The campus decided to send in a litigator on all that. Totally is harassing. Never anything wrong. Everything's perfect. We got awards out the yin-yang for the stuff. But finally the harassment was just more than we wanted to deal with and we just left. It became a totally student event. Before that we had money. We had all kinds of students, non-students doing all kinds of projects. Doing different programs. Organized all these activities I ran.

EC: So around '86 is when those other...

DS: To '86. Just left campus totally.

EC: All the other programs started to...

DS: Right. We just moved, we moved them from one place to another.

EC: So there was a division between community and campus, which I think you can still see a little bit.

DS: There is now. There wasn't then.

EC: Is that part of the goals of this project, maybe to...?

DS: Yeah, to help people understand that. I think—I mean it's not just...feminism or women's studies. It's an example of that. It partly goes back to the sixties. You had this whole national movement around free universities and open universities, and it caused a lot (unintelligible). Basically, pretty much anybody who had any resources, you know, if you were white probably could go to school. Faculty didn't have as heavy workloads, so they were doing tons of projects, (unintelligible) projects or the prison, and community projects, and all this sort of stuff. With the tightening up of funding, and the new legislatures, hatred of this place for it being the Berkeley of the North, a radical university—it had been a, what was called a red university in the fifties, and going back into the twenties actually. It's a very old history of being a leftist university. The legislature tried to shut it down several times in the seventies. It was a very interesting. It was in all the *Kaimins* and all that stuff too—were legislatures comments and the comments trying to control what was taught here, and that all this leftist stuff was being taught, anti-war stuff, being lead by these faculty members, et cetera, the students. The legislature wanted it shut down.

So among the things—and then a lack of funding. So the lack of funding for the University—huge cuts in university faculty. Like the first Women's Studies...it was...trying to get a date here... That was probably the late seventies. The first proposal for a women's studies course was in the seventies. Because it officially recognized—permanent numbered course. Faculty senate approved it. That year the legislature cut—and we lost seventy positions on campus and

faculty. That was held for a long time over the faculty's head by the administration. About how irresponsible the faculty was to suggest a new course, especially in something as irrelevant as Women's Studies when there were these huge cuts in the faculty going on. So for a period of time nothing happened then for another decade because of that particular incident. So faculty started to have to carry heavier and heavier loads and that sort of periodically continued to happen over the years. It's as bad now as it has ever been. That's true nationally, but it's certainly—

### End of Tape 1, side B.

EC: —Diane Sands on December 15, 2002 and we're going over photo pictures.

DS: (Unintelligible) Women's Resource Center, you know? And the resource center, the first Women's Action Center, I don't think we took hardly any pictures of anything in that period up to '74. At least very few that I can lay my hands on. We actually had people on staff who regularly took photos and we would (unintelligible) and everything, pay someone to take photographs. In this era, in the Women's Center from '74 to '86. So there are a lot of photographs from that period and I think these files over here are numbered by year, but as I was saying, when we were doing a...twenty years or fifty years of the Women's Center, those are from then. So they're—those files have now made it from ten or fifteen years ago. It was about—so yeah, I can... So we would certainly periodically do one of these annual pictures. (Unintelligible), for example. That's early '67.

GW: This is '75?

DS: Yeah, this is Judy of course. This is over in someone's house and we're talking about—planning—oh, working on the criminal justice conference. Yeah, and I wasn't involved in that one particularly.

GW: You were...?

DS: That "Women and Criminal Justice" one actually changed the way the state did all the legislation related to domestic violence and all of that came out of that in the first appeals about (unintelligible) women's correctional facility and the way women correctional officers were taught. I mean, so it was—and again, another good example of the involvement of the Women's Law Caucus and the women of the Law School. In almost every one of these conferences you will see that. And I don't know how we've decided to...I'm talking about how we should approach that, but I mean, just at one point, you just engage that whole community of people because it's—you know, have this ongoing involvement with the state. Native American Studies people, particularly when Henry was there and now off, and then this other whole relationship to the Law School.

It was partly the credibility of the Law School in those relationships too that had allowed us to survive as well as we did, and gave us the credibility to get all the Humanities money. Part of that connection is these early women attorneys, and it's also that when Judy arrives here, she arrives with Jim Wheelis.

GW: And Bari Burke still has all of her documentation on the early women lawyers and she's interested to revive that for Women's History Month.

