

Interview with Ms. Ernestine Cox
Conducted by Monique Claiborne & John Halloran
For
The Chene Street History Project
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MK: This is Marian Krzyzowski and I'm here Monique Claiborne and John Halloran at the home of Ms. Ernestine Cox in Detroit and today is July 12, 2003. We're here to talk about her memories and recollections of growing up on Detroit's east side near the McDougall and Chene area.

MK: Maybe we can begin first by talking a little bit about your family. Your parents, their names, their family and as far back as you know where they were from originally and then how they ended up getting into this neighborhood.

EC: Okay. My mother's name was Emmarell Barrow Davis, she married Henry Franklin Davis. My mother was born in Lafayette, Alabama and she met my dad and together they had eight children. Well, my dad had three children when he married my mother and my mother got married at the age of like seventeen and she had five children of her own. I am the youngest of eight children. My father was born in Talladega, Alabama. Somewhere along the line down in Alabama, he and my mother met through my mother's aunt who lived in the vicinity of Anniston, Alabama. My father was a widower at the time with three little children and that's how my mother was introduced to my dad. That's how they ended up getting married.

MK: Down in Alabama?

EC: In Alabama.

MK: In Talladega?

EC: Well, I don't know if they married in Talladega or not, but they lived in Talladega because I have my three half sisters who were born down in Talladega and my two full sisters were born down there, and my brother. In 1929, somewhere around '29, or maybe '28, my father came to Detroit and he--do you want me to say a little bit about my father's history?

MK: Absolutely. Tell me.

EC: Okay. I was just down in Talladega last week and I learned a lot of stuff about my father's side, the Davises. I didn't really always know this, but I heard the story that my father, my father's father was a white man and they had a lot of children. I could count them up, but it must have been somewhere around ten or eleven and so my father always worked down there at a furniture store, and he was working with this white man and they were doing some kind of carrying out furniture. They made caskets at this place, and somehow they got into an argument and my father hit the man and [doorbell rings]. I'm

sorry. So my father had to leave Talladega and he left. My grandmother, my mother's mother had already arrived in Detroit in 1927. I don't know why she came here, maybe to get a job or something, I don't know. But she had come and so I don't know which children she brought with her because I don't know which children, but my mother came to Detroit and my father around 1928, somewhere around there. Then they had me and my sister, two more children.

MK: And your older siblings' names, first names, what were they?

EC: Okay. I have an older sister. My first sister and in order was Matilla, and then the next one was Cara, C-A-R-A, the next one was Anne A-N-N-E, and then my next sister was Naravysa. My father had gotten her name off a boxcar and it was an Indian name because they had a lot of Indian in them and so her name was N-A-R-A-V-Y-S-A. Then the next one was Lillie Marie and she was named after my grandmother, and then the next one was Henry Franklin, that was my brother, and that's the only boy in the family. The next one was Jerline, J-E-R-L-I-N-E, and then me, Ernestine.

MK: The siblings before you were all born in Alabama?

EC: Me and Jerline were born here in Detroit.

MK: Okay.

EC: My grandmother was here already with some of her children but I know Joe was a very young person, like about thirteen, fourteen years old and his younger sister was Vunice, V-U-N-I-E-S and she was the baby out of eight children. There were four boys and four girls and my grandmother--this is all on my mother's side. My grandmother had married a second time and his name was Brooks. The first husband was named Barrow and his name was Monroe Barrow. That's my grandfather on my mother's side. Then my grandmother married a man named Willie Brooks and he had eight children. So all those children lived in the same area, in the same house, except a lot of them were not grown and so my grandmother raised, I don't know if she raised exactly eight of his children because some of them might have already been grown already. But she raised his eight and her eight.

MK: Again, her name was?

EC: Her name was Lillie Barrow Brooks.

MK: And do you know where she lived?

EC: In Detroit?

MK: What's the address?

EC: Well, she lived when she came to Detroit, I think she lived on Clinton Street, it was near Chene. Because when I was born, I lived on Clinton also and we all lived right across from Duffield School because I remember just walking across the street to Duffield. So it was between Joseph Campau and Chene.

MK: Do you know which side of the street it was on?

EC: Yes. It would have been on the north side of Clinton.

MK: Was it closer to Chene?

EC: Like in the middle of the block I would imagine. We lived in a two family flat because I can remember the people who lived under us were named Foster. I know they like about eight children. Everybody had big families then.

MK: In what year were you born?

EC: I was born in 1931.

MK: Do you know what address your family was living at when you were born?

EC: No. I don't know the address, but I remember the second house. I only remember moving two times. From Clinton, we moved into another house over on the corner of Joseph Campau and Sherman and that number was 2909 Sherman.

MK: How old were you when you moved in there?

EC: Probably about five. I think that's where I started to Duffield from, Sherman Street. Because we moved over on McDougall around 1936.

MK: Let's see, you were born in '31 right?

EC: Uh huh.

MK: And then you moved to Sherman when you were five.

EC: I started Duffield at Sherman, because I was in Duffield already when we moved to McDougall. So we moved over there around thirty-six or seven maybe.

MK: It must have been '37.

EC: Well, when Joe Louis won the championship from Braddock that's when we moved there, 'cause that would have been in '37, that's when he won it.

MK: What address at McDougall did you live at?

EC: 1508. And that was on the corner of Mullett, between Mullett and Madison. We moved into a two family flat there. Joe bought that house for my mother and his other sister. His other sister's name was Suzie Barrow Woodall and she had eight children. And they lived upstairs and we lived downstairs. I remember my telephone number over there and it was Fitzroy 3692.

MK: How long did you live at that McDougall address?

EC: Until 1951 or 1950.

MK: And where did you move from there?

EC: I moved from there--I got married in 1951. I moved out to Alice Street in Hamtramck.

MK: Alice is what part of Hamtramck?

EC: It's right off of Joseph Campau. It used to be the first street after you pass under the viaduct there, and it was Alice. It was just one block long and I lived there for about seven months, then my husband and I we moved over to the far east side on French Road between Mack and Canfield.

MK: Do you remember the address on Alice that you lived at?

EC: 2419 I think

MK: Okay. Then you moved from there to French?

EC: French Road, and that number was 4008 French Road.

MK: Where between French Road I grew up near French Road.

EC: Between Mack and Canfield, closer to Canfield. Then I moved from there to Garland and that was 4010 Garland.

MK: Let's go back now to when you were on Sherman and McDougall. You went to which Elementary School?

EC: Duffield.

MK: Can you tell me a little bit about Duffield and what you remember about it?

