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Telling Our Own Untold Stories:
Civil Rights in the National Park Service Oral History Project



Marion Durham
July 25, 2018

Interview conducted by Nancy Russell, Lu Ann Jones, and Isis Plaza
Transcribed by Teresa Bergen
508 compliant version by Lauren Pash

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The narrator reviewed and corrected the transcript.

[START OF TRACK 1]

00:00

Nancy Russell: --to introduce. So, I was going to go ahead and sort of kick things off with an introduction of the date and who I am and who Lu Ann is and you. Then we'll go from there. And then Lu Ann might jump in if she sees something that she thinks we should follow up on or that might be of interest in a more Service-wide way as well. Is that okay?

Marion Durham: Sure. Lu Ann, I have a question for you. Are you by any chance on a speaker phone?

Lu Ann Jones: Well, I am. And that is the way I am recording this.

Marion Durham: Okay. I just wanted to be sure, because I was getting a little feedback. As I told Nancy, we are having connection problems with our Cox provider.

Lu Ann Jones: Yes.

Marion Durham: So, I wanted to be sure it was not something going on my end.

Lu Ann Jones: Okay. I appreciate your asking that.

Nancy Russell: Is it too disruptive for you, Marion?

Marion Durham: No, I think as long as my hearing is still pretty good. (laughs) If it gets a little fuzzy, I will let you know.

Nancy Russell: Okay. Does anybody else have any questions or anything before we start recording?

Lu Ann Jones: I don't think so. Isis? Oh, so I think, Isis is reminding me to get your permission to record this, particularly since we're doing this long distance so you're not seeing the recorder. So, do we have your permission to record?

Marion Durham: Of course. And there is a paper permission slip that should get to Nancy fairly quickly. It was sent earlier this week.

Lu Ann Jones: Okay. Sounds great. Thank you.

Marion Durham: You're welcome.

Nancy Russell: Okay, are we recording?

- Lu Ann Jones: Yes, we are.
- Nancy Russell: Okay. Well, my name is Nancy Russell, and I'm the archivist for the National Park Service History Collection at Harpers Ferry. Today's date is July 25, 2018. I'm here with Lu Ann Jones, the National Park Service oral historian. And we are here today to interview Marion Durham. Marion, could you tell us a little bit about your family background and your history?
- Marion Durham: Well, I was born and raised in California. I will be 79 years old in October of this year. And I jumped back and forth. My dad was in the farm equipment business, so we moved from Imperial Valley in southern California to Yreka, up on the Oregon border, and everything in between. So, I jumped around. But I spent my time from about junior high through college in Santa Barbara, and that's where I went to college, where I married the first time. From there, my husband at that time transferred into a job in San Francisco. I was going to San Francisco State to get a master's degree in anthropology when I found myself getting divorced.
- 2:55
- Marion Durham: The gentleman who was the dean of the School of Anthropology put me in touch with the National Park Service. And I went in for an interview and started out at a part time job, temporary, as an archeologist with the San Francisco office, the Archeology Division.
- Nancy Russell: And when was that?
- Marion Durham: That would be about 1967, I think.
- Nancy Russell: And what were you doing there in that first position?
- Marion Durham: Well, the gentleman who was the head archeologist there in the San Francisco office had contracts with a lot of the state universities and state colleges in California to do archeological surveys when there were government contracts, like with Bureau of Reclamation or BLM [Bureau of Land Management]. San Francisco State happened to have a bunch of contracts for surveys, and I had been doing one of those surveys while studying at San Francisco State. When I went into Mr. Schumacher's office as a temp, I ended up sort of being the administrative liaison and reviewing those university contracts and their reports when they finished their archeological surveys. So that was my job at that time.
- Nancy Russell: So, you weren't necessarily doing field work. You were doing a lot of the support for the field work.
- Marion Durham: I did a couple of field work assignments out doing sort of on the ground reviews. But also, they sent me on a temporary duty assignment to Joshua Tree to (laughs) do their museum curatorial work of all their archeological material at Joshua Tree.

Which turned out, started out to be a two-week job and ended up way more than that. (laughs) So I was on TDY at Joshua Tree for, gosh, I can't even remember now. It was probably at least a month and a half. But just trying to curate and get into their, the Park Service Museum collection. Set up, get in their archeological collection, which was actually huge. So. Probably my biggest field work was at Joshua Tree while I was in temporary status.

5:23

Nancy Russell: Was it difficult for you to get the temporary status position? Or was it relatively straightforward at that time?

Marion Durham: You know, I think it was a matter of who you knew, and I happened to know the dean, I worked for the dean of the anthropology department. He was good friends with Paul Schumacher, the archeologist for the Park Service. I think, if I were to guess, I would say that Dr. Triganza probably said, "I have a person here who needs a job." (laughter) So I went in as temporary. But it was actually someone in the payroll or personnel department in the regional office who, after I had been having lunch with them consistently at the same time and same place every day, finally said, "Are you actually having an assigned work period?" I think they kind of rattled some cages with the personnel people, and suddenly I was no longer temporary. (laughs) That's how I became a permanent employee.

Nancy Russell: Really! Just somebody in HR noticed you at lunch.

6:35

Marion Durham: Somebody in HR. And I think the people doing the payroll figured out that my initial classification was not what I was actually doing, timewise. So, there was some pressure put on. Then I think the Washington office, we'd been together on some conferences and archeological conventions. I had met some of the Washington office people, and I think they said well, this will work. We'll put her on. (laughs)

Nancy Russell: So, did you, in that permanent position, did you go to WASO? Or were you still in California?

Marion Durham: Well, actually, that's the transition that you and I first started talking about. I transitioned from being accepted into permanent status at the San Francisco office. But before they would physically transfer me to Washington (for a position that turned out not to exist), they sent me to Albright Training Center for this six-week new course designed for people who had been working for the Park Service for a while and had never gone through ranger training. It was a class made up of all kinds of people who had everywhere from six months to three years' worth of working experience but had never gone through the Albright training session. So, they shortened it down to six weeks, figuring that all those mostly guys who'd

been working for that length of time knew a lot of what the normal introductory course would be. They stuck me in there, too, (laughs) along with a few other women. That was how we ended up with this shortened, six-week class at Albright for park ranger training.

Nancy Russell: And so, did you feel like your participation in that class was influenced by the fact that you're a woman?