DS: Yeah, she's told me that. We're gonna get together over, and drink over the holidays. You'll have to come do that with us, 'cause you'd love it.

GW: (Unintelligible) This was 1976, spring of '76, their winter (unintelligible).

DS: When we started the Women's Action Center...I was trying to think how we got ourselves out of—we could have had that wide spot in the hall on the second floor of the old Geology building. (Unintelligible) I was saying that was kind of where they dumped the dregs of the university. It's where the Social Work department people were, and it's where Black Studies was, and you know? It was just an old run down building kind of thing. But then when I was getting ready to leave and Judy came...her (unintelligible) was a fabulous woman who was on student council at the time. And Judy had met and they just went over and asked the guy who was the head of the University Center, which was a new building then. But they'd had a restaurant down on that first floor of the U.C., and they'd gone belly-up so it was just empty space. They just went in and asked for the space and he just said, "Yeah." I mean, literally, that's as simple as it was. Until they found some better use for it. It had to go for ten years as a result of that.

EC: Yeah, and there's the whole thing with the Legal Service. I read all that stuff. (Unintelligible)

DS: Yeah. But, first they subdivided at one point and had given part of it to someone else. But we spent most of our first years—half our desks were at the fryer table. It's like, I mean, all this equipment was still in there and we just worked around it. But it gave us incredible visibility being on that floor and allowed us to use all those front windows, which we always had, you know, all kinds of information, one of our favorite things on those was we always had kind of a graffiti wall, that people could write different comments on. But, so that always produced a lot of interaction with people, but it was just a great space to be able to do organizing out of, even though there wasn't a desk or anything in there. So a lot of these things are in that first early space. This is Judy, again, Judy Smith.

GW: And I'm gonna help you with as much of this...

DS: This woman was one of our...Jennifer. This. A whole group of Texans followed, came when Judy and Jim came here. Lynn Smith came, was here too. Another woman who worked at the

Resource Center and Jennifer Thompson and (unintelligible), was one too, her partner. (Unintelligible) A loss, but they all come from Austin. They all knew each other in Austin and they all came to Missoula kind of together. They were all involved in the Women's Center and started Blue Mountain together and Women's Place together and did all of those things together. So there's probably six or seven who actually come from Texas, kind of as a group, interestingly. Who else do you want me to say? These are all in that '75 file? So this is—

GW: What is this? Alger?

DS: Elaine. Uh huh. She was a—no, she's the photographer. Yeah. There's just some in here...and I (unintelligible). Judy is the one who should be sitting here with me going through these. This is Barbara Tucker. Barbara Tucker and her sister Pat were active in the Women's Center and staffed it off and on. When the big split happened that I talked to you about, not on the record, but there was a huge political split through the (unintelligible) community. And Barb and Pat were on one side and Judy and the rest of us were on the other and these women never have spoken to any of us and numerous people on our side of the fence. This woman edited a lot of the journalism articles. Graduate student (unintelligible). I still talk to 'em. Actually the other day I was talking to Judy and I said I had been over talking to Kathryn (Kress?) about doing some examples, and she said, "You spoke to her?" (Unintelligible) I don't have a clue in the world. This was from one of the...conferences, somebody came in. I don't have any idea who this woman is. No one who ever worked around here that I know.

GW: This is Judy at (unintelligible)?

DS: Nope. This is at a conference, "Women and Criminal Justice" conference, and it's Marcia Hogan asking a question. And this is just another version of that.

GW: (Unintelligible)

DS: Marcia Hogan is now the information officer for the region, with the Forest Service. The way she got into that job—she's married to Paul England, who's head of the trial lawyers and they met through all this stuff. She was one of the original firefighters in that women's firefighting crew in '74. That's how she kind of got into the Forest Service.

GW: (Unintelligible)

DS: Oh, we used to do so much stuff with the Forest Service. Used to do assertiveness training for them, Judy and I, and ... (unintelligible).

GW: Well, these are group photos, which if you can begin to identify some, maybe (unintelligible).

DS: There's glue on that one, so it sticks together. Geez, I avoided most of these.

GW: Maybe we can put these in an album?

DS: (Unintelligible) Isn't it amazing you can remember any of this after all these years?

GW: Um huh. An old student council person running. Do you recognize this woman?