EC: Yeah. I remember Duffield and at that time when I was in school, I thought I was very quiet, I learned later that I was not that quiet in school. I always thought I was. But I remember the teachers I had a librarian teacher. Her name was Ms. Carter and I've seen her since I've been an adult and I had--

MK: Was she an African American?

EC: Yes. I had a white teacher. Her name was Ms. O'Neil and I thought she was mean but I did learn under her. I didn't know I was learning at the time I don't think, you know because she was very strict. I had another teacher when I got to the eighth grade at Duffield. Her name was Elizabeth Cole. Her husband was James Cole. He owned the funeral home on the eastside there. She was very fair. She looked like a white lady. She was very fair.

MK: Where was the Cole funeral home?

EC: The Cole Funeral Home at that time. Let's see, where was that? I'm not sure. I'm not really sure where that was. I don't remember exactly.

MK: I would assume, but correct me if I'm wrong, that most of the teachers were white in this school, or was there a significant amount of African American teachers?

EC: No, they were mostly white. But I do remember quite a few of the black teachers and some of the white teachers.

MK: Do you know the names of any of the black teachers?

EC: Yeah. There was Miss Bristol. She owned the funeral home right on the corner of Joseph Campau and it was probably Clinton or Monroe. Not Clinton. No, it had to be Monroe. Then they had a teacher named Miss Wagner and I took piano lessons from her. I think Miss Bristow also taught piano lessons. I took lessons from her for a while. 'Cause my grandmother had a baby grand piano and then I also took lessons from Miss Wagner. She lived on McDougall, between Madison and Sherman. She had a big piano in her house. Then there was another teacher who taught music over there. Her name was Miss Ship.

MK: Like the boat, Ship?

EC: Yes. She taught music and the principal's name was Miss Finney. She was a white lady F-I-N-N-E-Y, I would believe. So, there was a male teacher and like an assistant principal, but I can't remember his name.

MK: Was he black?

EC: No. He was white. They were both white. There was a Miss Pulaski over there. I remember her. In fact, her name was Ernestine Pulaski.

MK: What do you remember about her?

EC: Well, I never really had her, but she was really mean. I was kind of glad I didn't have her. But I had a lot of white kids in my class, 'cause there were a lot of Italians down in that neighborhood.

MK: I was just going to ask you what about the kids. Were they ethnically, racially, related? What was the mix like when you were there?

EC: It was mostly Italians right in that area because when Joe bought that house for us, he bought it from the Bommaritos. And the Bommaritos owned the marketplace, some produce places down in the Eastern market and they owned an ice cream parlor over on the corner of Joseph Campau and Mullett I would imagine. I remember going in there getting ice cream cones. You could get a single dip for three cents and a double dip maybe for five cents. Yeah, I remember that. Going to Duffield, it was like a street like went around a park and in the middle of that park it was like a small pool, like a wading pool and we used to get in there and wade because the water wasn't that deep. It was probably up to your knees. And I went to church down there and it was Calvary Baptist Church. It's still in that area.

MK: Where was it then?

EC: It was on the corner of Joseph Campau and Clinton and I think we stayed there until 1970, then we built on the corner of Lafayette and Robert Bradby Drive, which is McDougall now, which is right next to the Elmwood Cemetery.

MK: Is it the orange-roof church?

EC: Yes. That's my church. The only one of my family that still belongs there is me, my sister Lillie Marie, and my aunt Vunice Barrow-High. We're the only three from our family that still belongs to that church. But all my family was buried from the church.

MK: When you were at Duffield, you said there were a lot of Italian kids. I assume most of them were black kids too, and what was it like socially? Was there any real social interaction, was there hostility, what were the relationships like between the Italian kids and the black kids?

EC: I don't think I knew about race until that race riot started. I lived next door to some Italian kids. I lived in the second house off the corner of McDougall and Mullett and then there were some Italian kids that lived right there. There must have been about, at least seven or eight of them in that house. They lived downstairs and black people lived upstairs and we played together all the time. They came over to our house and we would go over there and I remember eating spaghetti in their house, you know? And we sat on the porch, we never left our porches at night. You know how you sit on your porches? We would sit out there and play games, kick the can, and hide and seek, and all those other kinds of games. But we just accepted people as they were. I remember I learned how to swim at a recreation center down on Fort Street, I believe, probably between Elmwood and I think that next street was like Lied, L-I-E-D or something and they'd call

it D-U-S and I don't know what that stood for now, but that's where I learned to swim and there were always plenty of white kids down there learning to swim. My family used to go down there on Fridays and they would have what they'd call a splash party and all the kids would come down there and swim and they would be black and white.

MK: So, you must have been about twelve years old when the riot happened?

EC: Yeah.

MK: What do you remember about the riot?

EC: Well, I didn't know what that was and I remember that morning when I woke up that Monday morning, I went to school and then I remembered when we were in school, my older sisters came up to the school and got us out of there. It was me, my sister, and my brother. I know it would have been me and Jerline and my brother, but I don't remember whether my other sisters were up there or not. By this time, my older sisters were grown because they were working and they, maybe my sister Neravysa and Marie came up to get me because they would have been going over to high school and they said, "You come home because they're fighting." And I remember saying, "Fighting for what, what are they fighting for?" They said, "It's a riot." I said "Well, what's a riot?" I didn't know what that word was. I didn't understand, so then I remember hearing about them throwing this baby off the bridge and I didn't know why because we would walk to Belle Isle every other day or once a week, or every weekend, that's where we would go out to Belle Isle and I didn't understand that fighting and so I remember having to stay in the house. But we like stayed on the porch, but actually seeing any fighting or looting or burning, I don't remember seeing any of that because by me being on McDougall, none of that happened on my block. It happened they said like up and down Chene where the gangs were running. I never saw that. I never saw any of that.

MK: What about other kids at Duffield? Do you go back to school the next day or two days later, do you remember?

EC: Well, I don't really remember, but I remember questioning why they were fighting. I couldn't understand that. You know if they said, "They threw the baby off the bridge," I went, "Why did they throw the baby off the bridge?" But no one knew any answers because all of my friends were uninformed just like I was so none of us knew. So, after the riot was over, we just went right back to what we were doing. Then, I remember finally, I don't remember what year it was, I was trying to think of the name of the white Italians who lived next door to me. I can't think of it right now, but I could get that from my sister, I know, but I can't think right now. But I remember one of the girl's names was Serafina and they finally moved.

MK: So, you graduated from Duffield probably in what, '44.

EC: '45.

MK: '45?

EC: Uh huh.

MK: After you graduated, what happened? What did you do?

