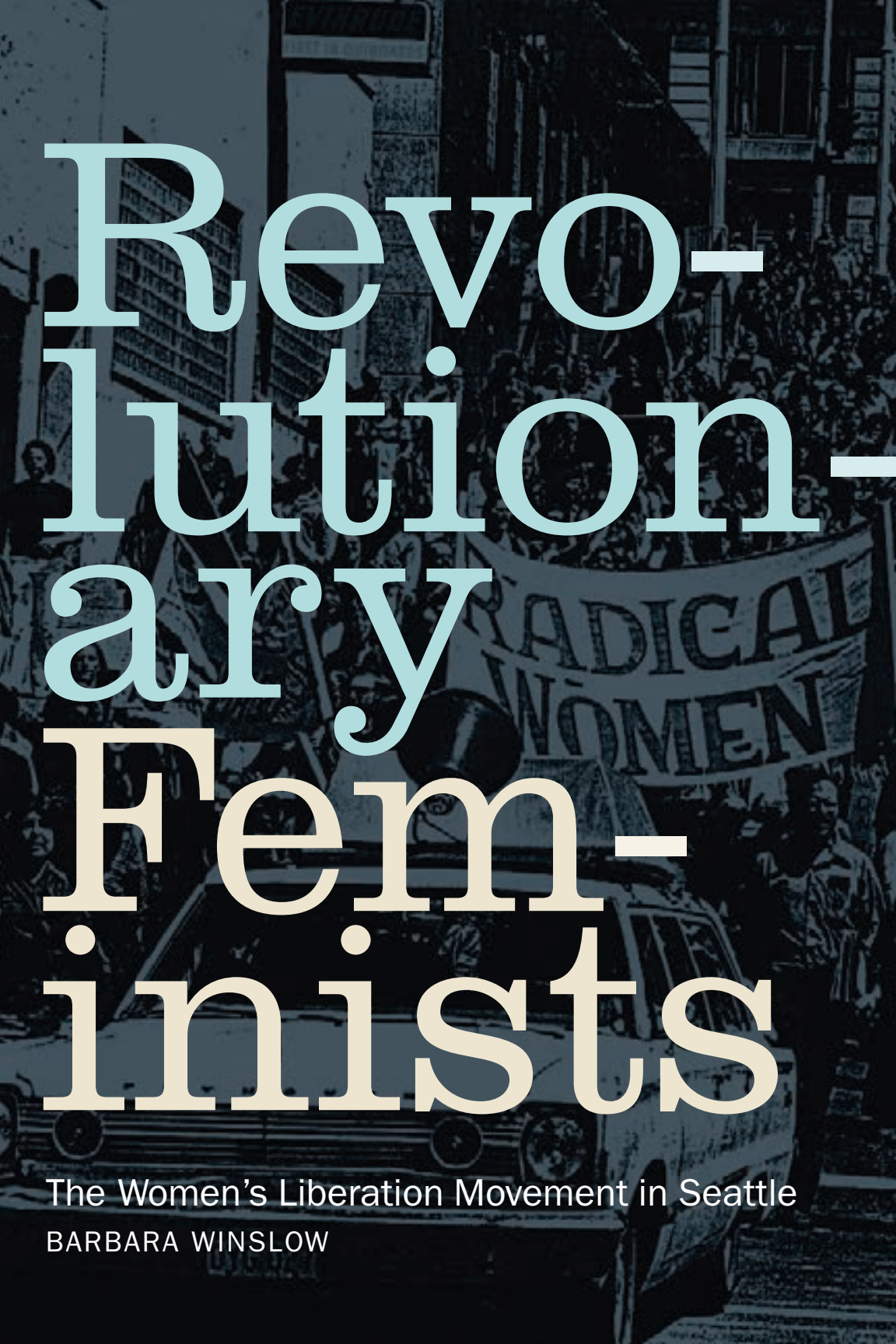

Revolutionary Feminists

The Women's Liberation Movement in Seattle

BARBARA WINSLOW

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Cover art: Vietnam antiwar march, Seattle, Washington, 1979. Photograph by Paul Dorpat. Courtesy of the artist.

This book is dedicated to Clara Fraser and Susan Stern, who brought Old and New Left women together to create a radical women's liberation movement in Seattle, and to Nina Harding, for her uncompromising struggle at the intersection of race, gender, and class. I also thank the thousands of Seattle feminists who made all this possible. Finally, this book is for my granddaughter, Cornelia Winslow Frank, and our next generation of feminists, who will continue the struggle.

