

BEGINNING OF TAPE 1, SIDE A

MICHAEL GRITTON  
October 15, 2004

DAVID CLINE: Good afternoon, this is David Cline for the Southern Oral History Program. I'm in Louisville. It is Friday, October 15, and if you could just introduce yourself for the tape.

MICHAEL GRITTON: Sure, my name is Michael Gritton.

DC: Terrific and we're going to be talking about Pleasure Ridge High School and if we could just start off if you could just tell me a little bit, if you could just sort of tell me your general educational background, you know, the neighborhood you grew up in and where you went to school.

MG: Okay, well, I went to Pleasure Ridge Park High School. Graduated in the class of 1980. I was part of the advanced [placement] program there. At the time we did not have middle schools and high schools so I started at PRP as a seventh grader and graduated there as a twelfth grader. So I spent six years there. Before that I went to Alice Waller Elementary School and then transferred over to Kerrick in fifth grade when I got moved into the advanced program, which was sort of a gifted and talented program or accelerated program, that kind of thing. Is that what you want to know?

DC: Yeah. Would this have been your local district school?

MG: It would have been my local district school anyway. The advanced program drew from four or five local high schools. PRP would have been my neighborhood school anyway. I lived in a neighborhood off of Greenwood Road, which was only a mile or mile and a half from the school. So it was an easy commute, you know, that sort of thing. I don't remember taking the bus much to high school. I

think my mom drove me for the most part and then when I got old enough we drove, you know, that sort of thing. So it was very close, close for basketball practice, all of that kind of stuff.

DC: Since I'm relatively new to the history of Louisville, if you could sort of map out for me sort of racially what that area was like at that time. Economically too.

MG: PRP was a classic and still is really a classic blue-collar working class white part of Louisville. So in my understanding of Louisville at that time and I think this is basically right, white-collar folks tended to live in what we call the East End of Louisville. The West End, particularly west of Ninth Street, but the West End meant black Louisville historically, African American Louisville. And PRP is in the southwest, which tended to be the working class part of town. You go out a main road called Dixie Highway. So what you had was a lot of factory workers. My dad worked at Ford Motor Company and my Uncle Danny worked at General Electric. My friend Robert's dad worked for the phone company, a lot of those kinds of dads doing those kinds of jobs. So that was the ethnicity. You know, I remember one black family living near enough that I knew, not somebody that I could walk to but somebody that I knew that I played basketball with. But it was very unusual pre-1976. My grandparents lived two streets over from me and I also remember that there was a black family that moved onto that street at one point. And actually, this will make Louisville sound much more horrible than I think it actually was, but someone actually burned a cross in their yard. Now this would have been, I would have been a kid so I don't remember if I was eight or ten or twelve. I didn't walk by it at night and see some burning cross but you remember seeing something in their yard and asking and

being told. You know what I mean? So it clearly, pre-busing was almost completely white, mostly working class, and probably pretty proud and pretty happy to stay that way.

DC: Do you remember that, that cross burning being explained to you?

MG: I remember it and I'm forty-two and that probably was at least thirty years ago, maybe more, so I clearly remember it. I don't remember anybody explaining it to me or understanding it very well at the time. But it stays with you. It's the kind of thing as you get older you reckon back like, oh yeah, you know I actually remember that that would have happened somewhere, you know. So and again, we can talk about other things as the busing thing came along but just different things that you saw around there.

DC: Right. So your elementary school experience was mostly white kids?

MG: Yeah. My elementary school would have been almost entirely white. If there were black kids there I do not remember it. When I got to PRP even before busing there were a couple of black kids there. So there was a kid named Kevin Smith that lived down Nancy Lane, which is one of, the school sits on Greenwood, you turn on Nancy and then my street was off of Nancy. Kevin lived on Nancy Lane. I used to pick him up because he played basketball with me starting in the eighth grade. But that was very unusual that there was a black family living in PRP as opposed to somebody that was being bused to PRP. Again, I don't know any stories about them not being treated well. I don't know whatever happened to that other family that lived on my grandparents' street. I was clearly a kid. I don't know whatever happened. I

just remember the fact that this thing happened that seemed strange at the time and I still remember a long time later.

DC: So you were at PRP and then busing happened? You were already there when it started?

MG: Yes, I was at PRP, started there as a seventh grader. Busing started in my eighth grade year. And again, I mean you tell me what you want to know. I mean there were lots of protests in the summer before it started. The one thing to understand about the advanced program and me is that I fundamentally think that that was what changed the vector of my life for the better. So when I got out of these regular program things and got in with a group of bright kids who thought it was cool to be bright, I suddenly figured out that I was much brighter than I might have been showing before and the more you were around talented people, the more your talent came out. And the whole course of my life from then on was if you can hit major league pitching, get yourself to the major leagues, like there's no reason to stay in AAA ball. So you know I went on and went out of school to Duke. I went to Columbia Law School. I did lots of these other things because that experience helped define me and helped me see how much greater you can reach your potential if you're surrounded by talent.

That being said, when busing came around in eighth grade, here's what I remember about that particular thing: I have never argued with my mother and father about anything substantial in my whole life before or since the way we argued about that. I was probably a bratty -- I would have been about thirteen or fourteen -- probably right at the age where you think you've got it all figured out and I thought

busing was completely and utterly right and just, right, and the justice argument made a lot of sense to me. My father then and even now I think would say, "This was somebody telling me where to send my kids to school. I moved into this neighborhood. I knew where the school was. There's absolutely no reason for you to take my kid and make them go somewhere other than the neighborhood school." He claimed then that it had nothing to do with race and I'm not sure that I believed him. I actually do believe him more now than I did then because I think his argument has held up a little better about that, that there was something that was going to be fundamentally lost in the undoing of the community school idea that I didn't acknowledge or understand when I was an eighth grade brat.