EC: Well, when I graduated from Duffield in '45, I knew I had to go to Miller because at that time you had to go to a school within your zone. So, there was a family that we knew who lived on 24th and Warren and that was one of the--he was a boxer and he learned how to box like at Brewster Center and he came over to the house and so he was like supposed to have been our cousin. He was not really our cousin or anything, but everything thought that by him boxing and being heavyweight, he was Joe Louis' cousin. His name was "Big Boy Brown." They lived on 24th at Warren, so we were able to give that address because I didn't want to go to Miller High School.

MK: Why not?

EC: Because I was afraid of Miller High School. I always thought that Miller High School was a bad school. I heard how they used to fight, chase people, you know. I said, I want to go--my sister had graduated from Northwestern and so I wanted to go to McMichael, so I could graduate from Northwestern. So I gave the Brown's address at that time and I was able to get into McMichael, but after that term, it was like a half term, it was like my 9a, or 9d and when I got ready to pass to the second half of the ninth grade, 9a, I had to bring proof or something, I don't know what happened, but I had to go to Miller High School. So, I went to Miller High in 1946, but in the 9a. I remember the first year I went to Miller, I was so upset about it because I did not want to be over there. It seemed like all the boys were so tall and big, where at Duffield, when the bell would ring, every got in a line and passed from class to class in a line and that was okay with me, but when you get to Miller in high school, when the bell would ring, everybody just jumped out the classroom and just ran out the room and everybody was just scattered and everybody was pushing and I did not like that. But, I had to go there, so that first year was terrible, terrible, terrible for me. I remember coming home from Miller, laying on the couch crying because I had to go. So finally I stopped crying and went on and now I'm happy that I graduated from Miller.

MK: When did you graduated from Miller?

EC: In January 1949.

MK: From McDougall to Miller, how did you get there? What was your path?

EC: My path was McDougall to Sherman or Chestnut down pass my grandmother's house, up Antietam, up to Chene, and then across Chene to the school, because I could cut across the schoolyard into that back door on Chene Street.

MK: The main door was on Antietam, right?

EC: The main door would have been on Dubois.

MK: On the other side.

EC: You know all the while I went to Miller; I never went out that front door. I never realized that until maybe twenty years ago or fifteen years ago. I realized that I always went in and out the same door, which was like the side door leading to the schoolyard. I never went out that front door. I don't know what the front of that school looked like until we have picnics over there now every year. Our picnic is August the 11th and you guys are invited so you can over there and get all the information because there are Miller graduates and you can learn so much more stuff over there because all the people are over there. Sometimes the streets are all blocked off; sometimes it will be 2 or 3 thousand people over there at that picnic. It starts like on a Friday and it ends like on a Sunday. And they have baseball games

MK: So it's on a Friday. I'm just thinking.

EC: Sunday is the day to come.

MK: I'm not here that Sunday.

EC: The second Sunday in August?

MK: I'm in D.C. that weekend. Are you guys around?

JH: I might be here.

MC: Yes

EC: You will?

MC: Yes

EC: Well then you come because there is so much stuff going on. I can introduce you to different people who graduated from Miller, lived over there in that area. They're older people and they can give you a lot more stuff than I can.

MK: When you were in high school what kind of stuff did you do outside of school? Did you work? Where did you hang out? What kind of social things did you do? What was it like being a student there once you kind of got used to the fact you were there?

EC: Yea, well I never worked and my mother worked at Ford Motor Company and she worked.

MK: Which plant?

EC: She worked at Rouge and she sewed the covers for the cars. That's what, she worked with the machines there, sewing machines. And I have to say, I didn't go out that much not me. Because when my mother came home from work I had to be in the house. I had to be home. And I know my mother would get home between 4 and 4:30 every day. And I know I better be in that house or on that porch. And most of the kids didn't work a lot because--

MK: What about dances there? Weekend things? Movies? What kind of stuff did you do then?

EC: Well as far as the dances would go I didn't go to dances until I got about 17 or 18 because by then one of my sisters had married a fellow name Frank Brown who was Big Boy Brown's brother and he was a photographer plus an entrepreneur and he gave all the black dances at the Gray--he was the first person to give dances, black person to give dances at the Graystone and that was only on Monday nights, black people were allowed to go into the Graystone for dances. He gave dances at the Mayfair, that's a ballroom it was on Joseph Campau, I mean on Woodward. And I think that was right were the Bonstelle Theatre is and the other was the Mirror Ballroom he gave dances at the Forest Club and that was a roller skating rink. And he would give dances there. And he had all the big bands. He had, I saw Louis Jordan, I saw Erskine Hawkins, Coleman, all those guys, that's where I saw Sarah Vaughn. I saw--what's the lady's name on television that comes on Touched By an Angel that sings. You know who I'm talking about? I saw all those fellows. All that music that started here, my brother in law was giving those dances. And that's where I went to the dances. And he would like let me work, like taking tickets or at the door. And then I'd get paid for that. I was about 16, 17 years old.

MK: Were there any in the neighborhood there? You know in that Black Bottom section?

EC: Dances?

MK: The dances would be like over on Vernor Highway up around St. Antoine up that way. There were some clubs up there, Club Sedan, but not like from say Vernor Highway and down, south up Vernor Highway. But I remember a couple of theatres there we use to go to. One was on the corner of, I mean in the middle of the block. These were both on Chene. The Savoy but if you had any class, nobody went to the Savoy. Because the Savoy, the floor was sticky, in other words it was so dirty over there, you know? No body went to the Savoy. Everybody went to the, what they called the Catherine. And then they later changed their name to the Carver Theatre. They were directly across from each other and I remember going over there every Saturday and every Sunday to see the chapter picture, Wild Bill Hickock, Hopalong Cassidy, Red Rider. All those cowboys, you know Boston Blackey and the theatre would be really crowded and then Saturday nights, they had the midnight. You could go to the show at twelve o'clock, maybe at eleven o'clock and you could see two full movies, commercials, and a cartoon. You could get out of the theatre at two o'clock and I used to like to do that with my older sisters because they could go and they would go they had to take me because in those

days, you could not just go out with no boys by yourself, you had to take that younger child, sister, sibling with you.

MK: It was safe to go out at two o'clock in the morning?

EC: Oh yeah, I remember people in the shows, they would stop by the barbeque place. They called it Bob's Barbeque on the corner of Madison I believe and Joseph Campau. They had a barbeque place. They would stop there and pick up barbeques and take it to the theatre and everybody would be in the show, you could smell food all over the theatre. Everybody would be eating and watching the movie.

MK: Which corner was Bob's Barbeque on?