DS: Kelly Roseman. (Unintelligible) Civic movements and council measurements choke the resources I think. Okay. Which one? (Unintelligible). Somebody else will remember them. Mindy Opper, who's a P.A. over at Blue Mountain Clinic. You know her? Physician's Assistant. She was part of that (unintelligible). You said that you wanted those speakers. If you guys could get Charlotte to come back, it would be really interesting. She's doing a lot of that international stuff still.

GW: Um huh.

DS: She was one of the furies. This is Marcia (unintelligible).

EC: Is this in that space? Was this that office?

DS: Yep.

EC: In the U.C.?

DS: Uh huh. That was the first space in the U.C. Yeah, see we'd actually—we built on a lot of the counter space that they had as a way to make the shelves. (Unintelligible). That's in a different space actually. (Unintelligible)

GW: Can you read it?

DS: Yeah, that's the 1982 conference. (Unintelligible) I love it. It did Jerry Falwell and Pat Robertson. Pretty much decided to both bail totally after this little statement that feminists, lesbians, et cetera are responsible for the bombing of New York.

GW: They're stepping down, aren't they?

DS: Yeah. It, it's a little bit of declining population all over this time, but it's really in part that they just finally had stepped way over the line. This may have been the drive to California for that N.W.S.A. conference.

GW: Oh, that would be?

DS: It may be, 'cause we did take pictures of that. This is the drive to that—it's a drive to an N.W.S.A. conference. I can't remember if it's that one, or if it's (unintelligible). I suspect it's California, believe it or not.

GW: And who is this?

DS: This is...Cindy (Conburn?), me... Who is that? Kelly Roseman? That's Kelly Roseman. And Susan Moses' sister. What's her first name? Leslie? No, it's not that. (Unintelligible) And... (Unintelligible). My memory sucks. You know what's great? When Sonya Johnson—I got this on tape. I was just looking at it the other day. When she came here, I taped this interview that she did here.

GW: 1983?

DS: Yeah.

GW: When I decided to go to Cornell Graduate School, I went in the middle of May to see the school. The night that Sonya Johnson was speaking I was staying in (unintelligible). Because, it's, it's a long story. (Unintelligible) But it's the first thing I looked up when I went there. They told me Sylvia Johnson was speaking. So I went and ate and to her talk. That was the one night I was spending in New York...

DS: You're kidding. Wow!

GW: It was an incredible connection. It was wonderful, but she was lecturing (unintelligible).

DS: She has like, rocked the world. Do you know this woman?

EC: No.

DS: Excommunicated from the Mormon Church. Yeah, that's one of my early ones. It was some conference or another. I had hair.

GW: This is '76?

DS: These three pictures are down at *Mountain Moving Press*. We all worked down there as well. We did all of the printing ourselves and all of the publications ourselves.

GW: What was this?

DS: Oh, an armband from a rally actually. (Unintelligible) Charlotte Bunch. She was here twice or three times.

GW: Is that another group?

DS: Oh, no. These are contact sheets for—

GW: Here's Sarah Brown and ... (Unintelligible)...

DS: She...she was here in some of the, like, '74, '75. Then she went off to graduate school. She went to (unintelligible) in Boston. Margaret—she's one of the radical founders of N.O.W.

GW: Do you ever hear her talk?

EC: *Ms. Magazine*?

DS: And *Ms.*, yeah. She's one of Steinem's good friends. And she was here (unintelligible).

GW: '77, '78.

DS: (unintelligible). Who was the woman who ran for President who was after...? Shirley Chisholm. She was here.

GW: And we have that letter too in '72 saying she couldn't come.

DS: Yeah, and she came then. (Unintelligible)

GW: These are posters?

DS: No, it was a calendar. Who made that? They came and took pictures of each of us, and these are all women from around here. Yeah. This is my sweet, dear friend Amy (unintelligible) who was one of the people who got arrested in 1971 for (unintelligible).

EC: Oh yeah?

GW: We have a picture.

DS: She just left to go back to New York. (Unintelligible) This is the woman I lived with in D.C. This is Frieda Clark. She was here (unintelligible). We did a lot of community training on sexual harassment. (Unintelligible) She helped set them up on the (unintelligible). She was the consultant for that. And then graduating (unintelligible...), 'cause she analyzed and had designed the study the U.S. Department of Labor did for—on sexual harassment. The first national study.

GW: Here's all the names (unintelligible).

DS: Diane (unintelligible). She's still around, isn't she? She'd be one to interview on health stuff.