Marion Durham: I never have quite figured out how the women who were selected to go to that class, how they ended up in there. I don't think any of us ever figured it out. But we all felt as if we were sort of there—I don't want to say as tokens, representatives. But it was as if we were a little bit of an afterthought, because the instructors, they'd get to a portion of the course training and they'd kind of look at the women and they'd go, "Well, you don't have to pay attention to this part, because you're never going to do this." I think there were five or six of us, I can't remember exactly how many. We'd all kind of look at each other and go well, so what? (laughs) Let's just go through this anyway. So, it was as if the instructors weren't quite sure what to do with us, if you can imagine that.

Nancy Russell: Can you give an example of some of the things that they would suggest you wouldn't need to know?

9:57

Marion Durham: (laughs) Oh, yeah. Let's see. There was mountain rescue. We weren't obviously going to ever have to do a rescue of anybody. There was the scuba diving rescue that obviously none of us women were ever going to be doing scuba diving. A lot of the physical stuff, I guess would be kind of a way to summarize it. They would just, you know, none of us were ever going to be in law enforcement, so we didn't have to pay attention to the class on law enforcement.

Marion Durham: So, we just all felt as if we were sort of relegated to, "You're the ones that are going to be standing out there giving a talk to fifth graders. You're never going to be doing any of this other stuff." Of course, within just a few years (laughs), in fact, I within a year was not only scuba diving but they were soon hiring women to do law enforcement. So, it was ironic that we were there and getting this, "Well, you don't need to know this," and within a few years, yeah, we did need to know it. So, it's just that kind of thing, I think just instructors weren't prepared for women.

Nancy Russell: Was that one of their earlier classes that actually included women? Or do you know if there were other courses before you?

Marion Durham: You know, I do not know. I have no idea if there were classes with women prior to us. I have no way of really knowing. I would hope someone at Albright might have that information. But the other ladies and I just felt like the instructors didn't

quite know what to do with us. So, I think our assumption was this is the first time they've ever had to deal with this. So, it was more of an assumption than it was knowing for sure.

Nancy Russell: Okay. You mentioned you were taking this training to move to Washington for a position that turned out not to exist. Can you elaborate on that?

12:17

Marion Durham: Well, the Department of Interior at that time was thinking that they wanted to start a museum in the Department of Interior building. They were somewhat orienting it toward, it seemed like, just collecting some of the artifacts that had been in park collections over the years, and they were going to bring it all into Washington. There didn't seem to be a real plan. But they decided that I was going to be the one that was going to be starting this museum. Well, the museum never came to fruition. There was a budgetary cut and so I ended up being in the Washington office for just about a year and slightly less before they suddenly looked around and said, well, there really is no job for her. (laughs) Yet at the same time during that year, we had another guy there in the Washington office who had decided and had found a way to start the underwater archeology program that the Park Service now has. It was George Fischer, who I found out a while back has passed away. He actually instigated the plan, setup, managed to get approval for the underwater archeology. He and I were the first two Park Service people to get trained in scuba for underwater archeology.

Marion Durham: So, we had that program going. But all of a sudden, the Washington office looked around and said, well, this job that you were brought in to do isn't going to exist, so we need to do something with you. And there were budget cuts, and they were saying, we need to cut Washington office levels of employment. Something that's not entirely new, and I think it goes on even now. They say, we've got to get rid of all these people in the Washington office. So, they looked around. And one day came to me and said, "Well, we have two choices for you. You can go to Flagstaff, to Walnut Canyon, or you can go to Chaco Canyon."

Marion Durham: I said, "Okay, I'm 29 years old, I'm single, I have no car. I don't think Chaco Canyon is a good idea." If any of you have looked at Chaco Canyon, you'll know why. There's a dirt road that comes in about 30 miles. (laughs) It's a good ways to the nearest trading post, let alone a grocery store. So, at any rate, I picked Walnut Canyon, and that's how I ended up in the field.

Marion Durham: So, I did everything kind of backwards. Most people start at the field level and go to the regional office and then go to Washington. Well, I started in the middle, went to Washington and then came back out, came out to the field.

Nancy Russell: So, do you know how you were selected to be the person who was going to, you know, how did they decide you would be the one that would run this museum, or develop this museum, if it had actually happened?

15:35

Marion Durham: You know, I think, I'd love to say it was because of my scintillating personality and my skill. But I suspect it was Mr. Schumacher in San Francisco being forced to admit that he really had a fulltime employee that he was only on the books for as having temporary status, I think they looked around and said gee, we've got this person. Now we've got to do something with her. As far as I could ever figure out, that was kind of it; then I had met these Washington office people, and I think they thought well, okay, this museum is coming up. Maybe we can plug her in there. I think that's really what it was.

Marion Durham: I don't know if you know that the first woman who was an archeologist in the Park Service was Jean Pinkley. She was hired back in the 1940s, pretty much because her husband, who was Boss Pinkley's son, had died, had been killed in the war, I think. But anyway, Jean was hired, and she was a very skilled person, an archeologist. But in order to survive for her, and I don't imagine any of you ever met her, but she had to become one of the boys. So, Jean Pinkley, if she had to, could swear like a trooper. Bless her heart, she was kindness itself to me; I am the second female archeologist in the Park Service. She was hired in the '40s. I was hired in '67. That's thirty-odd years that she was the only female archeologist.

Marion Durham: So, when they get to me, they don't know what to do with me. I'm an anomaly. I'm the second anomaly. (laughs) Jean is still working, bless her heart. Yet at the same time, because all of the current people at that time had experience with Jean Pinkley that she was just another guy. So, they didn't know what to do with me, because I was not just another guy, you know? I didn't behave that way. (laughs) I didn't know how to behave that way, because I hadn't been raised that way. I was raised to be, you know, an assertive female who knew my own place, but I didn't know about women's rights or anything like that, so I wasn't pushy.

Marion Durham: So here I am coming in, they don't know what to do with me. It's the same thing that they didn't know what to do, I suspect, with the first woman who wanted to be a Park Service law enforcement officer. If you could find that lady, I bet— (laughs) I have no idea who it is. But so, I just think it was a matter that the Park Service was being pushed into changing attitudes toward women, and they had no idea how to do it. And so, they just stumbled along.