EC: It would have been on the south east side of Joseph Campau and he's at the picnics every year, so Bob must be eighty years old and his mind is still very alert. When I go to the picnic, I walk all over the ground to see who's there, and I know he was there last year and I think he may have suffered a stroke because I think he was in a wheelchair. Those are the kind of people that can tell you because like I said, he's like eighty and he can tell you a lot of stuff that's going on.

MK: Can you describe what you remember Bob's Barbeque being like, I mean physically what it looked like outside, inside?

EC: Well, it was just a little small place right on the corner, but I remember going in and it had some stools, round stools that you sit on, and a counter. Then there was like another, I remember a grocery store called Mr. Lake's grocery store and his store had like a wooden floor and that was Mr. Lake and his wife and his children that ran that.

MK: Was he black?

EC: Yeah black. Then there was a drugstore--

MK: Excuse me, where was it at?

EC: It would have been on the corner of Joseph Campau and Sherman and that was like across the street because we lived in like the second house off Joseph Campau on Sherman. It was something on the corner of the block I lived on but I can't remember what that was right now. Mr. Lake's store would have been the east south side of Joseph Campau, then I lived on the north side of Sherman. But I can't remember, it was something next door, some kind of business. Then across the street was a drugstore called Finnegan's drugstore and that was a white man. But we all went to Mr. Benson's drugstore on the corner of Maple and Joseph Campau because he was a black man. Mr. Benson was a friend of my mother.

MK: Besides the two theatres on Chene, do you remember going to the other stores or businesses on Chene itself?

EC: Yeah. There was cleaners and I remember his name was Randall, because when I got to high school, I remember meeting them and there was a dry goods store but it was on Joseph Campau around Waterloo called Leiberman's Dry Goods store and that's where I remember buying tennis shoes and shorts and stuff like that, and then there was a five and ten on the corner of Sherman and St. Aubin that we used to walk up to. We used to walk downtown to Sam's cut rate store.

MK: Was it on Gratiot?

EC: Yeah. Well, we would walk straight down Lafayette to it because it ran all the way to Lafayette and when you get to Lafayette you could get in the door. We would buy clothes and grocery in Sam's.

MK: What about a doctor or dentist that you went to?

EC: There a doctor on the corner of Chestnut on McDougall and his name was Dr.--he was our doctor but all of a sudden I can't remember his name.

MK: Black man?

EC: Yes. It was a black man and I remember going to the dentist and the dentist was the same dentist that did the shooting on the east side.

MC: Dr. Sweet?

EC: Dr. Sweet. That was on Chene between Madison and Sherman and he was like upstairs on the corner of Chene and Madison underneath this building and downstairs was a bowling alley and I remember walking down Madison to go to the theatre because the Catherine was right around the corner and we would walk pass that bowling alley. It was like downstairs and children were not allowed. I did not know what a bowling alley was, I could hear that knows when the pins got knocked down, and I said I'll be so glad when I get to be a big girl. I said I'm going in there because I want to know what is making all of that noise. I could not imagine what a bowling alley was. I had never been in it so I didn't know what they were doing. People would be hollering having a good time, so I said I gotta go in that place when I get grown.

MK: So Dr. Sweet was upstairs?

EC: I think Dr. Sweet's office was upstairs over that because it was like a building and it was a bunch of buildings. All of those were buildings there like from Madison to Sherman. I don't remember a lot of houses on Chene.

MK: No. There weren't many houses on Chene.

EC: No. I didn't think so. There were mostly businesses.

MK: What do you remember about him? Yeah he was right on the corner of Madison and Chene. Do you remember him at all, what he looked like, what he was like personality wise?

EC: Yeah. Well, I don't remember too much about his personality except I had, I have fillings right now that he put in my mouth because I remember me and my sister and my brother, we all went to him because he was the only dentist down there that I remember. I remember having to go with my sister because my sister next to me, she was very frightened, she was scary. She would cry all the time, and my brother, he would too when he'd go to the dentist. She always said, "Let Ernestine come in the room," and I would have to hold her hand and she'd be crying and he'd say, Dr. Sweet would say, "You ought to stop crying and be a big girl like your sister," and I know we couldn't have been any more than eight or nine years old at the time. Maybe we were older--

MK: What did Dr. Sweet look like?

EC: Maybe 12, 13. I just remember, well you know, he wore eye glasses. Brown skinned man, not a bad looking man but not a big man, just a medium sized man. I remember there was a beauty shop on the corner of Chene. It was Beaman's Beauty Shop. I remember going in there talking to this lady. Do you see it there?

MK: Beatrice Beaman.

EC: Yeah. Miss Beaman. My sister wrote a note one time to Beatrice Beaman's son and she told me to go in there and take that to John and I just went on in there and when I saw his mother, I said is John here? She said what do you want with John? Now I couldn't have been any more than nine or ten, and that's probably why my sister gave me that note. I said I got a note to give him. She said you get out of here and don't ever come back in here looking for my son again. Now he was grown, at least seventeen or eighteen years or nineteen years old. So I went back out there and gave that note back to my sister. I don't remember what was in that note, but I remember Miss Beaman hollering and screaming at me. Probably just fussed at me really and I said I'm gonna--I got to be very upset with her. I got to be a grown woman and I saw Miss Beaman. Miss Beaman was very short, like about 5'2'', I'm 5'6'', I was. I didn't know that lady was that short. I said Miss Beaman, had I known I was going to be taller than you one day, would have beat you up because you hollered and screamed at me and I will never forget that.

MK: What about the beauty shop itself, what did it look like?

EC: Well, I never went to a beauty shop, but I went there only because my sister. Just a big place I remember, you know, women sitting in chairs with the capes on. I only went in there like one or two times, but Benson's drugstore on the corner of Maple and Joseph Campau, he had a beauty shop in back of his drugstore and in his drugstore when you walk in, they had like a tile gray cement floor. It was very clean, my oldest sister worked

there at the drugstore and in the back of it they had a beauty shop and that's where my sisters went, but I never went to the beauty shop.

MK: Any other places on Chene you remember?

EC: I remember going to Silver Cup Bakery. We had to go down there, it seemed like every week, maybe not but it seemed like it was. And then we used to have to go, there was a dairy, a milk dairy because we had to get milk and we'd get it in the big jugs like that, and carry it home, it was on Antietam though, between Chene and Joseph Campau. And everybody walked over there and got milk and everybody walked to Silver Cup Bakery.

MK: Which was where?

EC: Silver Cup Bakery? It was on Vernor Highway at Chene. It was on Vernor Highway, though. Right there across from Joe Muir's where that used to be. No, it wasn't up that far. It was right around Chene.

MK: And they baked there as well as retailed?