But here's what happened with my family: My sister and my cousin Dana who lived right down the street were in the seventh grade. It turned out in the way the alphabetical formula worked -- remember the way Louisville bused white kids was by the alphabet of your last name -- G's would get bused in the second and seventh grade. So the very first year that busing was going to begin, my sister and my cousin Dana were slated to be bused. Rather than be bused my mom and dad and my Uncle Danny and Aunt Suzie decided that Dana and Shelly would go to school down at this cabin we have on a lake called Rough River Lake, which is about an hour and twenty minutes from Louisville in Breckinridge County. And they essentially attended school in Breckinridge County for their whole seventh grade year and what that meant functionally was that my mom would get up on Monday morning and drive my sister and Dana down there. They would spend Monday night and Tuesday there and then come back in the middle of the week, go back in the middle of the week again and

then come back on Friday. My dad was a factory worker who was working lots of overtime at Ford so I, for a year, remember that year as being the year that I lived with my Uncle Danny and Aunt Suzie for the most part. So I lived with Uncle Danny and Aunt Suzie and my cousin Betsy. My cousin Dana sort of morphed into living with my mom and my sister. The other interesting thing about it is they tried to get me to go down there. So at the beginning of that eighth grade year there was a boycott so lots of white parents refused to send their kids. We held me out for a couple of days and then they talked me into going down to this place so I went for a couple of days on a Thursday and Friday. I'd already missed a week of school and I remember being in this country school called Ben Johnson Elementary and in the classroom they had the sixth graders and the eighth graders in the same room. And I again in a bratty eighth grade way thought to myself, this is like being in Abe Lincoln's. I don't want to be in a one-room schoolhouse. I don't want to be in with two separate [grades], you know, and it seemed to me that the teacher that was going to be teaching me was not particularly bright and that I was the brightest kid in the class. That was not what I was looking for. So to my parents' credit when we came back -- so I think the original plan was Mike and his sister and cousin will all go in the country -- it was only after they sent me for a couple of days and I protested vehemently that this is going to ruin my life and ruin my education that they cobbled together this solution instead where I stayed in Louisville. And two of the best teachers of my whole life I happened to have in my eighth grade year at PRP so it was a fundamental break for me that I got to go there.

DC: I mean even after the sort of bad experience in the country school, was that still a fight with your parents to get them to let you come back?

MG: No, once they let me come to Louisville that was it. So that worked and that's what we did for a whole year or so. Again, I don't remember a lot of the details about it. I just remember being so horrified that they were going to make me do this for a whole year. I could just, you could sense this was just going to be a disaster for me and to their credit they didn't make me do it. Now again, my dad felt very, very strongly that he was defending a principle and he did not like that principle being violated by anything. But to his credit, when I made myself known about what I thought about it they figured out a different way to work it out.

DC: Do you know where Shelly and Dana would have gone to school had they stayed?

MG: I want to say Shawnee. I think it was Shawnee High School. I could be wrong about that but I think it was Shawnee.

DC: So your parents went to great lengths to avoid [busing]?

MG: They went to great lengths. So I mean my dad attended protests. He graduated from Valley High School, which is a little farther out toward the south on Dixie Highway. There were protests in front of Valley. My neighbor Ernie borrowed a baseball bat to take with him to one of those protests. There was a protest there where a police officer I believe was hit in the eye with a projectile. I think we still have the bat somewhere with bumper stickers on it just because later on we just thought that was sort of an interesting thing to kind of hold on to. So the way my dad experienced it was as the government imposing a solution on him to solve someone

else's problem and he couldn't figure out why that made sense. And I think his argument was if the schools on the West End are bad, let's fix the West End schools. Let's not ruin our school, right. Of course, I was born in '62 so the Martin Luther King, Bobby Kennedy stuff was not something you experienced directly being that age. It's been an echo my whole life but as a kid coming of age that echo is still in your head so I was very moved by the injustice and all that kind of stuff and thought that it was the right thing to do, right, and defended the principle and all that kind of stuff.

DC: So you can look back and see that even as a young kid that you sort of did have that greater consciousness of what was going on in the city?

MG: Yeah, I mean I'm a weird example because I'm a pretty ... I was book smart and my parents knew I was book smart and so they always treated me with a lot of respect around the world of ideas even when I was young. So I don't want it to sound like that I was that precocious about it but I remember. I mean this is the only thing I can remember ever really disagreeing with my parents about on a principle, you know, on an important public policy issue that affected our life and decisions we were going to make. I can't ever remember [anything] before or since I mean that we disagreed about with that much vehemence, with that much firmness, where we both were utterly convinced that we were right. It was very traumatic. You know what I mean? I mean it was a big, big deal and again it meant enough to my dad for him to keep me out of school for seven school days and for two of those days to be, or maybe it was five days. I can't remember. But five to seven and for two of those days to actually drag me to the country and try to get me to go to this little country school,

right. It was important enough to me that when I went to this country school and could see what an utter disaster it was going to be that I continued to speak up and say you can't do this to me. I don't remember what the language was but that must have been the effect and that Monday I got back I started at PRP.

DC: How about your friends from seventh grade? Did a lot of them take off?

MG: No, a lot of them just went through it. You know, I think people stayed out of school for a little bit. The couple of specific examples I can think of were people that ultimately just went ahead and got bused. And, you know, they came back in the eighth grade or ninth grade. As you get older it's harder to remember who missed when and where people were. Do you know what I mean? They're friends that I know if I went back and asked them, oh yeah, Robert I think he went to Noe Middle School in seventh grade or eighth grade or this person, you know. So there were people that had these varying experiences about being gone and then being back and again for white kids it was much easier in that sense because you typically were bused two years out of twelve. So it was once in elementary and once in that middle or high school period. For the black kids it must have been much harder because they were being bused ten years out of twelve I think for the most part so they were getting up and schlepping on the bus and going out to these schools far from their neighborhood day after day after day. So the burden was being borne by them in terms of transportation and stuff much more than the white kids. But for the white kids it was a big, big deal especially because each of those years has its own meaning to you when you're that age.

DC: Just one more question about your folks before we move on to your own experience.

MG: Sure.

DC: I know that there were some labor groups organized against busing. Was your dad addressing it through labor at all?

MG: Not that I remember. My dad was clearly a UAW member and they may have been doing something about it but if they were I don't remember it that way, you know. I just remember that when these things bubbled up in the neighborhood or bubbled up near Valley that my neighbor was a part of it and my dad was interested in that kind of stuff. I don't remember if he went to that. I think it was the neighbor that went and my dad didn't but he clearly was at one or two of these things and was very moved that he just thought it was a big mistake.

