

**“Green Mountain Chronicles”**  
**Oral History Transcriptions, 1981-1989 (bulk: 1987-1988)**  
**MSA 199 & 200**

**Introduction**

This transcription is one of approximately 42 transcriptions of interviews with individuals conducted primarily in 1987 and 1988 in preparation for a radio program sponsored by the Vermont Historical Society entitled “Green Mountain Chronicles.”

**Scope and Content**

The transcriptions in this collection represent interviews of approximately 42 individuals conducted primarily in 1987 and 1988 by Mark Greenberg, Mary Kasamatsu, Eleanor Ott, and Tom Davis in preparation for a radio series entitled “Green Mountain Chronicles.” The series of 52 five-minute programs was broadcast by commercial and public radio stations throughout the state in late 1988 and early 1989. The earliest interview in the collection was conducted in 1981; the latest was in 1989.

The interviewers spoke with well known Vermonters such as Governors Philip Hoff, Deane Davis, and Madeleine Kunin; lesser known personalities such as Catherine Robbins Clifford, one of the first women to hike the entire length of the Long Trail; and historians such as Weston Cate. The following inventory of the collection highlights the major theme(s) of each interview. The following list of program tapes gives the title of each radio program.

The goal of the radio series was to tell the history of Vermont in the twentieth century using archival sound recordings and recent interviews. The project was undertaken by the VHS in celebration of its 150th anniversary in 1988 and was funded by a \$14,000 grant from the Vermont Council on the Humanities and Public Issues with additional support from New England Telephone Company.

MSA 199, Folder 0 contains background information on the project. The VHS website at [www.vermonthistory.org/gmchronicles](http://www.vermonthistory.org/gmchronicles) contains a list of the Green Mountain Chronicles radio broadcasts and audio files of those broadcasts.

Richard & Georgina Bottamini  
April 1, 1988

Mary Kasamatsu  
Interviewer

MK I'm with the Bottamini's in Barre. This is the first of April, no joke, 1988. This is an interview for the Green Mountain Chronicles. Let's begin with a little background. Are you are Barre native?

RB I was born in Barre in 1915 and I've always lived in Barre. My parents were both immigrants from Italy. They came to Barre, they came to New York City first about 1898 and within a couple of years after that, they moved to Barre because my dad was a stone cutter in Italy, and so of course it was natural he, with many other Italians of that particular era, came to Barre to settle and made their homes here.

MK Okay you were born in Barre. Did you have brothers and sisters?

RB Two sisters.

MK Were they also born here?

RB They, one, no one was born here and one was born in Italy.

MK Okay. Did you live right in the northern part of Barre or where were you living when you were in Barre?

RB I've lived, I've lived practically all my life right here on this, on this hill. And ah, it's interesting to me today because Barre has been known by reason of the granite industry that it drew many nationalities. First came the Scots, then as I recall around in the 1880's the Scots came and then in the 1890's or so came the Italians. Later on came the French Canadians and then also here of course were the, the Yankees and when I was growing up in my own neighborhood here, we had the Italians, the French, the Scotch, some Lebanese, a Greek family, Irish; so we were, we were quite a mixture. Yea, at that time as I said Barre was known as a melting pond in the State and by reason of the granite industry. Speaking in particularly of the, of the days of the, ah if you were interested in the days of the depression in the '30's.

MK I want to get a picture of what Barre was like and how it was affected by the depression, how the granite industry particularly...

RB Well, one thing it's very vivid in my mind and it's because of the fact that I was, I was a high school student at that time. And a high point or perhaps you might even call it a low point of the depression, was there was a severe granite strike of granite workers at that time and