Contents

Acronyms

aclu	American Civil Liberties Union
als b	Anna Louise Strong Brigade
as uw	Associated Students of the University of Washington
bpp	Black Panther Party
car	Committee for Abortion Reform
core	Congress of Racial Equality
cp	Communist Party of the United States
cuo wr	Coalition of University Organizations for Women's Rights
cwl	Campus Women's Liberation
dr	Draft esistance
era	Equal Rights Amendment
fsp	Freedom Socialist Party
fspb	Freedom Socialist Party Bolshevik
fs pm	Freedom Socialist Party Menshevik
glf	Gay Liberation Front
is	International Socialists
l gbt q(ia)	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer (Intersex or Inquiring, Asexual)
MeChA	Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán (Chicano Student Movement)
naa cp	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
now	National Organization for Women
nwpc	National Women's Political Caucus
nwsa	National Women's Studies Association
PFP	Peace and Freedom Party
SCCC	Seattle Central Community College
SDS	Students for a Democratic Society

slf	Seattle Liberation Front
smc	Student Mobilization Committee
soic	Seattle Opportunities Industrialization Center
swap	Seattle Women Act for Peace
swp	Socialist Workers Party
uw	University of Washington
VfU	Voice for the Unborn
wc	Women's Commission of the Associated Students of the University of Washington
wcar	Washington Committee for Abortion Reform
wl-s	Women's Liberation–Seattle
wonaac	Women's National Abortion Action Coalition
WSP	Women Strike for Peace
ymca	Young Men's Christian Association
ysa	Young Socialist Alliance
ywca	Young Women's Christian Association

Acknowledgments

I acknowledge the traditional custodians of the land on which King County is located and pay my respects to the Suquamish, Duwamish, Nisqually, Snoqualmie, and Muckleshoot (Ilalkoamish, Stuckamish, and Skopamish) elders past, present, and future, for they hold the memories, the traditions, and the culture of this area, which has become a place of learning for people from all over the world.

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I am indebted to an extraordinary group of feminist activists who founded History in Action (hia) in 2000. Enraged by the *New York Times*' erasure of women's activism in its reporting on New York State's movement to reform abortion laws, we formed a listserv. For over twenty years, we have argued, agreed, announced, supported, and despaired the writings, history, and practices of

global women's feminism. Because of h ia , our intersectional understanding of feminism deepened and our feminist commitments strengthened.

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A number of activists who were involved in the struggle in Seattle have since died: George Arthur, Louise Crowley, Walter Crowley, Dottie DeCoster, Kathi Dowd, Clara Fraser, Nina Harding, Gloria Martin, Lee Mayfi ld (Cecilie Scott), Susan Stern, Flo Ware, and Melba Windoffer. I want to acknowledge their contributions.

During the 2020–22 crises—the pandemic, the election, the racial justice movement, the economy—I was sequestered in western Massachusetts trying to focus on finishing the book. Every morning my dear friend Bette Craig and I walked our dogs, talked about solving the world's problems, and critiqued theater, movies, and books. Poor Bette, she had to hear almost every detail,

phrase, and footnote of the manuscript. But our walks and her friendship saved my sanity.

Finally, I acknowledge with love and loss my dear friend, sister, colleague, and comrade Rosalyn Fraad Baxandall. We were together in women's groups, on picket lines, and in demonstrations; we spoke about the women's liberation movement at conferences and rallies; and we traveled together, played tennis (she always won!), rode bikes, skied, took hikes, and went to the theater, the opera, and movies. She commented on my writings, offering insightful (and inciteful) comments. She died in 2015. Th oughout this writing process, every time I faced a dilemma, I wished she were here to help me thrash out the issue.

Introduction

on JUNE 27, 1967, I happily entered into the oldest dyadic and oppressive heterosexual patriarchal institution—marriage (figu e I.1). I was twenty-two and madly in love. I had just come back from a year and a half on a college work-study program in London and Leeds, England. Then, like many middle-class White women of my generation, I followed my husband to Seattle to pursue his graduate studies at the University of Washington (uw). My goal was to fin sh up my senior year, then go on to graduate school in history.

We spent our honeymoon driving from New York City to Seattle. When we crossed the Columbia River into Washington State, we joyously sang Woody Guthrie's "Roll On, Columbia, Roll On": "And on up the river is the Grand Coulee Dam, / The mightiest thing ever built by a man, / To run the great factories and water the land, / So roll on, Columbia, roll on." We drove west on I-90, through the Cascade Mountains over Snoqualmie Pass, then crossed Lake Washington and arrived in Seattle.