EC: Yeah, well I guess retail was more like day old bread and that's where we would walk. Every Saturday, everybody went to Eastern Market. I said if I ever get grown I will never go to Eastern Market because I had to walk down there. And you'd go down there like about 7-8 o'clock in the morning. I don't care how tired you were, what you did, you had to go to the Eastern Market. I don't go to Eastern Market today for that reason.

MK: When you graduated from Duffield in '49 what happened then? What did you do?

EC: Well when I graduated I went to Lewis Business College, its called Lewis College of Business now. But, it was over on John R between East Ferry because it was a black college. And I wanted to learn how to do shorthand, but I had taken all that in high school, short hand and typing. And I wanted to be a secretary, that's what I wanted to be.

JH: Lewis was just for women?

EC: No, it was co-ed, but they taught accounting and all that stuff.

MK: And that's about the time you met your husband, right?

EC: Yes, I really met him when I was like 15.

MK: Was he from the neighborhood?

EC: Yes, he lived on Maple, I mean on Mullett. Oh no, when I met him he lived on Maple between Joseph Campau and McDougall.

MK: Do you remember the address he lived at?

EC: It would have been 29 something.

MK: And what was his name?

EC: Their last name was Cox, C-O-X- Adolph.

MK: And so he went to Miller, too?

EC: He went to Miller but he went into the service. So when he came out of service he never finished school, because he had to go into the armed services. He was an only child.

MK: And you were married in--?

EC: 1951

MK: And were you married at Calvary Baptist? Or where did you get married?

EC: No, I got married in my house over on McDougall. Because Mr. Foster, the fellow, the family that lived under us on Joseph, on Clinton St, he was a Reverend. And he officiated my wedding at my house.

MK: So after that what did you do? Did you work professionally at that point?

EC: Okay, I worked at, my first job was at Michigan Bell Telephone Company. And I remember what happened, how I got that job was because it was very hard for black people to get jobs, especially at that sort of place. Mr. Dancey was head of the Urban League and Mr. Kornegay, Urban League.

MK: How's Kornegay spelled?

EC: K-O-R-N-E-G-A-Y, I think G-E-Y, Mr. Kornegay. Everybody knew him because he was like the president of the Urban League. And Joe Louis being my uncle and they all knew my family and I went to Mr. Kornegay and he helped me get a job at Michigan Bell. I went to a black man, I worked in the Public Relations Department and they had like one black man there and his name was Mr. Scruggs. And I think his first name was Thomas Scruggs. And that's how I got hired. And when I got hired I was the only black person up there. I worked on the 13th floor at Michigan Bell downtown. And I was like, as you walk, it was one great big office with a lot of offices to the side. And what he did in there is did all the public relations for Michigan Bell, or advertising and stuff like that. And I sat right at the front. I was like the secretary. And that's how I got started there. And I worked there until 1955. Then I went to Wayne County at that time social welfare.

MK: And that's where you worked for the rest of your career?

EC: Yes, I worked at Wayne County because social welfare was eliminated and they went under the state and I got transferred to juvenile court and there's where I finished. I stayed there for 42 years.

MK: And when did you retire?

EC: In 19, in December of 1995.

MK: And your husband?

EC: He worked for the city, Public Lighting Commission. He drove those big diggers that you dig the hole with, because he put the traffic street lights up. And he worked for the city and we had 2 kids. One in 1950 and the other she was born in 1960.

MK: And are they living in the area?

EC: Yes, one lives in Ypsilanti; she is the oldest, Angela. And Angela has her own business. What she does is research all the states for liquor license and see what their requirements are for them in order to get a liquor license in Virginia or New York or cities or states like that. And that's what she does. And the other was name is Erin, E-R-I-N and she lives over on 6 mile near Southfield. She works at Chrysler at 18 mile.

MK: And your husband is he living?

EC: Deceased

MK: When did he pass away?

EC: He died in 1997.

MK: Let's go back now a little ways back to McDougall and Sherman and Joe Louis. What was your mom's connection to Joe Louis? What kind of relationship did they have? And what was he like? What can you tell us about all of that?

EC: Now my mother was one of the first ones outside of my grandmother to come to Detroit. And everybody that left the south that came to Detroit came to our house. Because we had like, like the Davises, my father's people some of them came to Detroit and they were Davises so they came to stay with us until they were able to get a place. But I remember I could go to sleep at night and wake up in the morning and the house would be full of people. And I'm like where these people come from, you know? Somebody done came in from down south, and at that time whenever anybody would come to town they just, they could come in and just move in, you know? Your family would just let everybody move in until they could get their own places. And I remember hearing that Joe Louis and my aunt Vunice, they were very young they were like 13, 14 when they came to Detroit. And so, I actually kind of thought my father came first but I

found out my grandmother came first. But, anyway when Joe was like about 15, 16 my mother being the 2nd child born so she was older than Joe. Everybody would mind my mother, because my mother was--

MK: What year was she born do you know?

EC: 1904. Joe was born I think 1918. 1918? Probably. No, not that far back probably 1922 or something. He would, my mother used to say, he would come down and help my mother clean the house and she would make him go to the store and do different things. And I don't know if he went to Duffield or not, but I remember they went to Calvary Baptist until he started boxing. His mother wanted him to take violin lessons and I don't know how much it cost maybe 50 cents or something where he could go and he had this little violin. My mother gave him the money to go, because my dad worked when he came here. He worked at a foundry on Franklin and Russell called Michigan Casting, Michigan Steel Casting Company and I can go down there pass that now and see the sign. But anyway my mother would give him like the 50 cents to go take his violin lessons and he would go down to the Brewster Center and learn to box. And that's where he started fighting. And it was a while before they even found out he was boxing when he won his first match. Probably, not pro but amateur fighting, that's when they found out he was taking boxing lessons instead of violin lessons. And so they stopped that.

MK: And when do you remember him?

EC: I remember Joe, I must have been about 7. Because Joe had met Marva, that was his first wife, M-A-R-V-A, I can't think of what Marva's last name was at the time, Trotter that was her name, T-O-T-T-E-R. And I remember he was seeing her and she was a very pretty lady down to my grandmother's house after one of Joe's fights. And she lived in Chicago. And I thought she was very, very pretty and that was just before they got married. But when Joe Louis was growing up, Joe Louis, you know his last name was really Barrow? Joe and my oldest sister Matilla were dating. And my sister did not know, and at that time when he started boxing and he started traveling, like going to different cities is when he went to Chicago and met Marva. And I think Marva came from a very influential family or something and they wanted Joe to go with Marva. But, he was liking my sister Matilla. And they got engaged and my Aunt Vunice told my sister Matilla that Joe was getting married to this Marva and I remember my sister crying. And said, "What's the matter? Why are you crying?" And she said, "Joe is getting married." I guess because we all thought that she and Joe would get married. They were not really cousins or anything because she was like my dad's child. So she was like my half-sister, so she's really not related to Joe. See?