DC: That would be during the summer before or after that?

MG: I believe it was the summer before and right at the beginning of the school year I think is when that stuff was happening. I mean again I'd have to go back and read the newspaper accounts to remember the timing but that's how I remember it.

DC: Right. I just wonder if [there] was a point at which you were going off to school and he was going off to protest.

MG: No. I think it was before. It was all about whether you were going to submit to this. Once we had submitted and I was at PRP then the air goes out of the balloon and you go on with your life and you figure it out. It was all about what are you going to do before. You know, how are you going to handle this, the fact that your daughter and your brother's daughter are going to be bused. What are you going

to do about that and are you going to send Mike too, are you going to let him go back to PRP or not?

DC: So you did go back to PRP and how did it change for you say from seventh or eighth grade once you've got some kids being bused out and other kids being bused in?

MG: The main part that you remember is the part about the kids being bused in, not about the kids being bused out. Your homeroom was suddenly diverse. Your classrooms were diverse. The advanced program classes were less diverse than the others I think because there were fewer kids that could sort of meet the entrance, whatever the test was to demonstrate that they could be there. But there were a couple of kids that became that. The couple of things that I always remember are that there were kids sitting with me in the homeroom who became friends of mine -- homerooms were determined by alphabets so these were people with the last names of G and H and that sort of thing -- who couldn't read or could barely read and who were in the eighth grade. So I remember seeing, you know. It's sort of the gathering point, ten minutes where you go, they collect attendance and then you head off to your classes. I would be looking over their shoulder or seeing the homework that they were doing and trying to help them do something if they were doing something last minute and being struck by how poor their reading skills were.

What's important to say about my parents and I think this true of a lot of people that were from PRP is their hostility towards busing was not about race, at least in the way they raised me and my sister. So I did not experience black kids in the class as something that was an affront to my racial category or anything like that. So I

feel like that I always treated them with a welcome and with respect because that's the way I was taught to treat people. So I do remember it being strange just because it's like the first time you meet somebody who's gay or the first time you meet somebody from another country. It just was new, right. So the newness was sort of novel and interesting and there was a lot of discussion as you got to know people and learned about the culture and all that kind of stuff. But the things I remember being struck by more were this gap in reading skills, this sort of very fundamental thing that showed me even then that something wasn't right about the way you were being educated before or what was happening that this experience may be good for you because this may be raising the bar for you. You know what I mean? Something about you being in this class, even in this homeroom, is sending you the signal that you can do better than what you've been doing and that the bar has been raised for you, which I thought was a good thing.

DC: What about, you mentioned basketball a couple of times?

MG: Yeah, what was neat is I started playing organized basketball at PRP starting in the eighth grade. So that was the first year that we would have been integrated so we had an integrated team from the beginning, which was great. We had a fantastic basketball coach named Joe Burkes who coached us for three years, eighth, ninth, and tenth grade. And there were good friends of mine from that eighth grade class like a guy named Gary Griffith who ended up being the vice president of the senior class and I was his campaign manager along with being the campaign manager of the white class president. By the time you get to be seniors class officers are being selected, one is white, one is black, they're friends. You know what I mean? There's

a true sense of us being a class together that it wasn't obvious that that was the way the story was going to work out when it started that way in eighth grade. And, you know, there were other friends of mine from that team who were black kids that just by meeting them and learning a little bit about their life you learned about a part of Louisville that you'd never experienced before. I mean again, when you grow up in PRP the idea of the West End was almost as foreign as New York City. So if you'll remember at that time when you're coming of age Barney Miller was a TV show that was about all these sort of dysfunctional New Yorkers and the cops who dealt with them all the time and it made you think that New York was literally a city of lunatics, right, and you would never want to be caught dead there, certainly not after dark. Well, the West End sort of conjured up the same kind of image. I mean I don't remember even setting foot in the West End, right, before I came back to Louisville as a grownup. There was no reason to go. You couldn't imagine why anybody white would ever be there. I mean that may be stating it a little too boldly but that's the basic idea. So all of a sudden there are guys on your team who need a ride home. Do you know what I mean? And there's a reason for you to go and all of a sudden you're seeing things with your own eyes in your own town that you'd never seen before because you didn't have any reason to go there before, right. Gary Griffith came to my house once and shot baskets and I was trying to remember what grade we would have been. Maybe it was ninth grade. I don't remember when because Gary ultimately became more of a football player than a basketball player but those first couple of years he played with us. And I remember the self-conscious feeling of bringing a black kid home to my house for the first time, and again, that sense of eyes

maybe watching you or a sense that this is just a little bit odd -- I haven't done this before, you know, and we're sort of breaking new ground here. And, you know, there must have been lots of white kids at PRP who had that same experience over the course of the three or four or five years that they would have been there. So that really just fundamental, basic experience of another person's life was I think a profoundly positive experience. Do you know what I mean? I mean that's why I'm back in Louisville twenty-five years later sending my kids to schools that are integrated where the standards are high and black kids are expected to learn at a high level because you want them to see that all these kids can be fantastic, right. So again, I don't want to tell you more than you want to know.

DC: No, no, that's very interesting. I mean do you ever remember going home with Gary too back then?

MG: I never did. I never did. I don't remember ever getting invited so it wasn't like I got invited and didn't go. And again, I was not the kind of kid who did a lot of that stuff. There may have been lots of my friends who were doing it a lot more than me. I wasn't one of those kids who was riding bikes all over the neighborhoods and all that kind of stuff. So there may have been kids that were a lot more adventurous than me. A buddy of mine named Robert used to go down and play basketball in Chickasaw Park, which is one of the downtown neighborhoods, and there's another one called Wyandotte. I think it was Wyandotte that he actually played in, which again I just didn't do, right. It was just completely a foreign idea. So, you know, it's part of what was very interesting about the PRP experience and thinking about the city in general because whether it was the West End or just coming

into downtown, even now when my parents think about coming into downtown the first thing they think about is where to park, right, and wanting to sort of make sure you understand which streets go one way. And for a boy who's now lived in New York City and in Boston and the like, parking is just not an issue in Louisville, right. I mean but people thought that it should be like Mayberry and you pull up in front of the door. So the idea that you may have to park a block away and walk was just, you know what I mean? So the big city meant something. The West End meant even something else that in general once the malls moved out there, that's where they went. They didn't go to downtown. So I mean again, I don't remember turning down the opportunity to go anyplace to anybody's house but I just remember the interestingness of learning a little bit more about their life and who was raising them and getting a window into a part of life that I thought I knew something about but didn't know very much about.