I remember that day vividly. Unlike most days in Seattle, it was not overcast or raining. The sun was bright. Lake Washington was glittering, and both mountain ranges—the Cascades to the east and Olympics to the west—were shining. Even Mount Rainier "was out," as Seattleites say. We drove along Lake Washington Boulevard through the University of Washington Arboretum to our rented houseboat on Portage Bay Place West. We settled in, got a dog, registered for our classes at the uw, and enthusiastically participated in the city's radical politics. Th ee months later, I joined the women's liberation movement. That movement transformed my life—sometimes I think it saved my life—and gave it direction.[1]

Figure I.1 / Barbara Winslow's formal wedding portrait, June 27, 1967. Personal collection.

this book tells the story of the radical women's liberation movement in Seattle, Washington, from 1965 to 1975. It describes the women who founded these organizations, their activities, their publications, their arguments, the challenges they faced, their disappointments, their short-term successes and lasting achievements. Not very much is known or written about Seattle's Left feminist history. Linda Gordon, a historian and early women's liberation activist in Boston's Bread and Roses, may not have known about Seattle when she wrote about "founding events" illustrating "major areas of women's movement activism." She cites New York as the location of the founding event regarding abortion in 1969, even though women's liberation activists in Seattle had begun organizing for abortion reform in 1968 and participated in the first statewide referendum in the US supporting a woman's right to abortion. She lists the University of Massachusetts Boston's struggle for day care as a founding first, yet Seattle's Left feminists began agitating for day care at the uw in 1968. The "first" rape relief center and the "first" battered women's shelter were founded in Seattle. Two other legendary radical feminist activists and writers, Alix Kates Shulman and Honor Moore, write that the Chicago Westside Group was "widely considered the country's first women's liberation group; but Seattle Radical Women was founded in October 1967."[2] This may sound like Seattle boosterism or nitpicky criticism, but these examples illustrate the need for a book about Seattle's place in radical feminist history. My hope is that this book will inspire others to write their own local histories and discover their communities' "firsts," adding to our understanding of the breadth of the radical women's liberation movement.

In the heady days of the women's liberation movement, we all read Maya Angelou's *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings*. One phrase from that revelatory book, "In the struggle lies the joy," sums up my life as a women's liberation activist.[3] It was in the struggle—in meetings, arguing, consciousness raising, writing, demonstrating, denouncing, picketing, teaching, sitting in, getting arrested, leafleting, putting up posters, listening and learning, and, sadly, sometimes posturing and pontificating—that we created a movement of comradeship and sisterhood. In my lifetime, the women's liberation movement has transformed every facet of our lives. We changed the ways we work, play, think, worship, organize our families, educate children, vote, reproduce, legislate, adjudicate, make love, and make war. We changed the ways we look at gender. Women's liberation is revolution—but our revolution was different from history's gendered images of charismatic leaders, clashing armies, and forcible seizures of power. In our feminist revolution, we were on the barricades, demonstrated in the streets, led political parties, and even took up

arms. Millions more organized this social revolution in the often-ignored women's domains of schools, factories, offices kitchens, bedrooms, hospitals, libraries, backyards, marketplaces, community centers, and places of worship. Much of this feminist revolution has been local and decentralized, most of our leaders unknown and unnamed.

While women as a group have not (yet) seized power, have not overthrown any government or nation-state, do not control any national economy, and do not dominate any national political party, we have challenged the pervasive belief that women's work is less valuable than men's and that we ourselves are worth less. Women's lives today would be unrecognizable to our grandmothers. At the same time, we know that we have not done enough to confront and resolve the global crises of the environment, White supremacy, inequality, injustice, xenophobia, state violence, and war—all of which are profoundly gendered. We continue to struggle to create an egalitarian society in which liberating relationships subvert the hierarchies of class, race, gender, and sexualities.

The history of the Seattle women's liberation movement is important because there are very few histories of the women's liberation movement in places other than Boston, Chicago, New York, and Washington, DC, all of which were major academic, fi ancial, media, and political centers.[4] Studies of feminist activism in other cities and regions, as well as smaller towns and rural areas across the United States, would shed light on the diversity of those involved, the issues they focused on, and the range of organizations they founded. As in any city or town, Seattle's radical feminism refl cted its particular demographic, historical, political, and geographic circumstances.