Marion Durham: When I ended up in the scuba program, I actually had the nerve, the chutzpah, to send George Hartzog a note and say, "Albright Training Center, when I was there six months ago, told us we women would never have to know these skills. Here I

am, six months later, doing this. Maybe you should see about changing the instructions at Albright.” I never got an acknowledgement. (laughs)

19:26

Nancy Russell: Really? (laughs)

Marion Durham: But I thought doggone it, they need to realize what they’re doing. You know, change went very, very slowly. Because I’m sure even today, the women in the Park Service, just like the women in the Forest Service, are dealing with an agency that has always been male dominated. And it’s hard to get that kind of cultural motivation to change. So, I always looked at it as okay, I’m out here in the forefront of this, and I’m going to have to mind my Ps and Qs, because I have to make sure that somebody can come behind me and not have to go through this.

Nancy Russell: So that was very much, you were aware of at the time as you were going through that in your career?

Marion Durham: It took me a while. It took me a while. Because I’d been raised in a family of almost all women, who all were educated, who all knew how good they were and just went about and did their work. So, it took me a while to realize that I was facing discrimination. When I realized it, that’s when I thought, you know, I need to, as a guy told me one time in the Park Service, a maintenance man, by the way. He said to me, “Marion, you need to learn that you can fight the battles, but you maybe will lose the war. So, you need to decide if you want to win the war, or you want to win the battles.” And I thought hmm, okay. So, you adapt, is what you do.

Nancy Russell: So, it sounds like, though, with you working with George Fischer to develop the program, that he was more open.

21:23

Marion Durham: Oh, yeah. George always was. But and so was his boss, Zorro Bradley. So those two men were, if you’ll pardon my feminism here, they both were married to very strong women. (laughs) And I think that influenced how they behaved toward professional women. And that is what I considered myself. I considered myself, I am a woman with a profession. I need to be able to make sure that the next people coming behind me can do this in an easier way. Sometimes it meant being a boat rocker, which is probably why I came in as a GS-5 and never got higher than a GS-7. (laughs) In 30 years of working for the government. But sometimes you need to be a boat rocker. I have found that when you’re out there in the forefront, when you’re one of the first, that what you have to do is realize that you’re going to pay a cost. No matter what you do, there’s going to be a cost for you to pay. And you have to accept that or don’t try.

- Nancy Russell: So, you have a master's in anthropology.
- Marion Durham: I never got the master's degree.
- Nancy Russell: Oh, you didn't get the master's degree.
- Marion Durham: I got the divorce. (laughter) And got a job. So that, yeah, that took precedence. I never did, didn't finish the masters.
- Nancy Russell: But you still, you had a bachelor's, and you still were a 5.
- Marion Durham: I did. I did. I did. Yeah. I came in as a 5 and went out as a 7. (laughs) Twenty-eight, twenty-nine years later. But I would think in terms of the history of the Park Service that I think you are interested in, it's not a negative against the Park Service when you consider the culture of the '60s and the '70s. I couldn't get credit in my own name once I was married again. All my credit cards that had been in my name when I was single were canceled. So that is how the society was in the '60s and '70s. So, you can't blame the Park Service. If they're still operating the way they did in the '60s, then there's a fault. But looking back on my career, all I can say is the agency and the people who made up the agency, were dealing with the culture that they were part of. So, I've always tried to look at it that way and not blame anybody. Although there's certain people I can blame. (laughter) Whose names shall remain anonymous.
- 24:29
- Nancy Russell: Well just to follow up for a minute on what you said about training, that you and George Fischer were the first two trained in scuba for archeology.
- Marion Durham: Mm hmm. Mm hmm.
- Nancy Russell: Can you talk a little bit about where and how you were trained to start that program?
- Marion Durham: Well, it was kind of interesting. We set the procurement agency sort of on its ears, because they had never had anybody come into request purchasing diving suits. (laughter) And least of all, a woman's diving suit. So, when it came time for me to actually turn that in as property, they didn't know what to do, because it was a woman's wetsuit. So, they just said, "Well, just keep it." And I want you to know that ten years ago, the neoprene was so bad I threw it away. (laughter)
- Marion Durham: But at any rate, we actually went to the YMCA, took their scuba diving class. Did our test out in the Patuxent, which was ghastly. Then we got hooked into the National Geographic Society, and they were sponsoring a dive down in Florida on a Spanish galleon that some treasure hunter had found. So, George, God only knows how he did this, but he got us permission to go with the National

Geographic Society, to go down to Florida and dive on this sunken galleon. Which was a hoot. And talk about a boondoggle. (laughter) I mean, it was purely a, but it did give us diving experience. And it gave us archeological diving experience, which no one was doing. There were no universities at the time doing underwater archeology. They were doing some in Europe, in Greece and Italy, but they were not doing anything in the United States. So, George is really, I would say, one of the very beginners of underwater archeology, both academically and governmentally, in the United States. He would deserve credit, and I don't think he's got it. But at any rate, that's how we did it. We did it through the YMCA and the National Geographic Society. (laughter)

Marion Durham: Then what we tried to do was working with the historian, whom my God is still alive, the Civil War guy, whose name has just now escaped me, Park Service historian. He had always wanted to excavate one of the sunken gunboats. So, the Park Service got involved in that. And by that time, I was out there to Arizona and didn't have anything else.

Marion Durham: We did, in the interim, try a dive in Montezuma Well here in Arizona, while I was in Washington. We ran a research thing on that, which turned out to be an interesting training experience. Because Montezuma Well is full of what amounts to almost quicksand. So, when you dive, you sink into this stuff. But that was the only thing that I got involved in that was strictly Park Service diving was at Montezuma Well.

27:56

Nancy Russell: Was that Ed Bearss that you were referring to, the historian?

Marion Durham: That is exactly who. Thank you so much. I appreciate that reminder. The thing I'm finding at 79 is I can do pretty well on my own memory. But man, trying to pull up name sometimes, they just go out the window. So, yes, it's Ed Bearss who was – he always wanted to excavate the gunboat. I think it's the one off of Vicksburg that we ultimately ended up with a contract to do. But there was also one in the Great Lakes that he wanted to do.

Marion Durham: So, Ed is another one of those people that, he was not happy with females, at all. That's another, it was very, very awkward trying to work with him. He wouldn't talk to me. I'd encounter him in the hallway, and I didn't exist. (laughs)

Nancy Russell: Interesting. (laughs)

Marion Durham: Yeah. When he comes out here to Scottsdale to speak to the Civil War Roundtable every year, I stay away. (laughter) I'm afraid I'd walk up to him and say something. (laughs) But I wouldn't. At any rate, that's a side thing that probably shouldn't get recorded.