the, the granite plants were most of them were closed down. There were very few that were open and of course the few that were opened, Barre was always a very strong union town and the, all of the men did not, some of the men remained on, remained at work and they were called scabs. The one very sharp memory was ah, during the strike, the, well the sheds stopped work at 4:00 and shortly thereafter there was one man who came down in his car down through Main Street and the Main Street was clogged with people and they were yelling "scab, scab, scab," to the man and they pounded on his car. And I always wondered, I thought what a frightening experience it must have been for that man you know to have hands pounding on his automobile. Well, as a result of that type of a commotion, Governor Stanley C. Wilson, then Governor of Vermont, called out the National Guard and so the guard came in, the guardsmen and one scene in particular that stands out in my memory, again this man who was a scab would drive down through and so that particular hour of the day, the Main Street was full of people. Well I'll never forget this. The, as a high school student you know, very curious, I was standing on the steps of the Post Office on South Main Street which is right opposite the Fire Station, along with other people and the detachment of the guardsmen came marching up the street and the Lieutenant in charge halted the, halted his squad and he yelled something at us. Well we didn't hear what he was yelling, but we found out what he was yelling because he just went up a little ways to the Fire Station, gave a command and all of a sudden the soldiers were rushing at us with bayonets, and with bayonets down pushing us into the Post Office and then they ran down the street and people were, some people you know weren't involved, they were just walking along the street. Well they took those people and shoved them into buildings and this was an awful thing to have happened because they weren't doing anything and that aroused a lot of resentment against Governor Wilson because of that. Well the strike of course finally was settled and the men went back to work. But that, that was left a lot of bitter feelings. In fact I remember again I said I've always lived on the hill here and the owner of one manufacturing concern that operated lived on the hill and I always remember that he had a beautiful garden with a big high fence around it, but all the time that the guardsmen were here, they had two guardsmen guarding their home and the premises. And of course, but that bitter feeling lasted a long, long time.

MK I had read some place that the mayor had marched in the street with the strikers or with supporters of the strikers? Do you recall?

RB When was it that you marched Georgina?

GB I don't think it was during the strike.

RB It wasn't during the strike, no.

GB Well, yes it was. Yes, yes.

MK Okay.

GB Yes, I did march in a parade and I held a bunch of flowers and I was probably, I was probably twelve years old. Another girl and I were given these flowers and of course at that point we really did not know why we were participating, but I remember we marched up the Main Street, marched up around Hill Street and out of Perry Street, past our minister's home. And a few days later, our minister said to me, "And what were you doing marching in that parade?" And of course my dad, my dad was on strike, my step-dad and as Richard tells some of those stories about the guards, I can remember two very, two very vivid incidences. I lived on a street that, my house, our tenement was directly across the street from the granite shed that was on, there was a bozo or a strike breaker, maybe of a couple of them, but there must have been more than one or two because I can remember. But when this man came out, the crowd would just surge around his car and rock the car back and forth so that we really thought it was going to be tipped over. People would come out of their yards just to watch the activities. They were not throwing stones, but they were watching and I can always remember this, our next door neighbor, short, squat man who was just standing there watching and he evidently stepped one foot onto the sidewalk, out of his own walk and this guardsman went over with the bayonet pointed and slit his shirt and put his protruding tummy and the man was utterly shocked and of course I think we were a little bit scared too. Before we had seen these men with their bayonets but it looked as though well, you know, just, we were going to be doing it but he did follow through. There was that incident. Then I was going, I took a short cut to go up to buy a newspaper and as I was, and I was going through the railroad tracks. You shouldn't do it, but anyway I did and this guardsman stepped out in front of me with his bayonet and asked me where I was going and I told him I was just going to buy a newspaper and he said, "Well that's fine, but don't come back this way,"

and you can be sure I did not go back that way. I came back the Main Street. But the other part, I was, I think I was, I was either a freshman or a sophomore in high school and so I would take my books and would go right over near the window because of course the guardsmen were on duty on the street to watch them because some of them were rather nice looking fellows so I did watch them. My father could not quite understand it, but as Richard was talking, I was also thinking about the effect that it had on us in an economic way. There was not too much food on the table. In fact as I recall it, there was a cooperative store which was on our street where you could go and get bread or potato, some staples and but you're, and people, I often wondered about this. We had a grocer who extended credit to all of his customers. He eventually went out of business years later. I think he had a big heart, but he was not a very good business man. But he would sell you groceries on credit and your, you used to buy, it was coal that we used to heat our house. The coal man would credit you, would give you credit. Our landlady gave us credit during all of this time which would be. We had bad luck in our family anyway. It wasn't just the strike, but I think it was about a year that we were really carried literally on books. You look back on it now and I don't know that it would work that way now. The other thing of course I remember, I can remember having shoes that had holes in them and this was typical. I was not the only one where you'd put in a piece of cardboard and I can remember. I was a girl and you know girls didn't like to wear shoes that had holes with cardboard and I remember saying to my mother, I wanted new shoes. And she said but we just don't have any money to buy any new shoes so we stuck a piece of cardboard in and I think Richard did, did the same thing too. Then I remembered, our minister, the one who had been, who questioned my marching in the parade, asked me to baby sit up at his house I think one night with his housekeeper and I think he gave me \$5.00 which was big pay for babysitting and I think he had an idea that I needed that \$5.00 for shoes and I used the \$5.00 to buy a pair of shoes. So those were, those were our memories. There was a lot of, there was a lot of turmoil excitement. It's not a good thing to get excited about, but there was certainly an element of excitement and then when the sheds were closed you'd go down to see what had happened to, where they would hang effigies on bridges of some of these scabs. Those were my memories.