DC: Right. Did your sister and Dana eventually come back?

MG: They did. All they sat out was that first year when they would have been bused. So they came back. Now again if my experience had been different, maybe they would have dragged us all to the country. Dana and my sister still insist that that was the best year they ever had. They loved going to school in the country. They thought it was great. But they came back and graduated with Dawn [Gee] who you've interviewed already, and my sister and Dawn were cheerleaders together. You know, and again that was the sort of really cool thing about how all of this happened is things just became integrated very easily and all of a sudden you're friends with black kids and black kids are friends with you and there's lots of crossover in these dynamics

where before your experience would have just been lily white. So whether it was sports teams or after school clubs or just name anything, when the school becomes twenty to twenty-five percent black it's a totally different experience, or whatever the percentage would have been, even if it was. You'd have to tell me. I don't remember. My recollection of it is fifteen or twenty percent and that was a substantial difference from zero or .05 or whatever it would have been before. So integration became the norm for you in terms of how it worked. Now before we're done just remind me to tell you what our experience has been like about trying to organize class reunions, right.

DC: Oh, good.

MG: Because we have not had very much, we've not had any success trying to build bridges back to those black kids that went to school with us in getting them to come to the reunion so we can figure out how everybody is doing. So at some fundamental level I think especially those people who went to PRP early in this experience, they may be expressing through that a sense of otherness that they still feel about it. Because for people like me, my relatives still live in PRP, I still go back to PRP, and so it's not that hard to get organized to go find other people who are similarly still in the neighborhood or somewhere close that you can track down. When you start trying to find Gary Griffith it's not that easy to figure out where he is because if he's not in the phone book you don't know like, where is he. I don't know what neighborhood he lived in, right, because the kids that came to us came from lots of different neighborhoods. So you have these sort of very elemental problems that have not been that easy to solve.

DC: Interesting. So I mean in terms of fundamentally changing your worldview it did but in terms of these sort of personal relations, ongoing personal relationships ... I mean, can you point to any friends that you've made sort of across the color line, if you will, that remain friends?

MG: There were a couple of friends who've tried to track me down since I got back to Louisville. Gary's one of them and another guy whose name was Shawn White who both played basketball with me and who were friends. But I did not manage to keep up friendships with any of those black kids through the twenty years that I was gone from Louisville. But now because I was gone for twenty years the circle gets very constricted in terms of how many people you kept up with. But what's happened is since I've come back to Louisville I've renewed friendships with a number of people that I had lost touch with and it's very gratifying to realize they still like you and you still like them and they haven't changed that much in twenty years. And I suspect the same would be true of Gary or Shawn, which is why they're both on my call list. I've got their numbers. I still haven't connected. We need to get together. But no, I mean that's one of those things I wish I had a deeper bench of friends that way and I just don't. But again, I was gone from Louisville for twenty years before I got back.

DC: For a long time, sure, right, right. But tell me about that. I'm really interested that you did come back and that you do have your kids in the school system. What schools do they go to?

MG: I have two little boys. One is in preschool. One is in first grade at a school called Brandeis Elementary, which is a magnet school in the West End at

Twenty-Eighth and Kentucky Street. And again, I don't want to tell you more than you need to know. My wife and I did a lot of research about the schools. My wife visited a dozen probably private, public, Catholic and I visited three or four. Part of what we liked the best about Brandeis was that the test scores are high but when you unpack the data the test scores are high for black and white kids both and that told me that the expectations of this school are that these kids can learn at a high level. There are other schools whose test scores are almost as high but when you unpack the data there's a pretty significant gap between how the black kids are doing and how the white kids are doing. The neighborhood school that we could have sent Henry to is a school called Bloom Elementary and when you look at their numbers they're much less impressive and I worry that Henry, if he goes there, would be sent the not so subtle signal that these [black] kids can't be expected to learn as high a level as you, either because of the excuse of what their family life is like or because of their economic backgrounds or because of their race or because of a mix of all those things. And I deeply disagree with that and don't want him to be growing up in that environment if I can keep him from it.

And we've been happy with Brandeis. I mean it's a very warm environment for kids and at the same time, it's really encouraging kids to learn at a high level, which we think is great. And we schlep him into the West End every day and schlep him back home instead of sending him to the neighborhood school. So what's very interesting about that is the thing that my dad didn't want to do with my sister, we're choosing to do with my son. And in part, now again you can go to almost any public school in Louisville and get a diverse racial experience. But what I'm describing to

you is we were looking for something more specific than that. We didn't want him to just go to school with black kids but then find out that the faculty or the administration or the neighborhood has a sense that well, because of who they are or where they come from we can't have the same expectations for them as somebody else. That wasn't good enough for us and isn't good enough for us so that's why we searched out a school where we felt like that wouldn't be true and we've been very happy with Brandeis because of that. Does that make sense?

DC: Yeah, it does. I was picking up on that, the neighborhood schools, about you know your father having worried about losing that aspect of it, which I know is a very real concern for a lot of people and there's sort of this return to that idea of the neighborhood school in some places.

MG: There is and I don't want to tell you more than you need to know about these kinds of things. I just want to say two things about it. Number one, there's a friend of mine who's an economist in town who told me, Mike, your kid would be fine at the neighborhood school because look at the home he comes from. You know what I mean? And he'll get diversity wherever he goes so you're knocking yourself out driving twenty minutes each way everyday and you're going to be missing things that you don't get at the neighborhood school. My wife is not from Louisville. She's from Pittsburgh and she still struggles with how to find sort of a social network of people that you're connected to that aren't all your best friends but are people that you get to know over time. One of the ways that that happened in the Fifties and in the Seventies and it happens today is if you send your kid to the neighborhood school because the kid at your neighborhood school is the kid you run into at the ice cream parlor around

the corner from our house, right. You're much less likely to run into a kid who goes to Brandeis where my kid goes than a kid who goes to the neighborhood school. So there is a cost to what we're doing and time will tell whether it was worth paying the cost. We're very aware of the cost and my dad's argument is still fundamentally right about the power of that neighborhood school. And in today's world where black kids can grow up where I think the playing field is essentially level, it's not obvious to me that they couldn't go to a neighborhood school that had high expectations for them to learn and do just as well. It's not obvious to me that that idea of integration that was so powerful in 1976 is still as necessary as some fundamental principle. It clearly is according to the Jefferson County school board. I'm not convinced of that anymore. Do you know what I mean?