Lu Ann Jones: This is Lu Ann. I am interested in following up on that. Because I am interested in, you said you got a variety of treatment by male colleagues in the Park Service. So, somebody who doesn't give you the professional courtesy of acknowledging you exist. What was kind of the, can you describe the range of that treatment that you got, the kind of reception you got?

Marion Durham: Well, the archeology office and the historian's office, I'm sure you have better offices now. We were in a building, not in Department of Interior's building. We were in a building away from—

30:00

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[START OF TRACK 2]

Marion Durham: --there. A regular office building that they rented space. So, in those two sections, the only other females were secretaries. So, it's kind of what I was saying is that these men are operating out of what they grew up in, in the '40s and '50s and '60s. They only knew how to react to the female secretaries. They absolutely could not figure out how to deal with a woman who, on paper, was a peer. Even if I was a low-grade peer. But even the men who were in the Washington office at the time who were GS-7s, they didn't know how to treat me. and these were young men that were within my age range. So, it was cultural. And it was simple things like maybe not giving me the opportunity to review a document that would automatically be reviewed by one of the GS-7s. It might be as simple a thing as, saying, "Marion, you're going out for a break. Would you bring back coffee?" Uh, no. (laughter) Simple things. Like they'd all go off to lunch. And so, I went and had my lunch sitting on a park bench outside in the park across the street. So, it was not being included in the same stuff. Not that I wanted to go to their cocktail lunches. But it was just, I just had to write it up to them being how they were raised. That was the only way I could deal with it. And the specific actions were just little things. Little things that you wouldn't sometimes even notice until I realized that I was frustrated. Then I'd have to make that, well, what's bugging me? So, it's hard to even tell you specifically. It's the little things like not getting the memo. That kind of thing.

Lu Ann Jones: Great. Thank you so much.

2:33

Nancy Russell: Did that change when you went out to Walnut Canyon? Or did you get that same feeling out there?

Marion Durham: (laughs) At the risk of being politically incorrect and mentioning a section of society that has a religious belief that all women should be home in the kitchen,

barefoot and preferably pregnant—. (sighs) That is what coming into certain sections of Arizona and the Southwest was like. And when I arrived at Walnut Canyon, it was made very clear to me that the superintendent did not want a GS-7 professional and did not want one that was female. He had wanted to cut his budget by having a GS-5 park tech. And instead, he was told, “No, you’re getting a GS-7 professional archeologist.” And—. (sighs) Life was difficult, and I had to fight to get the housing that had previously been allotted to the previous archeologist. I had to---. (sighs) It was difficult. Let me just put it that way.

Nancy Russell: So, was it explicitly stated that he didn’t want you there? And if so, by whom?

Marion Durham: The superintendent, he never said, “I don’t want you,” specific at me. He said, “I never wanted another GS-7 professional. I always wanted a GS-5 park tech.” And his whole religious leaning made it abundantly clear that I was not, I was not where he thought I should be. (laughs) Let’s put it that way.

Marion Durham: Eventually I, eventually I got park housing. I was dating, and it was awkward. My now husband, at the time, was a warehouse manager of a liquor business. He finally heard, and I heard from one of the male archeologists at a nearby park, the guy said his superintendent was the same way my superintendent was. And he said, “I’ll tell you what I do to rattle his cage.”

Marion Durham: By then, I was happy to rattle cages. I said, “What do you do?” He said, “I go to my friendly bar here in Flagstaff. They save all of the liquor bottles for me. And I go home and dump them in my garbage can.” (laughs) My then-boyfriend, who now is my husband, said, “Oh, I can do that for you, easy.” (laughs) So I would have garbage cans full of beer cans. I would get these lectures about having unsupervised parties, of course, which I hadn’t had. It just was difficult.

Marion Durham: So, after Jim and I got married, my days off while I was single had been on Monday/Tuesday. Well, Jim’s days off were Saturday/Sunday. So, we never saw each other on weekends or anything like that.

Marion Durham: So, I went to the superintendent, and I said, “The clerk/typist is willing to trade one day off, every two weeks, with me.” She was willing to work Sunday, and I could have Sunday off. And he refused. And he would make no adjustments at all for me for a schedule that would allow me to have a relationship, or days off with my husband. And eventually, the clerk/typist quit.

Marion Durham: So, I went in and applied for her job. And it caused rattles all the way up to the San Francisco Regional Office. Because professional GS-7 archeologist does not opt to take a GS-5 clerk/typist job. And so I went through interviews that you wouldn’t believe. I just would finally say, “Look, you guys know who I’m dealing with at the park. You know what his attitude is toward women. You’ve not given me any support when I’ve said things were awkward. So, you know, deal with it.” And so eventually that’s what I did. I took the clerk/typist job.

8:09

- Nancy Russell: Where was it, at Walnut Canyon or somewhere else?
- Marion Durham: At Walnut Canyon.
- Nancy Russell: At Walnut, yeah.
- Marion Durham: So, I stayed there until I found a job with the Forest Service. And then I changed agencies and went into administration.
- Nancy Russell: But when you were at, did you get to Walnut Canyon about '69?
- Marion Durham: It was '68, '69, it was right over the winter. I showed up in the middle of a snowstorm.
- Nancy Russell: With no house
- Marion Durham: With no housing. I was in a trailer that had mice. (laughs)
- Nancy Russell: So how was it that then you got involved with the 1970 National Park Service women's uniform?
- Marion Durham: Oh, my goodness. Oh, my goodness. How much time do you guys have? (laughter) When I was still single, I took vacation. I decided I wanted to see some of the other Southwest regional parks. So, I took my vacation, and I wandered all the way up to Mesa Verde. I was camping in Mesa Verde and went on a walk. And I was not identifying myself as Park Service or anything. I was being a civilian. So, the young woman who was leading this walk, and the uniform for women at the time was a design of a hat that was like an army hat. You had to have the little pointed peak of it two fingers above your eyebrow. And a white Peter Pan-collared blouse. And a very straight and very slim, straight skirt that, by the way, the hem had to be at your knee when you knelt on the floor. And I'm telling you, these were the rules. And high heels. And nylons.
- Marion Durham: She's leading a walk through the ruins at Mesa Verde, including a portion that was, crawled through kind of a little tunnel, and at the end, a rope ladder to get up. I looked at this girl with her skirt, and I said, "How do you handle this?" She said, "I send everybody up ahead of me and I come up last."
- Marion Durham: I made it back to Walnut Canyon at the end of my vacation. I sent in a suggestion form. I said, "Something needs to be done about the uniform. We need to offer the option of pants to the women who are in positions such as this young woman having to send all of her tours up the rope ladder ahead of her simply because

she's in a skirt." I never heard anything. The suggestion form goes off and it disappears into the kind of ether.