Feminist historians, many of whom were active in the women's movement, are involved in an ongoing and evolving discussion about the origins of the women's liberation movement. Sara Evans, a women's liberation activist and historian, traced its origins in her pathbreaking book *Personal Politics: The Roots of Women's Liberation in the Civil Rights Movement and the New Left*.[5] Later studies point to the influences of the Old Left and labor movements. In his biography of Betty Friedan, Daniel Horowitz emphasizes that "we already understand how left politics of the 1940s and 1950s shaped the civil rights movement. Friedan's life underscores the fact that the other signifi ant social movement of the 1960s—feminism—also has important origins in the two preceding decades."[6] Rosalyn Baxandall, a trailblazing radical feminist activist and historian, documented the connections between African American women's activism and the women's liberation movement.[7] Baxandall and Linda Gordon compiled an anthology called *Dear Sisters* with original

documents from the women's liberation movement that point to the influences of the labor and welfare rights movements.[8] In "'Th s Battlefi ld Called Life': Black Traditions of Black Women," historian Robin D. G. Kelley discusses the origins of intersectional feminist activism.[9] Sheila Rowbotham, a British historian and women's liberation activist, reminded us that women's resistance to 1950s and 1960s stereotypes of femininity could also be traced to the impact of the African American rhythms of Motown and the somewhat androgynous sounds of the Beatles.[10] All these factors—the Old Left, the labor and civil rights movements, music—combined to create social upheaval in Seattle as well as across the US.

What made the women's liberation movement in Seattle distinctive was the pivotal role of unabashed socialists, Maoists, Trotskyists, anarchists, antiracists, and anti-imperialists in founding the fi st Left feminist groups. Th s took some courage. From the late 1940s through the early 1960s, anticommunists led by Joseph McCarthy had persecuted and largely silenced the Left. In Washington State, the Canwell Committee, the Seattle hearings of the House Un-American Activities Committee, and the Seattle Smith Act trials had terrifi d leftists and brought organizing to a halt.[11] Hundreds lost jobs, homes, and income; families broke up; some activists were jailed; and a few of those who were targeted committed suicide. In Seattle, however, a handful of gutsy women publicly defi d the right wing and founded anti-imperialist, antiracist, socialist feminist organizations. A number of the founding members of the women's liberation movement had weathered the recent Red Scare. The Leninists of the Old Left had never supported feminism, looking upon it as bourgeois. Marxist orthodoxy privileged class over gender, race, and sexuality. It theorized that the primary contradiction in all societies was the class struggle, whose resolution was necessary before all other social problems—race, gender, and sexuality—could be solved. New Left socialist feminists challenged that paradigm, developing analyses that connected gender, class, race, and sexuality, the beginnings of what is now understood as theories of intersectionality. They also opposed the top-down authoritarianism of Leninism. Left, antiracist, anti-imperialist socialist feminists were an active, vocal, and leading presence in Seattle right from the start. They infused the women's liberation movement with a political perspective that was more inclusive in terms of class and race and more aware of women's economic position. Very little has been written about the role of socialists and left wing organizations in founding the women's liberation movement; they are featured in this history.

The accomplishments of the Seattle women's liberation movement include the passage of Referendum 20 in 1970, the fi st popular vote that

liberalized abortion laws in the US; coalition work involving Black, Latinx, Asian American and Pacific Islander, indigenous, White, and lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender activists; the expansion of antiracist feminist health care; and the creation of women-controlled rape crisis centers, divorce cooperatives, shelters for battered women, and lesbian feminist resource centers. Left feminists, all of whom were active in opposing the US government's war in Vietnam, challenged White men on issues of gender, race, and class in the antiwar movement and integrated gender into theories about war, peace, and imperialism.

Women new to political activism described themselves (in the language of the 1960s) as revolutionaries, meaning that they wished to overthrow the existing capitalist, racist, imperialist, and patriarchal order, and they learned how to navigate complicated political structures as they struggled for day care, health care, and Indian fishing rights; supported the strikes of Farah and farm workers; or advocated for the hiring of women of color on the uw faculty. They confronted many difficult questions: Should revolutionary women campaign for reforms and engage in electoral politics? How do radicals work with reformists and not get co-opted? How can revolutionary feminists insulate themselves from the lure of power and privilege that media attention and money can bring? Is it possible to build inclusive intersectional organizations and coalitions? All these challenges faced by Left feminists in the 1960s are being debated today by activists in the Black Lives Matter, #MeToo, reproductive justice, voting rights, and climate movements.