DC: Un-huh.

MG: And there is something really powerful about that community school thing that when you lose it you lose a lot. So in my work we've talked to people at schools where they're trying to do after school programming and they have enormous transportation problems. So you're stuck. Do I try to deliver after school programs to these kids, many of whom are black and come from disparate neighborhoods where I've got them in one place or do I send them home on the school bus at two-thirty and then try to serve them in their neighborhood, right? And it's not obvious we're serving them all that well in their neighborhood but we have not been able to get organized to serve them well at the school after school because we can't get them home, right. So you run into lots of issues like that and again, if I'm a black parent living in the West End and my kid is going to Doss High School or to PRP, you know,

you're asking a lot for me to get to the PTA meeting or you're expecting a lot for me to get to know somebody just because I happen to bump into them in the hallway, where if I saw them at Kroger and I saw them at church, you know what I mean?

DC: Right.

MG: That's the price you pay by not having the neighborhood school and it's a big price.

DC: So where would you put yourself now in terms of saying if you think that integration has gone well in the Louisville school system? I know this is a very basic question and I'm putting it very simply but-

END OF TAPE 1, SIDE A

BEGINNING OF TAPE 1, SIDE B

DC: Have you sort of changed your opinion over time?

MG: Yes, yes. I mean I don't think that the solutions that applied in the 1970s apply in perpetuity. So I am of the opinion that we have created a world of opportunity for everybody and integration has helped a lot and I think every black kid in Louisville has a fair chance to meet their potential and are not going to be denied that potential based on race. I'm not claiming that they're not going to experience racism, nor am I trying to claim that racism has been eliminated because I know neither of those to be true. But I'm claiming that by and large the playing field is level or level enough that the kind of enormous barriers and obstacles and, you know, decades of history that we were trying to undo in the Seventies are no longer holding African American kids back. And so to me that *does* mean you have to ask different questions about how you organize schools and how you organize what you're doing,

especially because, now this gets into complicated stuff about the choices people make about where they live, right. There's clearly still evidence because Louisville's housing patterns were segregated by law for so long, now that you've taken those laws away those housing patterns have still not un-segregated themselves, right. The West End is still predominately black. But over the course of thirty or forty years of history you have to ask yourself at some point is that still because of a hundred years of racial history up to 1960 or 1970 or is that because of choices that people are making? And as I get older I've come more to think that a lot of that has to do with choices that people are making. I've lived in integrated neighborhoods and I liked it, you know what I mean?

DC: Right.

MG: But there's a conversation inside the head of each white person who's inside an integrated neighborhood, is this neighborhood getting at a tipping point and going to turn into a black neighborhood? The black family is asking itself the same thing. Have I moved into a white neighborhood or have I moved into an integrated neighborhood? That's great. How are my property values? What are they going to be like? Can we maintain this kind of integration? Do you know what I mean?

DC: Un-huh.

MG: And, you know, in a utopia we would all live in those kinds of things where the housing patterns would be completely disparate and you wouldn't be able to discern black, white, or anything. But it's not obvious to me that that's what people would choose. And if they don't want to choose it, if someone wants to choose to live in the West End in a perfectly nice three-bedroom, one-and-a-half-bath house just like

the one I live in the Highlands and they want to send their kid to the neighborhood elementary school and the neighborhood middle school and the neighborhood high school, and demand that that neighborhood be excellent and have high standards for their kids, I cannot figure out why they shouldn't be allowed to do that. And that's why I think the parents in the Central High School case probably were right. Now that's controversial and lots of people don't agree with that, you know. So that's where I, you know, I'm just telling you this on tape. I put myself, you know, I may not be in the mainstream on that or in the majority, but that's what I think about it.

DC: There's a group of white families too who have a similar lawsuit, isn't that true? I don't know where that is right now.

MG: I am no expert on that but I think, yeah, I mean I lived in Boston before I was here and there are always white families who are suing to say they're being held out of, you know, magnet programs or traditional schools. I think the one here may be about traditional schools. I don't remember. And again, personal story, when we were getting ready to select a school for Henry we picked Brandeis. The school we would have picked if we thought he had a good chance of getting in was a school called Brown because it's only three blocks from where I work so he could have gone. It like Brandeis has a very rich culture of diversity but the standards are very high for all the kids. It's a K-12 school so he could have if he liked it stayed there his whole experience. It's a unique school in the Jefferson County system. That school is extremely transparent about the fact that they take kids based on a lottery and the lottery is based on race. So what we were told is you come from the 40205 zip code in the Highlands. Every year we get somewhere between eight and ten white boys who

want to start kindergarten at Brown. We typically take two. So we don't want to know who his parents are. We don't want to know he's a white boy. And we balance our class based on how many white boys and white girls and black boys and black girls. Now, you know, if we thought we could have gotten him in we might have tried it but the odds were better to get into Brandeis. The schools otherwise seemed equivalent so we voted for Brandeis, even though the commute is a lot longer. So those kinds of things feel very, they feel oppressive when you experience them and you're not sure what the value is. It's harder to articulate the value than it was in 1976 or 1986 or 1996. Do you know what I mean?

DC: Un-huh.

MG: So that's how I experience it.

DC: Let's talk for a minute about, we did briefly, but about trying to set up a reunion. So have you had reunions for Pleasure Ridge yet?

MG: Yeah. I'm not the reunion person. There are other names I can give you but I know that when we've tried to set up reunions, but we've also tried, since I got back to PRP we set up an alumni association and we've had two hall of fame dinners where we've inducted people into the hall of fame. Dawn Gee was inducted last year into the PRP Hall of Fame, which was fantastic. So you're stuck in the same sort of situation where how can I track down more and more of my old colleagues from PRP and get them to help, come to this dinner, buy tickets, help me spread the word, help me raise money that goes into scholarships for current PRP students. I mean it's an easy thing to sell but we haven't had that much luck finding African Americans to help us tell people about it, getting them in the door. Do you know what I mean?