MK: How old were you then? Do you remember how old this was when this...

EC: This had to have been before he won the championship somewhere around '36.

MK: So you must have been 5 or 6 years old.

EC: Yeah, because I don't remember the marriage or any of that. I just remember he and Marva getting married. And I remember my sister, how bad she felt because they had, my sister worked at Benson Drug Store and then Joe owned, bought and established this chicken place called, on Vernor Highway.

MK: What was it?

EC: Brown Bomber's Chicken Shack.

MK: And where was it on Vernor?

EC: It was on Vernor around Gratiot. Right there at that curve.

MK: Where Joe Muir's was at?

EC: No, not on that side, but it was on the other side. Going over--

MK: North of Gratiot?

EC: Yes, on Gratiot, Vernor Highway and Gratiot. I guess that's probably where the corner was. And my sister was the cashier over there. And then she also started working at the Gotham Hotel as a cashier. And then she also worked at the Flame Show Bar, she worked at the Follies Show Bar as the cashier. And so she was working at the chicken shack when Joe got married. Like I said I remember her crying, because he did get married. I remember they said that Aunt Vunice was the one who told her. And when Joe won the championship from Braddock, I guess it would have been in '37. I don't know what year it was but I was still very young. Marva and Joe did not have any kids at the time. I went to, and stayed with Marva one whole summer in Chicago. I remember going on the train by myself. I had to have been about 7 or 8. And I stayed there that whole summer with Marva. And I just remember you know going around with her. But as far as what I did there I don't really remember.

MK: Where did he live?

EC: He lived with my grandmother at 2900 Chestnut. And that's where my Aunt Euniece lived. And that's where he lived when he was in town, until after we won the championship. But, before that I think they lived over on, where did my grandmother live? Clinton I guess, before we bought that house for her. But once he bought that house he was a very young guy because he won that in '37. He couldn't have been any more than 20, early 20s and he lived in that house.

MK: And somebody also told me that he had a baseball team, the Brown Bombers, do you remember anything about that?

EC: They had, yeah, it was over on Duffield playfield. I don't remember the name of it but it was just the Brown Bombers I guess that's what it was. I remember some of the

[Side B]

MK: We're going to talk about now, whether he came to your house

EC: Yeah. He would come down there after the fight. He came down there several times and he used to reach in his pocket, and he said "Ernestine, you want some money?" Cause see, I stayed with him one summer so he knew me really well, but a lot of my first cousins he didn't know. It was so many of us, you know? He couldn't get them straight. He knew this was Susie's child, he knew this was Emmarell's child. He knew all of us I think, but a lot of them you don't remember the names a lot. So he was very quiet. I remember him sitting in the chair, and he said to me, "I'm going to give you some money. You want some money? How much do you want?" And he would reach in his pocket and pull out a hand full of change and would hold it like that and I would pick like pennies out of there because it was brown. But I learned to do differently now. But they'd say, "You don't never pick any money out of there!" and I'd have a hand full of pennies.

MK: You said he was quiet.

EC: Very quiet. He was not a talkative person.

MK: What about sense of humor and things like that?

EC: He had like a dry sense of humor. Like they said when he was fighting Mack Snow and them he would say things like, "You can run, but you can't hide." Things like that. But as far as carrying on a conversation, you know, he would say, "How you doing?" and I would say, "Do you know who I am after?" I got there and he would say, "Yeah, you Emmarell's child," you know. After I was a bigger girl. He didn't remember my name. He could never say, "Yeah, you're Ernestine." But he said, "Yeah, you're Emmarelle's, you're Susie's." That's the way he would refer to us.

MK: Did he come visit after--I assume that he moved out at some point, right?

EC: Yes. I guess he moved to Chicago when he was married.

MK: Right. But then after like the holidays or Christmas or stuff, did he come back or not? Do you remember?

EC: I don't remember him coming back like just because it was a holiday. I remember him coming to see his mother after every fight and I would go down there because that's where my mother and my aunts and uncles would all go because they knew he was there. He would be down there after every fight. I remember seeing him one time after he had a fight with I don't know who, but his eye was swollen and he was all bruised. That was the first time I had ever seen him look like that. I asked my mother, "Are you sure he won that fight?" Because he just looked so beat up and I remember going back to school,

Duffield and everybody was saying how that night after the fight--Everybody would be sitting around listening to a radio, you know, listening to the fight because a lot of people didn't have radios. They'd go next door and listen to the radio and we'd all run out in the street hollering and screaming and have rolls of toilet paper, just running it all over the streets and everybody would run up and down the streets. "Joe Louis won! Joe Louis won!" I used to be kind of embarrassed to say I was his niece because people would say, "Oh, you're not Joe Louis' niece. "How come you don't have on a better dress than that?" "Why aren't your shoes better than that?" And Joe would always come and give his family money, always, always, always. But, you know, if you just dressed like--everybody was poor in Black Bottom. Well, not poor, but everybody was about the same. Nobody had any more than the other person. And they always felt like well then, like some people who really didn't know that I was Joe Louis' niece said that, "If you're his niece, why you don't have on some better shoes than that?" They would just, you know. I would never say anything because of that. So I just never would tell anybody that I was Joe Louis' niece. Now somebody might say, "That's Joe Louis' niece," but I would never tell that. I never did that.

MK: The name change. You said his name was Barrow right?

EC: See Louis was his name. His name was Joseph Barrow. Joseph Louis Barrow. They just took the Barrow off.

MK: Do you know why they did that?

EC: Well maybe to make it shorter. I don't really know. A lot of people never knew his name was Barrow.

MK: Right. When did you last see him? Did you see him periodically?

EC: Yeah because I saw him several times in Vegas. I went to his house and he always knew me. I saw him at Caesar's Palace one time. He was the host there. He would be like the greeter.

MK: Emcee?

EC: Yeah. I would walk up on it and I didn't know if he was going to know who I was and when he saw me, he knew who I was. He didn't know my name, but he said "Emmarell's."

MK: How old were you then?

EC: Oh, I was grown then. I probably was in my thirties or forties.

MK: So is that the last time you saw him?