Women of color played foundational roles in the radical women's liberation movement in Seattle, even though the city was 94 percent White.[12] Women of color did not form their organizations in reaction to racism within the White women's movement or in response to sexism within the Black Power movement. In fact, they had had their own organizations for more than a century, even though some may not have been identifi d as feminist. As early as 1964–65, for example, women in the civil rights movement in the South were engaged in activist work that might later be termed women's liberation.[13]

Here is another reason why local histories are so important to a fuller understanding of the politics of race and radical feminism. In Seattle, the racial-ethnic order was not binary, White/Black, but White/Black/Asian American and Pacific Islander/Latinx/Indigenous. Reading the African American, Latinx, underground, feminist, and college and university newspapers and newsletters; discovering leaflets; and interviewing participants yields insights into class, racial, and gender politics. Contrary to popular mythology, the radical women's liberation movement was not an all-White movement. Women

of color were founders of Seattle's first three women's liberation organizations, wrote for radical feminist publications, and formed autonomous coalitions, called Women of Color and Third World Women, at the same time. Nonetheless, most women's liberation groups were overwhelmingly White, and White supremacy, racism, racial cluelessness, tone deafness, and indifference often characterized majority-White feminist groups and activities. But in these early years, Seattle's socialist and anti-imperialist White women tried to be allies. We tried to build coalitions, sometimes successfully and at other times ending in acrimonious splits. Women of color found themselves having to struggle with White women as well as men of color in their families, neighborhoods, and political organizations.

Local history can dispel many of the antifeminist characterizations of women's liberation that have become part of current misogynist mythology. The women's liberation movement has been characterized as hostile to housewives, motherhood, and children. Our early campaigns for childcare dispel that myth. Feminists have been accused of hating men, hating sex, hating lesbians, or being lesbians; they were (and still are) caricatured as humorless, vindictive, vengeful, and demanding of special privileges. And of course, some charged that women become feminists because they are ugly and can't catch a man. The chapters in this book take apart these false characterizations, with documentation and a sense of humor.

This book begins in 1965 and ends in 1975, dates that mark the beginning and demise of the first socialist, anti-imperialist, and antiracist women's organizations. Women's liberation consciousness and organizing did not end in 1975, but later left wing, socialist feminist, and socialist lesbian organizations had even shorter life-spans than the first groups. By the mid-1970s the political landscape in Seattle and the US was changing. There was an unanticipated and relentless backlash against the women's movement, and the Black movement was decimated by murderous assaults directed by the Nixon administration. Liberals and leftists shifted their focus from local to national priorities. White Christian nationalism, right-wing media, corporate opposition to the social safety nets of Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal and Lyndon B. Johnson's Great Society, White opposition to the gains made by the civil rights movement, and misogynist attacks on women's rights kept liberals, progressives, socialists, and Left feminists on the defensive.

I was able to research and write this book because I was a founder of Seattle's first two women's liberation organizations and was very active in radical politics. In 1969, while in England I joined the British International Socialists, an Old and New Left Trotskyist organization, and was a member of the

US International Socialists through the 1970s. I managed to save over four boxes of archival material, including leaflets, pamphlets, photographs, news clippings, and handwritten notes of meetings, speeches, and talks. Ephemeral documents are difficult or impossible to find in archives and have been indispensable in reconstructing this story. I decided to write this book not only because few histories of feminism consider places like Seattle but also because much of what is written about the women's liberation movement is cloaked in left wing misogyny. No other White-dominated progressive organizations or movements are attacked as vehemently as feminist ones. For example, I have yet to hear or read of male-dominated groups described as the "all-White Students for a Democratic Society" (SDS), the "predominantly White antiwar movement," or the "overwhelmingly White student movement." The SDS chapter at the UW, the UW Committee to End the War in Vietnam, and the Student Mobilization Committee were far Whiter than Seattle Radical Women or Women's Liberation–Seattle. Even feminist writers in the twenty-first century damn women's liberation activists with faint praise. In *The Fire This Time: Young Activists and the New Feminism*, Vivian Labatan and Dawn Lindy Martin acknowledge that their "feminism has *roots* in past feminist work," and then comes the "but." Without distinguishing between mainstream feminism and radical socialist feminism, they charge that 1960s and 1970s feminists "placed a select few issues at the center of what is thought of as feminist activism, neglecting the full range of experiences that inform women's lives." Furthermore, they claim that the movement "operated from a monolithic center" and was inattentive "to racial, cultural and national differences."[14]