Getting them to serve on the committee that helps us find nominees or just help us think about how do we make this thing better next year than this, how do we fund raise for it? That's where you fall back on, okay, who did I stay in touch with? Who have I bumped into since I've been back in town? And for whatever reason I haven't bumped into a couple of the African American kids that I was close to. Now again, a couple of them have called me and I've called them back but we haven't connected. So I hope I can make that connection for the next dinner, which is coming up in February. But that's where you notice it because when you come to that event the room is still white and there are a few African Americans but not very many, not anything close to the percentage of students who would have been at PRP and that just takes work. We've got to work hard at that sort of thing.

DC: Do you think of desegregation and integration as being different things or the same thing?

MG: Now that is a question I have not thought about. Do I think of desegregation and integration as different? Well, let's describe it this way. I mean in 1976 the schools of Louisville were required by federal law to be desegregated. So the schools were segregated and they were required to be desegregated. So in that sense I take that to mean this black kid and this white kid have to sit in the same room together, whether you like it or not. And I think what your question means, at least the way I understand it is, when I think of integration it's Dawn Gee and I [are] friends. You know what I mean? And the fact that she's black and I'm white adds a certain amount of richness to the experience but no one required us to be friends. Do you know what I mean? Or when I lived in an integrated neighborhood in Milton,

Massachusetts that neighborhood was not desegregated. It was integrated. So I think of desegregation in that sense of something that's imposed on somebody and integration is more something that's done by choice. I think that's how I would think of the difference and make the distinction.

DC: Right. So do you think that the desegregation of the Louisville schools achieved integration or a level of it?

MG: Yes, yes. I mean I think it clearly has achieved a very high level of integration in terms of the equality with which people treat each other on a daily basis. It isn't that there still isn't a lot of mystery or a lot of misinformation and there's still more work that you have to do about that but I mean Louisville is an integrated city. It's not a desegregated city. It's an integrated city. So when you're in downtown you see black and white people and there's nothing unusual about that. You work with black and white colleagues, nothing unusual about that. Do you know what I mean? When you go out to social occasions and you go to restaurants you see black and white people and there's nothing unusual about that. In that sense Louisville is a fundamentally integrated city. Now some would argue I think that if you did not require continued desegregation of the schools, if you started weakening the requirements that sort of disperses the African American population throughout all these schools, that you might return to more, you would return to less integrated experiences or less integrated neighborhoods. And that's where I'm just not a housing pattern expert so I don't know what the evidence is. But that's where I'm less convinced of the force of that argument today than I was in 1976. I mean in 1976 we

were ten or fifteen years away from colored water fountains, do you know what I mean?

DC: Right.

MG: And, you know, blacks sitting in the back of the bus. I mean that is a fundamentally different experience that someone has than the experience that we've had in Louisville over the last thirty years. But again I keep coming back to the fact that if the house is for sale and someone black wants to buy it, they ought to have the chance to buy it. So no one would want to keep them out. But if whites are typically living in neighborhoods that are mostly white and blacks are living in neighborhoods that are mostly black, in order to have all the neighborhoods be integrated you have to impose on people's choices a vision of what their neighborhood ought to be like that does not appear to be the vision that those people have for their own neighborhoods. And I'm not clear that that's something that we need to do. Do you know what I mean? If you create a level playing field and give people the chance to pursue excellence, it's just not obvious to me that you have to desegregate those kinds of institutions today in the way that you did thirty years ago. Does that make sense?

DC: It does, absolutely. So when you went on you went from here to Duke?

MG: Yeah.

DC: And then to Columbia?

MG: Yeah.

DC: How do you feel that you were sort of prepared? I mean both educationally at Pleasure Ridge in terms of did you have the tools but also in terms of socially, in terms of the effects of busing.

MG: I clearly had the academic tools and that was a great and abiding gift that I was given by PRP that I try to thank them for by creating this alumni association and doing all I can to return the favor to kids who are there today. I just could not be more grateful for the education that I got there. I ended up doing perfectly fine at Duke. I graduated Magna Cum Laude. You know what I mean? You struggle your first semester like lots of people but then it sort of goes up and up from there and I never felt ill equipped academically. I always thought that I could do the work and I didn't start out years behind and I was in school at Duke, as you would know, with kids who had gone to the most expensive, most prestigious, most exclusive private schools in the country. So they had absolutely ever benefit that you could imagine and I did not feel behind. So now they had had some experiences I clearly hadn't had. I didn't go to Europe for the summer, etc., etc. So the experience at Duke was shaped very positively by that part of PRP. The fact that I'd gone to an integrated high school also made it easier to go to a place like Duke where you're only being surrounded by more diversity than you were. I mean part of why you go to Duke instead of staying in Kentucky is to meet kids from the North and kids from the West and black kids from the North and black kids from the West, right. One of the great disappointments at Duke then, I don't know what it's like now, but then Duke was very much a fraternity and sorority kind of place and there were black fraternities and black sororities. So I felt really sad for Duke because the school bent over backwards to try to attract the absolutely most diverse population of kids that it could and then they almost immediately segmented themselves off into the white kids from the North with money. You know what it's like. And it was very frustrating to watch black kids be forced to

choose very quickly are you going to be integrated, right, either by joining one of these mostly white organizations or are you going to stay with us? And I had a friend who joined a traditionally white fraternity and watched him be ostracized by other black kids who wouldn't speak to him in the cafeteria, wouldn't acknowledge him, really stuff I was unprepared for based on what I'd seen at PRP. I mean again, the kids at PRP did not sit separately by themselves at the lunch table, did not feel that they had to identify themselves in that kind of a way in order to sort of defend themselves against the onslaught of integration or who knows what. So I think I've answered your question. So I was academically prepared, socially prepared.