EC: The last time I saw him, he came to Detroit. No, I saw him--one time he came to Detroit and was sick. He stayed down at the Statler Hotel and like I said, I was in my thirties or forties. I went down to see him. His wife at that time was Martha. She always tried to keep Joe away from his family. When he would come to Detroit, his whole family would try to go and see him. Always. All my cousins. She just never would come, or he did not come back down to my mother's house that much when he was with Martha. Martha--it was just something about that lady. I don't know what it was. But anyway, I knew what room he was in and what floor he was on at the Statler and I went down there and I said I am not going to call up there because I know she is not going to-- She had already said that she would not let anybody talk to Joe or wouldn't let anybody in. So, I went up there, I did this to her twice. I knocked on the door and when they opened the door, I walked in the room. That's how I got in, because she didn't know who I was, but I walked in and I said, "I'm Joe's niece, Ernestine. Emmarell's daughter and I want to see Joe." That's how I saw him that time at the Statler. The last time I saw him in Detroit. The next time I saw him, he was sick in Vegas. After he had the stroke. I was in Vegas that year and I went over to her house. Drove over to her house. It was the first time that I had ever been to her home. I knew how she was because she and my mother and my aunt did not get along with her. We drove over to her house. Had somebody drive me to her house, rung the doorbell, and a maid came to the door. When the maid opened the door, I walked in the house. I walked right past her. I said, "I'm Ernestine. I'm Joe's niece and I want to see him." That's how I got in the second time. That was the last time I saw him alive.

MK: Now what was he like at that point?

EC: He was sick. He had had the stroke and he did not talk that much, but he knew who I was because I always asked him, "You know who I am don't you?" But he never talked a lot. Never talked a lot.

MK: So when did he actually die? What year did he die?

EC: In 1982 I think.

MK: Any other thoughts or memories growing up in that neighborhood?

EC: I just remember it was--I never saw any violence growing up and it was just always just so everyday carefree. I never saw any violence. I never saw that in my life and even though I ended up working at Juvenile Court, that was the first time I started seeing a lot of criminal activity. Being in the court system. But as far as growing up in my neighborhood, I never saw that. I never really saw that at Miller High School. I just always thought Miller High School was going to be that bad and tough and dangerous. But it never was. I never saw any fights and if I did, I don't remember them. It couldn't have been very bad. Otherwise I would have remembered at least one or two of them. But I don't remember anything like that.

MK: Do you remember any characters in the bottom? Anybody that was well known on the street?

EC: Well, Coleman Young went with one of my sisters.

MK: Which sister?

EC: Cara. He went with Cara. He dated her for a few years. She went away to college in Dayton Ohio and stayed with my uncle, and he was also our paper boy. He was a paper boy.

MK: Do you remember where he lived?

EC: No. I think he lived on Sherman, but I know he used to be at this bar called Coleman's Bar Beer Garden. It was on the corner of Chestnut and Joseph Campau and the door was like right on the corner and I remember my uncles going in that beer garden. I remember going past there, going to Miller. I remember looking at those guys be in there. There was a pool hall on the corner of Maple and Joseph Campau and I wanted to go in there. I wanted to see what was in that pool hall. I was always interested and seeing all these different things because I remember wanting to go in that beer garden, I wanted to go in that bowling alley, and I wanted to go in that pool room. They were having so much fun in there. I wanted to be in there to see what was going on.

MK: You mentioned the riots and there were the gangs on Chene. Who were these gangs? What were you referring to? Who were you referring to?

EC: Well no, not a gang because I don't remember any gangs. I remember they say people running up and down the street. But McDougall was quiet. There were no people running up and down the streets on McDougall. So I wanted to go on Chene and see all that activity because they said, well what's going on over there on Chene? They may have said they were fighting over there on Chene. I don't know that for true because I never saw anything. But I wanted to go over there because it seemed like that's where all the activity was. Chene was the place where people in the Black Bottom would go and hang out, because it was a lot of businesses up and down Chene. There was nothing on McDougall. It was residential. There was a group that lived on Mullet between Joseph Campau and McDougall, and it was four or five girls called the Carlisle Sisters. They had their own band and they still have their little trio.

MK: Where are they at now?

EC: Well, they perform at different places. I remember there was at least four of them. The father and the uncle played music. I don't remember which instrument, but they could all play a piano or a saxophone or a guitar. Those kinds of things, you know. They had their own little band and like I said the Carlisle girls or the Carlisle's Band. I guess that was what they were called. They still have it because I was on jury duty this year in the month of April and sat next to a lady, a young lady, and we just starting talking and

she was in her forties and I somehow came up and I said something about coming out of Black Bottom. She said her mother came from Black Bottom and I said, "Oh, well what is your mother's name?" because a lot of people you kind of remember. She said, "Myra Carlisle" and I said, "I know her, she lived right around the corner from me." So, she said that her aunt still had the little trio.

MK: What about Ben Turpin?

EC: Yeah. I remember Ben. Mr. Ben, they would call him. Great big round man, he wore a turban, well like a derby hat, very dark. But now I don't remember him being mean because I was a little girl and I never did anything you know, to get him off and he never messed with my brothers or my cousins, my brother or cousin. So I remember how everybody was scared of Mr. Ben. They were frightened of him. And he kept all those boys in order. And then there was a lady down there who all the married women would remember, her name was Miss. Rutledge. She worked at the friend of court. And those guys paid that child support because Miss Rutledge would put them in jail. She worked for the county I would imagine, friend of court and they say, "Oh you got to go see Miss Rutledge." I remember that. But, I never you know dealt with that so but I remember the name. And then at the Carver, at the Catherine Theatre there was Pete, a great big guy. He was like the bouncer. He took the tickets at the door. And I could go in there, he never took my ticket. I would go in there and go in there with the same ticket. It was just so wrinkled. I would just show him the ticket and he'd say, "Go in." He'd let me in.

MK: Why?

EC: I think he was liking one of my sisters and he just let me come in. Show fare at the time was about 15 cents or 25 cents at the most. And kids at that time would go to the show every Saturday and Sunday. Because that's all I remember having to do.

MC: Do you have any of the dishes they gave away?

EC: I don't think I do now probably my sister might have some of those. They used to give those dishes, I think you had to be a certain age to get a dish anyway. But, they did give away dishes.

MK: At the Catherine?

EC: Uh huh, I don't remember the Savoy giving away anything. I didn't go over there that much because nobody wanted to go in there. "Oh no you can't, don't go in the Savvoy, that's not a nice show."

MK: Do you have any photos, old photos of any of your family from that period of time? Or any photos from the neighborhood? Or the house? Or anything else from that period?

EC: No, but my sister does. She has all that.

MK: Do you think she'd be willing to let us look thru those?

EC: Yea, she probably would if she could get them, she's got them in albums.

MK: Well what we'd be interested in doing in photographing them and I got a camera and we'd just take photos right on the spot.

EC: She'd probably would.