I am acutely aware of the difficulties and challenges facing anyone writing about this recent and contested past. In the past twenty years I have read hundreds of critiques of the movement, as well as attending and participating in conferences, seminars, and forums. In comparison to other groups (except perhaps for the civil rights and Black Power movements), few progressive social movements get such intense pushback and criticism. I think that this tendency is partly due to the deep societal resonances of issues related to race, gender, and sexuality, but it is also due to the activists themselves. Some feel and say that no one can write about the movement in which they participated because no one else can write about their experience. The women's liberation movement was intensely personal *and* political, but it has been demonized by both the Right and the Left since its emergence in the late 1960s. Moreover, feminist activists often repudiate and severely criticize their own and their predecessors' mistakes, as if the movement did not need to learn from

experience and could have birthed today's intersectional theory as if it were Athena, the goddess of wisdom, emerging fully formed from the head of Zeus.

Seattle's story disproves many of these assertions. Feminists have been more self-critical of the exclusionary character of early women's liberation groups, have recognized that Black feminism developed at the same time, and have formed more inclusive coalitions and organizations than most mixed-gender, predominantly White groups. Much of the writing about the women's liberation movement, except for the collections of its writings, fails to capture the elation we experienced as we created a new world. In the early years of the movement, we were "ecstatic utopians," as Naomi Weisstein, founding Chicago women's liberation activist and musician in the Women's Liberation Rock Band, put it.[15] We were determined, dedicated, and fie ce, but we also had fun. Sisterhood was powerful, contentious, difficult, and joyous.

Even with my four boxes of original materials, researching Seattle's radical feminism was daunting. Our groups did not always keep minutes. Very few of us saved our personal documents. Some were concerned about police or fbi raids and did not want to save what might be considered incriminating evidence. We did not realize that our leaflets, speeches, posters, and photos would be important for future researchers. To my knowledge, only Grey Osterud's diary exists as a day-by-day, week-to-week record of a group's political discussions. Today, I beg younger activists to save their emails, tweets, and images for future historians. I interviewed over twenty-five women and spent years trying to find other activists. A few, embittered by past faction fi hting, refused an interview, and even though they were important activists I chose not to name them in the book out of respect for their viewpoint. Other women could not remember events or dates, so an interview was not helpful. But most were eager to talk, and their stories are an integral part of this book. Other information came from autobiographies and histories by participants.[16] Online histories such as HistoryLink.org and the uw's Seattle Civil Rights and Labor History Project provided me with local histories as well as interviews with activists.[17] Finally, I was able to access the papers of a number of organizations and participants in the Archives and Special Collections at the University of Washington Libraries. I have deposited my four boxes of materials there as well.[18]

As I researched this period, I was surprised to fi d myself in more newspaper stories, leaflets, and newsletters than I was aware of at the time, or at least could recall (figure I.2). I did not want to write an autobiography or memoir. My Seattle experiences are included in two anthologies of feminist memoirs.[19] I could not write a first-hand account; although I lived in Seattle

Figure I.2 / Barbara Winslow at a demonstration against the US war in Vietnam, 1969. Photograph by Paul Dorpat.

from 1967 to 1973, I was not in the city from August 1969 to September 1970 and for three months in 1971. Instead, I decided to write a history of a movement in which I was an active participant. I know this presents challenges of emotional involvement and bias. Today historians are urged to interrogate and reflect on their own personal biases and predispositions as they teach, research, and write about historical events. I certainly hope I have.[20] During this period, I was in a Trotskyist group; I hope I have reined in any past sectarian impulses. As I went through the material, I found that some of my recollections of events were simply wrong, and a number of my judgments of some participants and groups at the time were not based on facts.

A word about the language I use. The phrases *women's movement* and *women's liberation* are not interchangeable. *Women's movement* refers to the more mainstream, moderate, reform, liberal, or, in our day, bourgeois women's movement, best exemplified by the National Organization for Women and the National Women's Political Caucus. The term *women's liberation movement* refers to those feminists who identified as anticapitalist, antiracist, and