MK Did people, did people go hungry during the strike years?

GB Well, you know, it certainly wouldn't be like Biafra but you certainly did not have, you did not have, you'd have maybe some basics. There would be soup or you know potatoes, bread, butter, butter, I guess it was butter in those days, not margarine probably. You, I'm not going to say I was hungry, hungry, but neither was your, was your meal probably a complete meal.

MK Did any of the people living in Barre have space enough for, was gardening a major part of life in the same way it was for the folks who were sort of doing subsistence farming?

GB See, where we lived, we did not have any, any land for gardens because it was right on a main, well it was on a street where the sheds were and nothing would grow. No we didn't. Now I'm sure that there were people that did have, I'm sure there were a lot of... You had gardens.

RB We had gardens. We were fortunate because we took a lot of, you know, a lot of the vegetables.

MK Yea, I can never decide...

GB Remember the string beans Richard that you ate, string beans all the time.

RB Yea, we, during the strike, one of the things that obviously helped us as far as food was concerned was the family garden and that, that provided us a lot of vegetables and being Italian, my mother, every day we, one of my errands was to go down to the butcher shop and get a big beef bone which at that time say about \$.15 you'd get a big beef bone and then she made minestrone, you know, the soup and vegetables and we had that every day, plus oh the, what do I want to say, the...

GB The little pieces of beef, hon.

RB No, the polenta, polenta is cornmeal mush and that was a staple. My mother would make cornmeal and my job of course was to stay there, I can still remember stirring, stirring, stirring, til my arm was going to drop. So you had that in the beginning with your, with your meat. You had polenta the first day. The second day, she would take polenta and make it, it was cold and made it in slices and put tomato on it and cheese, baked it. That was the second day. The third day you'd still have polenta. She'd break it up into small pieces and put a couple of eggs in it and you had polentas. So polenta and vegetables.

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GB <sup>I remember you'd</sup> Tell me about the string beans.

RB And the string beans, the minute they were ready to eat, you got string beans. Then you had the string beans. We picked them probably a little bit too early because we had to have the food. Then when they were just right, you ate them and then after they had gone by and the big beans were still in the pod, you ate them until there was nothing left. So they were days to remember certainly.

MK But really it sounds as though you were, you didn't have the cow as some, but otherwise you did almost as much probably as the farmers did.

RB Yea, then we had our own chicken yard. In back of the house were the chickens and my job is every morning I went in to the chicken house and picked up what eggs there were and it's, then some of the Italians set traps for pigeons. And they'd get the pigeons, put kernels on and the pigeons would come in and they'd have that as food too.

GB Pigeon and polenta.

RB Yea, yea. So you made do with whatever you could.

MK Did you ever eat pigeon?

RB I can't remember whether I had pigeon or not.

GB I did.

RB You did. Yea, I can't remember. No.

GB I'm trying to remember. Talking about pigeons, I can remember under the eaves of our house a pigeon had built a nest and I don't know how many were in there, but I can always remember our, our landlord taking a broom or long handled thing and knocking the nest down and so if you had the pigeons plus the smaller ones they had, I don't remember about the smaller ones eating them. But the father and mother were eaten. They were you know pigeon pie. Well, we didn't have pie \_\_\_\_\_, but we would have it with polenta. Pigeons are good. It's you know, it's like, it's sort of like a chicken you know or.

MK Is it like partridge or?

GB Yea, I don't think it has as wild of taste. I really don't but, Italians did used to use, did used to use pigeons for food and nobody, nobody complained. Nobody complained.

MK Was that mostly in the Italian communities?

GB Well, I don't know about others, but I know Italians did. I don't know about other nationalities. Perhaps French would. The French people perhaps would. Spanish probably would because the street that I grew up, I grew up on, Richard's was sort of his was a United Nations type of thing but where I lived it was Spanish and Italian, just the two, just the two nationalities. So I would expect that they perhaps would have too.