The shock at Duke had nothing to do with black people. It had to do with wealth. I mean I was just ... PRP is a fundamentally working class part of town. When my friend Becca Sykes and I went to Duke we were the first people from PRP that we could find who ever went there. And so when we went to the little event for Duke kids from Louisville, Louisville kids who were going to Duke, before we all went they were totally astounded to see someone from us. It was all kids from the East End and from private schools. Now again I grew up very conscious of class. When I was growing up my dad was a factory worker. [He'd say,] "If those East End restaurants want me to eat at them they can bring a restaurant out here. I'm not going over there." We were very conscious of the fact that we thought people from that end of town looked down on us. It may have been just a class badge of honor but that was part of what was in our bones and part of how we were raised. So it was both a fun thing to be able to show them that I could do it but also something that when you were literally surrounded by people like that. I mean in my whole experience at Duke other

than my friend Becca whose mom was a school teacher, I mean there were only maybe a half a dozen people that I could think of that I met in the four years that I was there whose parents made less than mine. Now I'm absolutely in no way poor, nor was I poor then. My dad was a factory worker working overtime, making forty-five, fifty thousand dollars a year. You know, that would have been the American dream back then. But at a place like Duke I mean there were kids driving BMW's and Audi's and all these kinds of things. I mean I was just floored by that and unprepared for it, in part because I had never been any place other than PRP.

DC: I'm curious, I mean once the black kids did get to PRP, was there sort of a class cohesion across racial lines at all because you did have, I mean did you have more in common with some of the black kids in terms of class than maybe some of the white kids or would it have been a completely different class?

MG: There was class, there were similarities but I think class cohesion would be stating it too strongly. I still think to the extent that there was a sense of class consciousness among white kids it was directed across town at the East End. And I doubt that the black kids who were at PRP were thinking that. Do you know what I mean? But I do think, I mean again, it didn't take you long to figure out that many of these black kids had less than you did and to the extent that they had the same, not very many of them had more. So you became aware both that you had more than you might have thought, that there were lots of kids who were poorer than you are, but also that the differences are not very dramatic. In many cases the differences are not very different, do you know what I mean, that you have more in common. I mean again poor whites and poor blacks in the South have had a lot in common for three hundred

years or two hundred years. Now again I don't mean to gloss over slavery and things like that but economically there's a lot in common there that politicians have been convincing them that isn't there for a long, long time. So again you start meeting these kids and you see these things in your real life you realize your life, yeah, yeah, yeah, you've got this thing that I don't have and it's a big thing so let's acknowledge it but let's also see that there's a lot in common here. You know what I mean? Which is also why when I hear people talking about trying to make sure there's diversity in their school experience, there is something about that economic diversity that's very important I think whether the kid's skin color is black or white that I think at some level is as important today as the race stuff was back then. Does that make sense?

DC: It does, yeah. Do you think that, that's interesting because you were a high school athlete, do you think that athletes had a different experience than others in terms of that? I mean it's interesting because you were on a team, you know, you were sort of forced to be on a team, you know. Basketball's a small squad too so you get very close and tight with people. I'm just curious if that, you know...?

MG: I think those kinds of experiences give you chances to build friendships in a way that if you were just a kid who was in the school for six periods a day and then went home might be more difficult because you don't get to talk, you don't get to socialize, you're not riding a bus to a game. You know, you're not sweating on each other. You're not taking showers together. You're not dressing for the game. You're not helping somebody when they get hurt. I mean there are lots of just very elemental things you experience as part of a team that bring the individuals on the team together and help break down barriers, whatever they may be. That's part of the fun whether

you're joining a marine unit or playing on a basketball team together. I mean it's part of what sticks with people about those kinds of team experiences, right. So in that sense when I think back about some of my best friends who were black they were kids that I played basketball with or that I did other sorts of things like that with, right.

Because you just get to know them better. I mean part of it also [is] just you spend more time with them. You become part of each other's family because for six months of the year you're doing something pretty intense, you know, day after day after day.

DC: You think that those kids got privilege, those black kids who played ball? I mean was there a sense that he plays ball so he's all right?

MG: Explain your question. I'm not sure I understand what you mean.

DC: I mean because, especially if you're winning, people tend to look up to those kids and that might make it an easier, you know, row to hoe than if you're a [non-athlete] black student in that school.

MG: I'm not aware at that time that kids were being treated any differently in the classroom because they were sports kids. What was clear is that as in any kind of high school environment when you have sort of a pecking order of kids that are cool, some of the cool kids were on the basketball team and some of them were black, right. Now if you go back to PRP now the basketball team is more black than white but there cool kids are still, I meant those basketball kids are still ruling the roost and because they're a lot better than we were back then they're thought of as cooler than we were probably. And the culture is very different and much more African American than it would have been when we were there. So in that sense, my friend Gary who became class vice president, was that one of the things that made him known, that he was an

all-state linebacker for the football team? Absolutely, no doubt about it. Did that make him one of the kids people noticed in the hallway when they walked by? Yeah, I'm sure. You know what I mean? Physical size, jersey, you know what I mean, a sense of bonding with other people with jerseys on the pep rally days, that kind of stuff, yeah, sure. But I don't think there's anything unusual about that. It's just you can, I don't know as much what the experience would have been like for just an average student who was not an athlete. You know what I mean? Although again a school as big as PRP has lots of other places for them to plug in if they had something that they were interested in after school, right, to be able to find some sense of being on a team or being part of something. What I remember about their life is their life was hard because again, especially in that eighth and ninth grade year we didn't practice directly after school, right. The varsity got the gym and the junior varsity or maybe the girl's team had the other gym, we had two gyms, then the junior varsity, then the freshmen, then the eighth graders. So we were sometimes practicing at five-thirty or six o'clock at night. So my recollection is a lot of times they were stuck hanging around the school for three or four hours before we practiced and then someone had to get them home after that.

DC: Right. Was there public transport? I mean how would they get home afterwards?

MG: I do not remember the details. I think that sometimes there was a bus and sometimes the coaches took them home. I don't remember. And I suspect if you go there now it would still be the same that sometimes there's something organized. I think there was a bus that ran at certain times but because we were doing stuff later I

think a lot of times the coach was taking them home. But I'd have to ask. I don't even remember.

DC: Anything I haven't asked you about that comes to mind when you think of that period?