anti-imperialist and called for liberation from all forms of patriarchy.[21] For the most part I use the language of the period. For example, *Chicano/a*, not *Latinx*, because in the 1960s Mexican American youths used *Chicano* as a politically charged self-identifi ation. Activists in the struggle to protect Indigenous lands were involved in a group called Indian Fishing Rights; *Indo-China* was the imperialist term for Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. I do not use the derogatory term *Trotskyite* for Trotskyists and rely on the terms used by groups that identifi d as Maoist or Stalinist. The Weatherman faction considered themselves revolutionaries, and that is how they are described.[22] Three women, Lee Mayfi ld, Anne Schweisow, and Theresa Williams, changed their names after this period; I use their earlier names because that is how they appear in the documents. I capitalize *White* as well as *Black*. I agree with Nell Painter: "In terms of racial identity, white Americans have had the choice of being something vague, something unraced and separate from race. A capitalized 'White' challenges that freedom, by unmasking 'Whiteness' as an American racial identity as historically important as 'Blackness,' which it certainly is. No longer should White people be allowed the comfort of this racial invisibility; they should have to see themselves as raced."[23]

Th s book is an accessible, readable, nonacademic history. But there are a lot of endnotes and explanations. I structured it this way in part because much of feminist history is so contested that I felt compelled to prove almost everything I wrote. In addition, extensive endnotes are necessary because we know so little about our local history. With the passage of time, we forget the names of people and movements etched in our memories. For example, how many readers remember going years without eating a grape? Perhaps my endnote fanaticism provides resources for further studies. I try to include the names of as many activists as possible. Too many times women who play central roles in history are left out, ignored, or unrecognized. I want as many as possible included and remembered. I have included a glossary of left wing organizations and political positions, for the language we used in the 1960s is no longer the language we use today.

Because of my over fi y-year involvement, I decided to end this book with self-refl ction, in particular on issues of race, abortion, White supremacy, and beauty. What have I learned? Are there regrets? What went wrong? Did our actions have unanticipated consequences? How has the work of younger scholar-activists influenced my perspective? How has my life changed?

Map 1.1. / Map of Seattle neighborhoods. Map drawn by Christine Riggio.

Notes

Introduction

1. Winslow, "Primary and Secondary Contradictions in Seattle," 225.

2. Gordon, "Women's Liberation Movement," 71–73; Shulman and Moore, introduction to *Women's Liberation!*, xxi.

3. Angelou, *I Know Why the Caged Bird Sings*, 228.

4. Ezekiel, *Feminism in the Heartland*, focuses on Dayton, Ohio; Giardina, *Freedom for Women*, focuses on Gainesville, Florida; and Gilmore, *Groundswell*, analyzes the relationship between local chapters of the National Organization for Women and women's liberation organizations.

5. Evans, *Personal Politics.*

6. Horowitz, *Betty Friedan*, 5. See also Rosen, "Female Generation Gap"; and Swerdlow, "Congress of American Women."

7. Baxandall, "Re-visioning the Women's Liberation Movement's Narrative."

8. Baxandall and Gordon, *Dear Sisters*; Rosen, "Female Generation Gap"; Swerdlow, "Congress of American Women."

9. Kelley, *Freedom Dreams*, chapter 7, 45–60.

10. Rowbotham, *Century of Women*, 370. This list is by no means exhaustive. In the past twenty years, over a hundred books have been written that expand our knowledge of women's feminist activism and bring in or center the stories of women of color, lgbtqia activists, and labor and welfare rights movements.

11. See Jesse DeLauder, "The Seattle Seven: The Smith Act Trials in Seattle (1952–1958)," Civil Rights and Labor History Consortium, University of Washington, 2008, https://depts.washington.edu/labhist/cpproject/SmithAct.shtml.

12. See Cobbins, "Black Emeralds"; Taylor, *Forging of a Black Community*.

13. See Holsaert et al., *Hands on the Freedom Plow*.

14. As quoted in Hewitt, introduction to *No Permanent Waves*, 4.

15. Naomi Weisstein used these words in conversation with the author and others. For example, she said she wanted the movement "to be both passionate and reasonable, ecstatic and utopian, hostile to hierarchy and to unequal power in every form." See Jesse Lemisch and Naomi Weisstein, "Remarks on Naomi Weisstein," https://www.cwluherstory.org/text-memoirs-articles/remarks-on-naomi-weisstein. She also coupled these two words when describing the Chicago Women's Liberation Rock Band, which "summoned up the ecstasy of a utopian vision of a world without hierarchy and domination." See https://web.archive.org/web/20130410213605/http://www.uic.edu/orgs/cwluherstory/CWLUGallery/rock.html. Both websites accessed Sept. 10, 2022.

16. Stern, *With the Weathermen*; Walter Crowley, *Rites of Passage*.

17. See HistoryLink.org, homepage, accessed Aug. 30, 2022, http://www.historylink.org; and Seattle Civil Rights and Labor History Project, University of Washington, homepage, accessed Aug. 30, 2022, http://depts.washington.edu/civilr/index.htm. I am interviewed on the Civil Rights and Labor History Project website.