MK What was your maiden name?

GB Manfreni, so I was Italian and I was born in Barre. I've always lived here too. So which makes it nice. Lots of ties that go back over the years.

RB Let me tell you a little bit about the stonecutter. Perhaps a bit about the stonecutter himself might be helpful and I will speak about my dad whose name was Govani. Govani went to work every morning at 7 o'clock. The shed whistles would blow and back in that time there were many granite plants and there was really a symphony of sound at 7 o'clock because there were some whistles that were very deep sounding like a ocean going vessel. Others were at medium range. And others were at a high range and it was a, you had to sleep pretty soundly to sleep through that when they started the whistles blowing at 7:00. He started at 7:00 and he stopped work at 11:00 and his granite plant where he worked was down in the valley and not in walking distance from our home, so he'd come at 11 o'clock and my mother would always have, as I mentioned earlier, she'd prepared the minesta (which is the vegetable soup). He had that and meat and potatoes and the Italians were used to having always wine with their meals. So he'd have some wine with his meal and then he'd go back to work. Work started again at 12 o'clock and he worked through to 4 o'clock. He came home at 4 o'clock. But I shall always remember when he came home, many times he was white. His clothing was white. It was white from granite dust. He, many of the, many of the young men, I recall, became ill with the silicosis and then from silicosis they got tuberculosis and I can remember them walking on Main Street. They were very gaunt, coughing up their lungs and spitting out and often times would spit blood. That, in those days we had the so

called Washington County Sanitorium which is up at the top of Beckley Hill. Now the nuns have that place. It was a tragic sight to see you know young men in their early 30's, early 40's, some with families of course and not only they died, but sometimes a whole family was wiped out and that, by that disease. Well then in the mid-30's, the manufacturers installed these dust removal devices and the rate of silicosis dropped very, very sharply. So that at that time, there in many families if they could help it at all, they didn't want their sons to go into, into the granite industry because of the danger of dying so soon.

MK I had wondered about that knowing that the dust controls were not in place yet at the start of the depression.

RB Uh huh.

MK And here you've got you know the sheds were working less because of just hard times generally, and maybe you've got a large segment of the population where the men have died and the women are holding the family together. And I wondered whether, here you've got a situation where already they've got a hard time, and what then was their situation because of the depression when that came through. I mean were there, what kinds of programs were in place or community systems were in place to help people through?

RB Well I think in that time, the only, well two things. I think people, government wasn't as such as it is today. The individual had to take care of himself to a great, much greater degree than today. I think the only other, the only other, the only thing that was available really was from as I recall, I would say from two sources that I recall, one was the overseer of the poor where you got some basic food and things of that type and then they gave out surplus food from the Federal government. And the other was sometimes the churches would, would help out. I think that's, that's where you, you just scrape by is all you did.

MK Um, at one point Pacé Nicolino, I interviewed her

RB Oh yea.

MK Earlier for this and she talked about, especially during the prohibition time she said there were a number of widows that would make some kind of whiskey because that was their only way of having any kind of income basically.

GB Crappa.

RB This was called grappa. Yea, well the Italians of course I had mentioned earlier how they had their wine. Well, at that time, this I as a youngster recall vividly too, because they during early fall, car loads, train loads, car loads would come into Barre with grapes and we used to, the kids would go down where they were unloading grapes because they'd give us some of the grapes. There'd be boxes of grapes there and I know my own dad made his, made his own wine. He'd buy, I've forgotten how many boxes of grapes and in the beginning you did it the old fashion way. Took the grapes and you put them in a big wash tub, washed your feet of course and then you just got on and you stamped the grapes to get the juice out. Later on they had an apparatus like a sizeable vat that was driven by a motor and you'd put the grapes in there and it would crush the grapes up. So that he would make his own, own wine that would last from one fall to the next fall until the grapes came in. But there were, he never sold wine, but there were families that did sell wine as part of their livelihood. And then there was from, from the residue of wine making, they added, it was a process what they added some other raisins and things of that type, fruit and they made what was called grappa which was a very strong alcoholic content and some of that, some of the families did sell that. As a matter of fact, some of our professional men who became doctors and lawyers who went to universities, went as a result of the revenue derived from the sale of, of the wine and the grappa. Or otherwise they would never been able to go. So it was...