Marion Durham: Well, I don't know. Months later, something comes out and says, "The Park Service has a new committee designing a new woman's uniform. And these are the members of the committee." One of the women was somebody I knew. It was Carole Scanlon from Philadelphia.

Marion Durham: So, I sent a note off to Carole and said, "Carole, while you're doing all this, make sure that there's an option for pants for those of us who—." Walnut Canyon, I don't know if you've ever been there or looked at it, it has a rim trail that stays level up on the top. And then it has a trail that goes down 185 feet, down to a little island area that circles around. Then you have to walk back up 185 feet. Well, I had to do that, supposed to do it daily, in high heels and a skirt. And it was a pain in the neck. (laughs) Not to speak of everywhere else.

12:15

Marion Durham: So anyway, I sent my little note off to Carole. Months later, we get the announcement that the new design has gone through all the review process, and this is what it is. I thought oh, yikes. Well, I'm not thinking anything of it. I'm out in Arizona. Well, the next thing I know, my superintendent gets a notice from the regional office, which has got the notice from the Washington office, that the archeologist at Walnut Canyon has been designated to appear in the fashion show that's going to show this new uniform. So, it was myself, it was a gal from Lake Mead, it was a gal from Sitka, Alaska. It was a gal from somewhere in the Northeast, I think. Then it was Mrs. Hartzog, and the wife of the superintendent of Philadelphia Independence Hall, I think. And they grabbed one of the cleaning ladies off the staff at Independence Hall.

Marion Durham: We, at least those of us that were brought in from outside, were shipped into New York City and put in a hotel and shuttled to and from this fashion house, where they fitted us all up with all these pieces. I was just assigned to model the culottes and the little tunic top. The girl from Mead got the pants and the tunic top. The girl from Sitka got, I don't know what she wore. I don't remember. I think she had the dress. Anyway, it's all in the book somewhere. (laughs)

Marion Durham: So, we're doing all this. All of us are just kind of looking at each other and thinking oh my God, we should be home. One day they said, "Okay, now we need to go shoe shopping, because you all have to have shoes." They stuck me in those darn go-go boots. And I just looked at them. (laughs) Okay.

Marion Durham: So, we show up at Philadelphia with all these pieces from the fashion shop and the fashion people. Nobody's done anything about a hat. So, I'm standing around in this culottes and tunic and go-go boots and there's a guy standing next to me from Philadelphia, and he's got on his straw. I said, "What size is your straw?" He

said 7. I said, “Can I borrow it for this thing?” And he said yeah. And I took it and I put it on. No approval. Nobody had said diddly do. I just did it. (laughs) And that’s how that photograph shows up on the front cover of that book on uniforms. So that’s the story of the fashion show.

15:13

Nancy Russell: Well, what did you think when you, I mean, it doesn’t sound like you were asked if you wanted to do it. It was just an assignment that you were given. Did it seem odd that you were asked to be in a fashion show?

Marion Durham: I’d just assumed it was because I’d sent in a suggestion and because I’d written to Carole Scanlon. I just assumed that. When I asked the gal from Lake Mead, I said, “How did you get selected?” She said she had sent in a suggestion, also. Apparently, the gal from Sitka had, also. So, all we could figure out was that they had taken the suggestions, the people who’d sent in suggestions over the few months about uniform changes needed, and there must have not been a whole lot of people who made those suggestions. So that’s all we could figure out, was that it was because we had submitted suggestion forms.

Nancy Russell: So, what was your reaction to that uniform?

Marion Durham: You want the truth?

Nancy Russell: Yup.

Marion Durham: I’ll tell you what I told President Johnson when he asked me the same question. I said, “It’s better than what we have, but it’s not what we want.” He said, “What do you want?”

Marion Durham: I said, “We would prefer, because we are their peers, we would prefer to have the same uniform as the men who do the same job.” He had no response. I didn’t expect him to. But that was my reaction.

Marion Durham: When all of us got it, everybody seemed to have much the same reaction. It was polyester. It was hotter than blue blazes when you lived somewhere where it was humid or hot. It snagged. It really wasn’t very--it got stained just incredibly easily. It wasn’t really hard work uniform, you know? It was walk around in the park, you know, walk around in Central Park kind of thing. It didn’t last very long. And the next thing we knew, we had a reiteration of the thing, only in green denim. After, I think actually whoever filed the lawsuit, it was after I had transferred to the Forest Service when they finally got the gray—no, I take that back. It was while I was still in. Because I did have a short period of time when I could wear the gray shirt and the green slacks.

Nancy Russell: In the mid ‘70s?

17:50

Marion Durham: Yeah.

Nancy Russell: So, can you back up for a minute and explain how it is that you came to be having a conversation with President Johnson and Lady Bird Johnson about the National Park Service uniform?

Marion Durham: Oh. (laughs) Yeah, somewhere in my official personnel file, there's probably a letter of reprimand. (laughs) Because I blithely came back to Walnut Canyon. Nothing went on. And then all of a sudden, my superintendent, he was upset. He came storming into my office and said, "They want you now to have a car and drive all over the Southwest." I went, what?! He had got some kind of an order to get me a government car, and I was to tour every park in the Southwest Region and model all of the pieces that were within this uniform selection. I mean, I was dumbfounded. I couldn't believe it! (laughs) I mean, what am I going to do? So that's what I did. The fashion company had my measurements. They made up a set of every single one of those pieces, and they sent it to me. I will confess to you, Nancy, I should have, with my historian background, I should have saved all those pieces, and you should have them in your archive. I didn't. I apologize. (laughter)

Marion Durham: But at any rate, I had this set show up. We worked out a travel schedule. I went to every single Southwest Park. Every single one of them. And it was uniform reaction. The women who were in ranger positions were delighted to have pants. The women who were in secretarial positions, their main question was, "Do we have to wear the hat?" I answered the question day after day after day. I finally at one point lost my temper, and that's where there's probably a reprimand in my file somewhere. (laughs)

Marion Durham: I finally said, "You know, your superintendent has a responsibility to tell you whether you will wear this uniform or not. Your superintendent has the authority to tell you whether you have to wear the hat or not. You do what your superintendent tells you you're going to do for the uniform. And quite honestly, if you don't want to wear the hat, then why don't you just get out of the Park Service?" And that was the wrong thing to say. (laughs) But at any rate, the last stop on this whole thing--I came home, I thought I was done. And they went, "No, the president wants you to, he wants to see this."