18. The fbi and state and local police collect information about activists for the purposes of control and intimidation. Progressive social activists need to create our own set of resources for the future so that people can learn history from below as well as from past struggles. Until recently most archives contained the materials of White men. But in the past three decades local historians and activist academics have collected archival materials as well as oral histories from ordinary people in order to enrich our understanding of change over time. Many of these archives include those who have been ignored and marginalized. For example, I created the Shirley Chisholm Project of Women's Activism (http://chisholmproject.com), a community-based project that now holds the largest body of materials about Chisholm and grassroots Brooklyn women's politics and conducts public programs. As I developed the project, I was influenced by the work of Manning Marable's Malcolm X Project (http://www.columbia.edu/cu/ccbh/mxp/); Sarah Schulman's Act Up Oral History Project (https://actuporalhistory.org/); and Candace Falk's Emma Goldman Project, (https://www.lib.berkeley.edu/goldman/AbouttheProject/index.html). I also relied on White, *Telling Histories*, which discusses African American women's archival collections, and on Chaudhuri, Katz, and Perry, *Contesting Archives*, which focuses on finding women in archival sources.

19. Winslow, "Primary and Secondary Contradictions in Seattle"; Winslow, "Activism and the Academy."

20. For insightful reflections on the challenges facing participant-observer historians, see Frazier, preface to *Harambee City*, ix–xv.

21. I thank Alix Kates Shulman for this insight.

22. Grey Osterud provided me with this insight in an email message, Feb. 3, 2021.

23. Nell Irvin Painter, "Why 'White' Should Be Capitalized, Too," *Washington Post*, July 22, 2020, https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2020/07/22/why-white-should-be-capitalized/.

Chapter One. It's Reigning Men

1. Dixon, *My People Are Rising*, 24–25, 51.

2. See MEChA Program, "Proposal for Program in Seattle's Chicano Community (1970)," http://depts.washington.edu/civilr/images/mecha/docs/pdfs/ProjectForChicanoYouth.pdf.

3. See John Calbick, "1960 Census: First Census to Show Full Effects of Post–World War II Baby Boom in Washington State; Urban Areas Grow in Population, Rural Areas Contract," HistoryLink.org, Mar. 18, 2010, https://www.historylink.org/File/9341. See also Santos and Iwamoto, *Gang of Four*, which discusses the multiracial composition of Seattle's population and the building of multiracial coalitions.

4. Kathy George, "Japantown," *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, Nov. 21, 2004.

5. See "Segregated Seattle," Seattle Civil Rights and Labor History Project, University of Washington, accessed Aug. 30, 2022, http://depts.washington.edu/civilr/segregated.htm.

6. Nancy Vanderlip, "Commission Avoids 'Tea-Party' Hangup," *uw Daily*, April 22, 1969.

7. Walter Crowley, *Forever Blue Moon*, frontispiece.

8. See Walt Crowley, "Blue Moon Tavern: An Unoffi al Cultural Landmark," HistoryLink.org, Apr. 1, 1999, https://www.historylink.org/File/1001.

9. By 1970, redevelopment was changing the nature of the Pike Place Market. The fi st Starbucks opened that year. There was a huge campaign in the 1970s and 1980s to save the market, but gentrifi ation, the expansion of the waterfront, and the arrival of cruise ships made foot traffic ll but impossible, and the high cost of food placed it out of the range of working-class Seattleites.

10. The Moore Theater is now on the list of historic sites. Recent scholarship has exposed its shameful history; at its founding, it had separate entrances and seating for White and Black customers. See Richard Frishman, "Hidden in Plain Sight: The Ghosts of Segregation," *New York Times*, Nov. 30, 2020, https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/30/travel/ghosts-of-segregation.html. Also see George Arthur, "Ask Any Fringe," Arthur Papers, uw, and in possession of author; and *Seattle Times*, Apr. 25, 1971.

11. Hanson, *World Almanac*.

12. Washington State Legislature, Directory of the 39th Session, 1965, https://leg.wa.gov/History/Legislative/Documents/Pictorial_Phone/39thSession1965opt.pdf.

13. Rosellini, *Report of the Governor's Commission*, 29.

14. See Jones, *Vanguard*.

15. Rosellini, *Report of the Governor's Commission on the Status of Women*, 28.