MK That put them through school.

RB That's right, yea. Yea.

GB It was Pace Nicolino's sister that I marched with. It's not worth it.

MK Okay.

GB It was Fecunda, her sister. Yea. I didn't know you had talked with Pace.

MK Yea, we talked about that. What about, now when, was the Mutuo Soccorso active during the depression? Did that provide, was there sort of a mutual support organization  
\_\_\_\_\_?

RB I can't tell you. The Mutuo Soccorso was there but I don't know, I don't know the answer to your question. No.

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MK I had wondered whether within the very ethnic communities whether there were sort of informal; look right out there, you've got a little ground hog, woodchuck.

RB The woodchuck is there, yea. He's...

GB You know, I remember one thing that the Italian community used to do. They would put on dances to raise money that they would give to some widow who perhaps had just lost her spouse or who was having a very, very difficult time and that was done at the Grand Street Hall. And they would do this and people would go and would dance and would pay their admission and that money was turned over to the widow. I do remember that.

RB There was one facet of life that occurred during the depression or just shortly thereafter. And I think it's interesting in this respect. At that time, I was, I became a reporter for the Barre Daily Times, which is the forerunner of the Times Argus and there are two things. One, part of my beat was along Main Street and I used to stop in one of the restaurants in the morning and have coffee and a donut and I met this young man whose name was Daniel Boone Shermer and he was about my age and he was a communist organizer. And he was sent up here from Boston to organize the farmers in the area. And we used to, we became acquainted. And looking back, I'd have to kind of smile because we'd get into, always we'd get into arguments. He'd argue about the communist side and I'd argue about the advantages of capitalism, but we remained good friends. And he was showing me some, some of the papers that he was sending out to the farmers. It would be white paper and always would be red ink. His message would always be in red ink. Well Daniel Boone Shermer stayed in Barre for a number of months and then he departed and many years later, I was reading the Boston Globe and this story caught my eye. It was a story about this man being tossed out of the legislature in Massachusetts for heckling and his name was Daniel Boone Shermer. The other part of that also dealing with the communists. I covered a meeting of the communists in the Granite Street Hall. And the speaker was a young woman from down in the mills in Southern New England. And she was called the "Red Flame" and when the Granite Street Hall was filled with people for her to hear her speak. And when she came on stage, she wore a very red dress. She was an excellent speaker. A very fiery speaker and the thing that intrigued me at no end was the fact that she got everybody right up on the edge of their seats. Then when it came time, she said obviously you know we

need money to carry, go forward and she said now I'm going to divide the hall into two sections and she said I want to see whose, which section is going to win and she said the hat will be passed around and she said I don't want to see change in there, I want to see green stuff. And these were difficult times. But that's exactly what happened. What was put in were dollar bills and very, very little change. And so the collection at that, was a good collection. Those are memories of the days of the '30's.

MK It must have been incredibly interesting time too, as well as a hard time?

RB Yea, yea.

MK In the strike, how did that, how was it settled in the end? Did the granite workers get what they had, what they were striking for?

RB I can't remember whether they did, I can't, well I think, one thing that happened, I told you that the granite manufacturers installed the dust removal equipment but I think it was as a result of the pressure of unions that, that came about.

GB That was one of the settlements wasn't it?

RB I'm not sure, but I know that it was, that the unions had pushed for that and finally they did put the equipment in because obviously it was expensive to install such equipment.

MK I mean in the end it would have seemed that if people became reluctant to enter the industry because it was known that you would die soon if you became a granite worker. In the end I would think it would cost effective to them to keep workers once they were trained and...?

RB Yea, it was.

MK ...and all of that.

RB Yea, uh huh, no question.

MK I was wondering too, now when I interviewed Pace, she talked about her memories of the Sacco-Vanzetti time and travelling as a child to the funeral. But she was still very young. I think she was like nine years old or something like that at that time. You would have been a little bit older. Do you recall any of the times when the sheds shut down for instance or I read some place that I,

I can't remember now whether it was in Barre or whether it was in Montpelier that, that the worked stopped I guess right around the time, I guess it must have been at the funeral for the sort of in .

RB She recalls that.

MK Okay.