Marion Durham: So, I bundled everything up into a garment bag and made arrangements. Flew to Austin. Got a rental car, drove out to the ranch, which even now when I've gone back to visit the ranch, I am so surprised at how lax, or how casual, let's put it that way, how casual it was. When I got there, I had to ford a little river to get to the gate. And that's all it was. It was just a gate, like a ranch gate. There was a guy standing there. He said, "Yes?" And I told him. And he said, "Oh, yes, we're

expecting you.” Opened the gate. Said, “Go down here. Turn right. Drive down here a mile. There’s two little houses on your left. Stop at the one where the president and Mrs. Johnson are sitting on the porch.” Okay. (laughter)

22:05

Marion Durham: So, I go. As it turns out later, I found out this happened to be one of his boyhood homes. He had lived in this little house. And it was a Texas shotgun house, where you have two rooms on either side of a kind of an open breezeway. I walked up to him, and I said, “I’m here. You wanted to see it. How would you like me to show it to you?” He said, “Would you mind putting on some of it?” I said, “No, that’s all right.” So, he sends me into one of the bedrooms. (laughs) And so I changed clothes and walked out, showed him what it looked like. Went back in, put on another piece, came back out. So, at the end, that’s when he asked me the question.

Nancy Russell: Were they, as you came out with individual pieces, were they reacting to it? Was Mrs. Johnson saying anything?

Marion Durham: No. And that is what was so interesting to me. She just was, I mean, she would look at them, but she never said a word. He never said a word. So, I’d do my little twirl. (laughter) I know, really. So, at the end, his question was far more serious than I had really anticipated. I had had no idea, I didn’t anticipate he would ask me a question, to tell you the truth. So, my response to him was pretty off, right from my heart. Because I really felt, just from having spent all that time in all those pieces, that it was going to be, it was going to be a real disaster. That’s kind of why I answered the way that I did, that it was better than what we had, but it wasn’t what we wanted.

Marion Durham: I was surprised, being there with him, for two different reasons. First of all, he looked deathly. He really looked bad. Of course, not terribly long after that, he really was. But the other was, I kept thinking to myself, if this is so darn important that it’s up to the level of the president, (laughs) to have some approval of this, I better really mind my Ps and Qs here. Because I could scuttle this whole thing. And so, that’s how it all came about.

24:45

Nancy Russell: And there was no real reaction to your opinion.

Marion Durham: No, no. No positive really reaction and no negative reaction. It was just very neutral. Very neutral.

Nancy Russell: And then you just—

- Marion Durham: Got back in the car and went back to Austin and flew back to Walnut Canyon. (laughs) Actually, I didn't want to change back into my civvies. By then, I was just tired of changing clothes. So, I went into the Austin airport wearing the pants and tunic and wearing the Smokey Bear hat. I probably was illegal as all heck. But the funniest thing was, I'm walking down the terminal and some young woman, like a kid, like 10 years old, said to me, "Are you an elevator operator or a stewardess?" Big sigh. (laughs)
- Marion Durham: I said, "No. I work for the National Park Service. I'm a park ranger." And that was, I mean, I thought, oh, dear. Oh, dear. We're doomed. (laughs) So that was the civilian reaction to the tan uniform.
- Nancy Russell: Well, you know, I've mentioned this to you that if we do tours here in the National Park Service History Collection of the uniforms, and I'm having a younger generation come through, there's almost a sort of a nostalgia among some of these, you know, some of the employees that maybe lived through that. But then also this younger generation coming up where I hear them saying, "Oh, they should bring that back." They seem to like this style. And I thought it would be interesting--
- 26:33
- Marion Durham: Which version?
- Nancy Russell: That 1970 tan uniform with the—
- Marion Durham: The tunic.
- Nancy Russell: The tunic.
- Marion Durham: And the culottes.
- Nancy Russell: Yep. Mm hmm.
- Marion Durham: You know, (sighs) my reaction when I hear that is a little bit my reaction when I listen to the young women today and the debate about the *Roe vs. Wade*. And I guess my reaction is, a lot of us fought long and hard for a lot of women's rights. You know, credit cards in our own name, recognition that we're doing the same job as men in many cases. If the younger generation thinks that it was so easy, that they've had it so long that it wasn't a fight to get it and they lose that, well, that's their loss. But on the other hand, I look at it and I listen to that, and I think, oh, man. I hope I didn't fight so hard and pay such a high cost in some ways that it wasn't worth it. And so, if they are saying they'd like to go back to the style of that tan uniform, I could see possibly having those as some options. You know, within, I don't even know what options you guys have now with the uniform. The girls, women I've seen in the parks, there's a maternity kind of an option, and

then sort of a pullover top kind of thing. But if they want some of those other options, I could see that. But to go away from the, if you are doing the same job as a guy or within the same rankings, to want to be identified differently, that, to me, is a real step backward. Real step backward. But I'm not the one that's working in it, and I'm not the one having to live through it. So, you know, I guess not you, but speaking generically, you (laughter) who are there now, and you who are hearing these other people say this, you know, I say well, it's up to you. It's now your ballgame. I did what I thought I had to do to make it better. That's about the best I think any of us can go to our maker thinking that we, you know, we made it a little bit better than what it was when we got here. That's kind of how I approach it. It makes me sad.

Nancy Russell: So why did you choose to leave the National Park Service?

30:00

[END OF TRACK 2]

[START OF TRACK 3]

Marion Durham: When my boss started going through my garbage (laughs) and started, even though I'd taken the clerk/typist job, he would try to take advantage of my skill as an archeologist when it was convenient for him, I finally decided that I didn't like myself that I was allowing that game to be played. So, I decided he was not going to change, the Park Service was not going to change, so I was going to have to. I was either going to have to change how I dealt with him, or I was going to have to leave the Park Service. It pained me greatly. I loved being in the Park Service. But I thought, I'm not doing myself any good living with this kind of discrimination. And so, I went looking for something else.

Marion Durham: Flagstaff at that time had the Forest Service, the Park Service and the USGS [United States Geological Survey]. So, if I was to stay in Flagstaff, which my husband was raised there his entire life, if I was to stay in the community, I had to either get out of the government or I had to try to find a job with the USGS or the Forest Service. And I found one with the Forest Service. So, that's why I left.