MK: This is which sister now?

EC: This is Lilly. We call her E girl. E-G-I-R-L that was her nickname.

MK: And she lives in the area?

EC: She's lives on Webb at Wildemere. She's got a lot of photos.

MK: We should probably if we can do that, contact her.

EC: My, she got pictures of Joe Louis had a farm up in Utica, Michigan. Where they rode horses and things up there. But I never got up there because it was like closed when I got old enough to go up there.

MK: I would love to get a photo of Joe Louis on Chene St. near Duffield or some place.

EC: I don't know if she has that. I doubt it. I would doubt that very much.

MK: But she probably has some at his mom's house? Do you think there's any of those?

EC: I don't know. I would have to ask her. You talking about pictures of her and Joe Louis, right?

MK: Of just--

EC: I don't mean not necessarily her, but I mean pictures of Joe Louis.

MK: A picture of Joe Louis. Like for example this picture here with the coat on and hat. Where was that taken at? Do you have any idea?

EC: No, but you could take a picture of that.

MK: That's a nice picture.

EC: He was very young on all those pictures.

MK: Any pictures of the Brown Bombers, anything related, actually anything from the neighborhood would be great for us because we were collecting any photos.

EC: She probably has some, but I don't know if she got them in order because she saw her husband, Frank Brown he was a photographer and he had lots and lots of pictures.

MK: What about Calvary Baptist Church? The original location, any picture of that?

EC: Uh, I don't have any photographs. But that would be hard to get.

MC: Vastine Woodhouse, she showed us a picture of the old church.

MK: Of Calvary Baptist?

MC: Um Hm.

EC: Because she would have all that.

MK: Did you guys get a copy of that? No, you might want to go back there again.

JH: I didn't take it.

EC: Did she give you a lot of information?

MC: Yes

EC: She and Tom.

MC: That's how we got your number, well kind of sort of.

EC: Because I was going to suggest them.

MK: Who else would you suggest? Anybody else?

EC: I would suggest this lady name Annie Hunt.

MK: Okay, do you have a phone number for Ms. Hunt?

EC: Yea. I have to go upstairs and get it. And I want to give you this lady who I was talking had all the obituaries.

MK: Oh yea

EC: Tell her--and put the picnic date down. If you should come to the picnic they have free hotdogs and drinks. But there will be a tent. So I would be in that area of that tent.

MC: Okay

EC: And that's where you'll be able to find me because I work on the Miller High Alumni.

MC: It's at Miller. It's like a playground or something?

EC: Yea, it's at Miller High School and it would be right on the plays cape. And you'll see a lot of campers, a lot of campers. And like I said they stay out there until dark.

MC: That's what Mr. Woodhouse was saying like 2,000 people come there and half of them don't even go to Miller.

EC: No they don't. They just come from Black Bottom. And now it's a lot of there kids and their grandkids. Not even--So it's a lot of people there. Its like me and a lady name Louise go to Calvary Baptist, now Louise never went to Miller but she knows everybody at the picnic. And we always ay if you don't go to the picnic people are going to think you're dead. So I have never missed a picnic. Like I said Miller High Inc. Miller will be dedicated as a historic school this year in the next few months, in the next couple months. Mr. Primas should be able to give you a date on that. Or I could get it and let you know next time when we walk. But it's going to be dedicated and they're going to put the marker down as a historic school so that it will never be torn down. And he will be at the picnic because he's the president of Miller.

MC: What was the name of the guy, remember when we went to City Residence and we were suppose to interview him and it was like a real old guy and he was short?

EC: Oh oh I bet that was--

MK: I know who you mean.

EC: It starts with a S. All of a sudden I can't think.

MC: He wore like this little hat.

EC: McCutchen is his last name. We called him—Sut--that was his nickname.

MC: Was that the guy--

EC: He talked, talked, talked, talked and talked about, little light guy. He's like 80 something.

MK: McCullough, James McCullough.

EC: McCullough and he called him Sut

MK: McCullough

MC: And you never interviewed him did you?

MK: I tried calling getting an interview with him.

EC: He's working.

MK: I couldn't get a hold of them. I called him 2, 3 times. I talked to him and every time we'd set something up he would cancel.

EC: Really? He's sick.

MK: Yes he is sick.

EC: He has cancer.

MK: He is sick. He told me he has cancer.

EC: But he's not sick in bed, though.

MK: No.

EC: He's doing pretty good because I was just up there last night and they say he's doing alright.

MK: Yea, we need try getting him again. I had him scheduled for the 22nd of March. That was the day we went to City Residence. He lives on Mendota.

EC: He knows a lot of stuff. He knows a lot of stuff.

MK: Yea that would be great to try to get him again.

MC: We have to go back an interview everyone because before everybody was talking and it was all crazy and hectic.

MK: Well the woman. He got a good interview with the woman.

MC: Its not Vastine it's the other one. It starts with a Z, I think. And she worked in the public school system.

MK: Yea

EC: Zeline.

MK: Zeline

EC: Z-E-L-I-N-E

MK: We interviewed Zeline.

EC: Zeline Richardson?

MK: Yea, we got a good interview with Zeline.

EC: She's good. That's why I said they went to Miller and they lived. Now Vastine lived around the corner from me. She lived on Mullet. So I knew Vastine and Tom as they grew up. Well Vastine may not of lived there when she was growing up, but Tom lived there. So I knew Tom growing up and Vastine after I guess they got married because they belong to Calvary too. They still belong there. Zeline knows a lot of stuff.

MK: Yeah she was real good.

EC: And this lady right here has everybody's obituary, except I think I was suppose to find one for her out of my family and xerox her a copy but I cant remember which one.

MK: Where is Holbert?

EC: Holbert is on the far eastside. You know where Garland, you said French Rd, over there. That's Holbert. It runs like Holbert then St. Claire, Garland its right there French Rd. Its between Cadillac and _____

MK: Okay

EC: And this is 38 so its got to be south of Mack.

MK: It is south, 38 would be south.

EC: Because I was up at 40.

MK: Yeah I can't remember.

EC: Oh 38 she might be between Mack and Canfield.

MK: Mack is 36.

EC: Mack is 36?

MK: Yea

EC: She's 38, she's between Mack and Canfield.

MK: So 38--36 is Mack, 38 would be Illinois down here by Chene. Yea, it would be somewhere south of Canfield. I would be before Canfield.

EC: Un uh

MK: Canfield is 4400.

EC: Yeah right, south of Canfield.

MK: South of Canfield

EC: Its only one block there.

MK: Ok

EC: So the block is from Canfield to Mack. One long block because I lived there.

MK: Great, well thank you very much.