GB I marched in a parade for the Sacco-Vanzetti. Again, I was probably, I was probably eight or nine years old. Our . was close enough to the Main Street so if there was an excitement you did go and this lady said don't you want to march and I can just remember lots and lots of people. My mother was working in a dry goods store on Main Street and so march I did. And my mother's employer saw me and he said to my mother, "What is your daughter doing?" Because I'm sure that he probably did not believe that they were innocent. And my mother said, "If I weren't working, I would be marching in that parade too," but I do remember that. Two parades, one was a labor strike and the other one was a Sacco-Vanzetti...

RB Wasn't Pace walking with you at that time?

GB Not for that one. It was the other one. Her sister for the other one, but I do remember that. Now as I say eight or nine years, probably eight years old. Now how old did Pace say she was?

MK I think she was nine at the time.

GB Alright, then I was about eight because I think there's about a year or so's difference, but I do remember that.

RB You were an activist weren't you?

GB Oh, I was an activist, yea. Didn't know that, that's what I was, but evidently that's what I was at the time. I'd probably think twice now before marching in such a parade, but I do remember it. Gee, there was just, it was just loaded with people, just loaded.

MK Do you remember what the mood of the crowd was? Was it an optimistic crowd or would this have been at the funeral times a sad crowd? Pace said she would just remember this overwhelming sadness, everybody was very quiet.

GB I think, I think that they were marching at that point because they were protesting the fact that they had been found guilty at that point. See, now she remembered going

to Boston. So that would be after, but this was I think as a protest. Now you know it might even been at the time of the funeral, I don't know. But I know that there was not, it wasn't noisy, but it was just masses, just seemed to be masses of people. There would be masses on Main Street because it's a narrow street. And this is where I got into it, it was right near well in the Dunkin Donut's area right there. That's where it started. It must have gone up to the end of Main Street, but I don't remember where it ended, but I do remember that.

MK Now you said your mother told your employer that she would have been marching if she hadn't been working?

GB That's right.

MK Did your parents talk about those kind of things at home a lot? Do you have memories of them?

GB My mother was not married, see my mother married a second time when I was around eleven, but I think that the Italian people all were very incensed and I don't imagine that there was one Italian person in Barre that thought Sacco and Vanzetti were guilty, you know, I really don't. And so we perhaps would have, would have talked about it I'm sure because I mean I knew this is what we were marching for. And of course with the strike, you certainly, that was there all the time. And you know, we had an awful lot of strikes. So many times that you just, you didn't have any income because there was always a strike and finally they did get around so that they would do some negotiating but that was really only in not too, too many years back, would you say so?

RB Uh huh.

GB But gee, there was always strikes, always strikes. And with strikes there was no income. If you were, if your family, or if your dad worked in the granite shed. I worked in a granite office, but of course we were not affected. See at that time I guess, yes they were, they were, the shed I worked in, the men did not work. The men, they were not breaking. I don't know what the phrase is, but they were not.

MK They didn't cross the picket line?

GB That's right. The shed I worked in, the men just did not work. But I remember people going by to see if anybody was. These men would walk by to see if anybody was. But the shed that I worked in the men did not.

MK So they just stayed home?

GB Yup, uh huh, yup, just did not go to work. They just did not go to work. And actually, I don't know how many, how many sheds there were at that, that continued. There were not all of that many that operated. Wouldn't you say that most of them, the men did, they followed what the union did?

RB That's right.

GB So there was really a minority of the sheds that were, were strike breakers.

MK Would it be whole sheds that would work or was it a particular shed with just some workers going?

GB I think there was just some, because I think in the shed across from where I lived, I don't think all the men showed up. I think that they were afraid and they had reason to be afraid I think. Rocks were thrown and I think it is very frightening if like talking about those cars where they were trying to roll them over. So, the men, I can always remember the driver of that car, I can always remember how white he was. You know he was frightened. So, and then I can remember the draftsman coming out and see the draftsmen were not involved in the union and yet the people would holler scab and bozo at the draftsmen which was not right because they really were not, they weren't breaking the strike.

MK One thing I wondered about too. Now you had the, one of the manufacturers was down the street from you, you said and you had the guardsmen around his house. Did you, do you recall growing up with or going to school with children whose parents were, had higher incomes or were owners or managers in the sheds?

RB No, because in this area here, it was really entirely blue collar and it just so happened that one granite manufacturer lived there but the rest of the area was entirely blue collar.

MK And the schools were neighborhood schools?

RB Neighborhood schools, uh huh.