Nancy Russell: So, you didn't think it would be any different if you got another—or no, you just wanted to stay in that area.

Marion Durham: I might have tried for, say, Wupatki or Sunset Crater, which are just north of Flagstaff. But I knew the guy who was the archeologist there, and he wasn't going anywhere. And so, it just didn't seem feasible. I also knew that by that time they had set up a Park Service office in Phoenix, and they had this sort of overlying superintendent out of Phoenix who was sort of over all the park superintendents. I was beginning to see that even the role of the superintendents eventually was

going to change. I even put in for the superintendency when the guy that was there was going to retire. And I got told, no, you're not qualified.

Nancy Russell: You mean years later?

2:49

Marion Durham: Well actually, I'm trying to remember the timing on that. I think it was maybe after I had transferred to the Forest Service and had a lot of administrative experience by then. I thought well, that would make a difference. I think it was after, so I was applying from another agency, essentially. But it has worked out for me. I'm proud of what I did. I'm proud of how I worked. I'm proud that I was a fighter. And I can't regret, there are things I probably would do differently if I was to do it over again with the wisdom. (laughs) But I haven't learned yet how you can go back and redo.

Nancy Russell: (laughs) Well did you find after you left the Park Service for the Forest Service that you had better experiences as a woman there? Or is that something that just changed with time?

Marion Durham: It changed with time. The Forest Service is a lot like the Park Service. It's a good old boy kind of thing. It had more men than it had women. And the other part of the difference was that I went into it in administration, so I, the Forest Service has a strange little ranking that a person does all the administrative work but doesn't have—(laughs) That they do all the personnel, they do all the budgeting, and they do all the other stuff, but they don't really call them a director or a superintendent. They call them an administrative assistant. But at any rate, because I was in administration, I think it was less threatening to the men who were in quote "professional" quote rankings. I didn't try to be a forester because I wasn't. But I had some skills that they needed, and they, they were decent to me.

Marion Durham: But I still was a boat rocker, and I became one of the Forest Service women who was put in charge of the, oh, God, what did they call that program? The federal women's program, or something like that. Anyway, we were supposed to make efforts to advance women. So, I stayed on being a boat rocker. (laughs) Which I'm sure is why I became no higher than a 7.

Marion Durham: In fact, when I retired, I retired early because they closed down, I was working at Flagstaff at the Forest Service Research Office. I didn't go into the national forest at the forest level. I went into the department of the Forest Service that is in research. So, there's a research lab on almost every university campus in every state, for the Forest Service. So, I was at the research lab on the NAU, Northern Arizona University campus there in Flagstaff. There was a vacancy down here in the Tempe office at the Arizona State University. Well, they didn't hire anybody, so they asked me to go down and do it. So, I'm one week in Flagstaff, one week

in Tempe, one week in Flagstaff, one week in Tempe, for a year. I drove back and forth. I stayed in a motel down here. (laughs)

6:19

Marion Durham: After a year I said, "You guys need to hire somebody." They said, "Your paycheck is waiting for you in Tempe." Huh? So, my husband was able to find a job down here. I mean, they didn't ask me if I wanted to transfer. They just said, "You want your paycheck? It's in Tempe."

Marion Durham: So, I came down here. Then they built a huge, huge new research lab on the NAU campus. Combined it with the School of Forestry. Big building. You know, three times bigger than what was up there. The person they hired to fill that eventually ended up as a GS-12 or -13. But they never would let those of us who ran the ASU or the Tempe, or the Flagstaff labs, have anything above a 7. So, who knows?

Marion Durham: But I just didn't want to try running a building in Flagstaff with what had gone on. They offered it to me. As a 7. They wouldn't even give it to me as a 9. I said, "You're asking me to move back to where I used to live. You're asking me to take on a building that's twice as big. You're asking me to take on a staff that's twice as big and a budget that's twice as big, but you're not going to give me a grade increase." "That's right." Thank you. No. So I'm retired.

Nancy Russell: Wow.

7:56

Marion Durham: So, I may sound bitter, but I really am not. It's more of that I'm just accepting that that's what—I knew that I would pay a cost from being a fighter and a boat rocker. I always stayed within the rules. I always stayed within the regulations. I never did anything outside the regulations, except wear my hat in the Austin airport. But other than that, I always stayed by the rules. But I found out that the people who like rule books when they can quote them, don't like rule books that other people quote back to them. And so, when you're a boat rocker or a fighter, you have to realize you're going to pay a cost. You may not know what that cost is going to be, but it's going to be something.

Marion Durham: Over the years, I have accepted that. I love the Park Service. I've always been supportive of it as an agency. And I'm proud of myself. So, I guess that's a decent ending to a 29-year career.

Nancy Russell: Absolutely.

Marion Durham: Yeah. So how have I covered whatever it is you were interested in? And do we have other things you'd like to know?

Nancy Russell: Lu Ann, do you have any other questions? Or anything you want to follow up on?

Lu Ann Jones: Well, first of all I'd just like to say, it's been a pleasure. You're a great storyteller. You have a wonderful voice. So, it's just been very compelling to listen to your story. So, thank you so much.

Lu Ann Jones: One question I did have in talking with a couple of African American gentlemen who have been, that phrase being "the first," or being "the only." They talked about what a burden that could be at times. And I was wondering if that sentiment resonated with you.

10:08

Marion Durham: Oh, it does, indeed. I see it in today's news. People being the first or the first to speak up. And it does resonate. It's hard. It's a difficult position, in my mind, for a couple of different reasons. One, you have to always be on your guard a little bit, or a lot. That's one factor. The other is that you, I always felt that I couldn't be entirely myself, my true self, my friendly self, my, I don't know what the word I'm searching for. I couldn't truly be an employee, a co-employee who was, didn't always have to be slightly on guard. I could not say the first thing that popped into my head. The times that I did, I always got in trouble. So, I can empathize with the people who have had to come in and be the first in anything. Because you always have to, if you are aware, let me put it that way. If you're not aware, then you just are who you are. But if you're very aware of the fact that you are the first and you hope that there will be more coming behind you, you always have to be a little more formal and a little more reserved and a lot more cautious than you might be under any more open conditions and situations. So, yes. I can empathize with the people of color who have had to come in and fight those battles.

Lu Ann Jones: Yeah. Thank you. Another question, this one's a little harder, I think. It's become no secret that in the National Park Service, and the Forest Service, too, that we have issues with sexual harassment. (Marion Durham laughs) And being defined in a range of ways. Did you experience that or see that?

Marion Durham: (laughs) The answer to your question is, "Yes." Oh, gosh. When the #metoo movement started, I was thinking to myself, well, I never had to face that. But I bet it was around. And then I got to thinking. And I thought, oh, yes, you did. You just didn't recognize it. I can remember when I was first working in the San Francisco office. My boss said to me, "We have to go out to this convention" or something, whatever it was, or we had to go inspect a site. I can't even remember the situation. But he said, "We can just reserve one hotel room." (laughs)

Marion Durham: I remember looking at him, and I have to confess, I probably was the most naïve 29-year-old that you would ever even have hoped to meet. It never occurred to me

to think sexual. I looked at him and I said, "Why would I do that?" I said, "I like my privacy." (laughter) All I'm thinking of is, there's no way in the world I'm sharing a bathroom and brushing my teeth with him there. But anyway, I thought about it just recently and I thought Marion, for goodness' sake, you were so stupid! (laughs) Of course, he was throwing an angle out there. And it was ages later before I learned that yes, in some ways he was a little bit of a philanderer. He did have a reputation around the archeological world, let's put it that way.

Marion Durham: But yes, through the years. The superintendent at Walnut Canyon, not to speak ill of the dead, but the man was so ingrained in his religion. And his religion was so unequal, male/female, that he absolutely could not deal with me straight on as a professional person. He absolutely could not. It wasn't sexual. It was simply that I was female, and I was not fitting his idea of what a female role should be. Even after I got married, I didn't fit the role, you know.

Marion Durham: Through the years, I know there were little things that probably I just brushed off, just because part of it was, I grew up in a household with all women. I never heard these things. They weren't something that I had a cognizance of. So, I was pretty naïve. There's jokes I don't get even today. (laughter) So it was there. I think most of us in the '60s and the '70s didn't recognize it for what it was. There was no term for it in those days.

Lu Ann Jones: Yes.

16:17

Marion Durham: Today I think young women would be much more able to recognize it for what it is. At the time, all I knew was I was being treated differently as a female and that I felt was just categorically wrong. I'd never faced it in my life before. Not coming through high school, not coming through college. I'd never faced it before until I got into government. And it isn't a problem that, I'm sure it was not just in government. I mean, it was endemic everywhere, I'm sure.

Lu Ann Jones: Yeah. Yeah. You retired in what, the 1990s? Is that right?

Marion Durham: Yeah. I retired in '93, January '93, the end of '92. And as I say, it was only because, I had fully intended to work my full, till I was 55 or better. But when they closed down my office, we had the option of going out on early retirement. It cost me a little bit of money on my retirement annuity. But it had become so stressful. It was a job that I was essentially running the administration of a lab with a budget in the millions, with little support up the line in the office in Colorado. I didn't realize I was so stressed until I retired and came home. And I slept solid. My husband said that he would wake me up to eat meals and I'd go back to bed. I slept for probably a week. And it was purely stress. I have not had a migraine headache since the day I retired. I used to have them every day. So, I have not had a migraine since 1993. (laughs) And for that, I am grateful.

Marion Durham: The government has, so far, has kept its word to me. I'm a member of NARFE [National Active and Retired Federal Employees Association]. And if you are not, you all need to join. Because NARFE is--once you retire, you have absolutely no way to contact an agency. You can only deal with Office of Personnel Management. And right now, the president has proposed that all COLAs [Cost of Living Adjustment] for all of us under FERS [Federal Employees Retirement System], will be abolished. Anybody that's retired under CSRS [Civil Service Retirement System] or working under CSRS would get a small cost of living allowance. If you know what it will be like to have a paycheck or an annuity that has no additional cost for inflation in the years ahead, then you know why the retirees are scared out of their wits right now. Because if that goes through, you guys are already, as current employees, being attacked for your pay, your benefits, and your retirement. It's only going to get worse. And so, I'm saying the government has been good to me up until right now. I'm worried about the next few years. But I feel as if I did a good job, and what I am benefiting now, for my health insurance, in particular.

20:23

Marion Durham: There's my other advice to you. This is your mother speaking, who used to be in personnel. (laughter) Do not let your health insurance lapse. Always, always, always, get your health insurance. Because man alive, when you get out into the civilian world, it's not there. I've learned some of those things. I know my government probably better than most of the civilians who've never been in government, because I worked in the government. And that has been a real benefit. So, it was worth it. It was a pain in some places, but it was worth it.

Marion Durham: If the Park Service elects to change their uniform and the girls, you know, the women give up on having the same uniform as their peers, so be it. But man, again, you're going to have to fight the same fight all over again. So, but. (laughs)

Lu Ann Jones: Well, thank you very much. I appreciate you answering those questions.

Marion Durham: You know, I've enjoyed it. It's been kind of fun to reminisce. I apologize if I've run off at the mouth. Because once you get me started, as my husband says, it's kind of hard to stop me.

Lu Ann Jones: I think you've been very disciplined.

21:33

Marion Durham: Well, I appreciate your time, and I appreciate your even asking me. It's been an honor. It really has.

- Nancy Russell: Well, thank you, Marion. This interview will be transcribed. And we'd like to send you a copy of the transcript to look at and see if there's anything you need to or want to correct in the transcript, if you don't mind?
- Marion Durham: Oh my God, I'd have to read through an hour and a half of my yapping? Oh, dear. (laughter) Oh, dear. Sure.
- Nancy Russell: Okay, I'll be in touch, then.
- Marion Durham: All right. Now you do understand that one of my primary jobs of the Forest Service was being an editor of scientific articles by scientists who did not know how to spell. (laughter) So I'm giving you that warning. (laughs) Thank you, all three of you. It's been a pleasure.
- Lu Ann Jones: Oh, well, thank you.
- Nancy Russell: Thank you.
- Marion Durham: All righty.
- Nancy Russell: Thank you. Bye bye.
- Marion Durham: Bye bye.
- Nancy Russell: Lu Ann, are you there?
- Lu Ann Jones: I am.
- Nancy Russell: I thought that went really well.
- Lu Ann Jones: I did, too. You're a great interviewer. You're so concise in your questions.

22:39

[END OF TRACK 3]

[END OF INTERVIEW]