MG: Yeah, there are a couple of things that you should ask or should ask other people. One is to remember that it wasn't just the students that were integrated. It was the faculty. So we had a science teacher who was African American who was as nice as he could be but who was utterly unprepared to be teaching the class that he was teaching, right. And it's very interesting to go back and look at the things that you signal to people not directly but indirectly because if you put a black teacher in front of me and it's the first black teacher I've had and they're the least prepared teacher I've ever had in front of me, you are not sending me the signal that this person is someone who deserves respect or who is equal to the others that I've got. Now again, you've got to give them a chance to get in the classroom, to do what they want, and who knows why. Maybe there was just some scheduling snafu at the last minute. They had to teach this class and they weren't prepared. Utterly nice guy, I have nothing, you know what I mean, but just utterly unprepared to teach science to an advanced program class, right. And so those are things to probe around those kinds of issues about what was the teaching part like and how did that change the school and when you talk to the teachers what was the faculty room like and, you know, how did they divvy up those because I know nothing about that. I was just a kid, right. But I remember that you experience it that way and you say boy, oh boy, you know, the teachers that shaped my life at PRP were white, period. Now again I didn't have that

many black teachers but the couple that I can think of that I had were very unimpressive. My guess is if I went back now that would not be true. You know what I mean? I think that again we've worked very hard to raise those standards and the level of achievement for everybody. But that was not a particularly impressive lesson to send me when I was that age.

DC: And it made an impression truly.

MG: Yeah, and I still remember it. You know what I mean? I still remember it. I'm trying to think of anything else that you should ask me. The other thing that you should ask is was there any interracial dating at that time?

DC: Great question.

MG: Because I remember and again, you know, you're this sort of liberal kid in the Seventies and you're trying and we're talking about crossing these sorts of divides so crossing the divide of having Gary come to my house or crossing these divides of being in the shower with kids together, you know what I mean, or hanging out after a game and, you know, doing social things together, so all these taboos and all these kinds of things. Well again, if you go to PRP now it is utterly integrated and there are black and white kids dating and getting together and there's a member of my own family her boyfriend is African America. They've had a little baby together, the birthday's tomorrow. He is a part of our family. It is so absolutely transformational the difference one generation, right, that that's where I just want to make sure you understand when I say that these things are really, that the playing field is level. It is incredible how much integration, not desegregation, how much integration you see at PRP today. But when you go back and interview people it would be interesting to ask

at what point do you remember seeing that, at what point do you remember thinking about that? Because there were a couple of very cute cheerleaders that I remember thinking about and you would play out in your mind now what in the world would that be like and what in the world would that be like if I brought this person home? I also remember thinking to myself now would you be doing this because you like them or because they're black and having that internal conversation in your head. If this person were white would you be wanting to go out with them or is there a certain amount of exoticness going on here? And again, to my recollection, again I was an eighth grader so I would have been there for five years, I cannot remember any major person of one race dating someone of the other race. So it'd be interesting to try to find out when did that happen, when did that start happening? I mean if there was a group of athletes and student government people or whoever you think the cool people are or even just the ordinary people, like at what point did that happen? Does somebody remember it and at what point did it hit a tipping point where it became the norm or became sort of acceptable that nobody really paid much attention to, because I don't know but I don't remember that happening. I remember thinking about it. I remember, you know, thinking that you may be getting a crush on this person or not but thinking to yourself now boy, oh boy, can you imagine the amount of anxiety this will cause, the amount of roads that you're going to be crossing here and being very worried about that.

DC: Were there other areas besides dating where you'd sort of see that line or is that kind of *the* line for you?

MG: I think that's *the* line that I can think of because most of the other lines you're forced to cross. I mean again you're taking showers together, you're playing on teams together, you're in classes together, you're competing together, do you know what I mean, so all of those things. You're having black and white teachers, you've got black and white students. Everything else about it is integrated without you choosing it so you have to go back and you'll have to do a little bit of work. There may be some area of choice that I'm leaving out where you would choose to be integrated or it could of stayed segregated but the dating thing is the one that comes to mind, especially because it's so profoundly on your shoulders when you're in high school. Who do you like, who likes you, you know, that kind of silly stuff that I remember thinking about that and I couldn't have been alone in thinking about that.

DC: Do you remember your prom? Was it integrated?

MG: I do remember my prom and I don't remember a single multi racial couple. Now I could be wrong about that because it was a long time ago and when you're at the prom you don't have that much on your mind. You know what I mean?

DC: Sure, sure.

MG: But I don't remember it and I think I remember enough of this stuff that if it had been there I would remember it.

DC: I'm interested because it sounds like, you know, the social area is sort of where the lines aren't crossed to some extent. You're playing with these guys but maybe not going to their houses on the weekend.

MG: Right.

DC: Not dating the cute black cheerleader.

MG: Yes.

DC: There could be say a black officer in the student cabinet but maybe not a black prom king? Would that be accurate or not?

MC: I don't think that's right because the prom king or the prom queen or homecoming and stuff could all be completely voluntarily and people could choose. For all I know, I mean Dawn Gee was class president.

DC: Oh, she was?

MC: Yeah, and my sister was one of the officers. I may be wrong about that. Dawn was one of the officers. I can't remember if she was class president. At some point in the mix I think she was the class president but she was clearly an officer. So people were able to vote for those kinds of things so I don't think it's that kind of social thing. I think it's when was it that you started going home with them or they started going home with you in sort of a regular way because again remember for the most part at that age your friends are the people that are in your neighborhood. And again, we struggle with this at this Brandeis thing all time like how is it that you organize your kid's life to have a friend at school if they live at—

DC: Play dates.

MG: Yeah, and you live in this play date nightmare but it's kind of a nightmare because it doesn't really work and it's very logistically difficult because you don't live next door to each other. The easiest thing is come home, get your bike out, and play with the kid across the street, right. So it's that family interaction and it's also the dating thing and really the two things are hooked together because the first thing you picture when you're dating is oh, God, I'd have to meet her dad or you know

what I mean, what would I do if I was introducing them to my parents? And again, depending on who you get to interview it'd be fun as you interviewed people later in the experience to find out exactly when did that become something that happened or exactly when did it become something that was not even noticed. Do you know what I mean? Because it was probably much later than the late Seventies and the 1980 year that I was there. You know what I mean? But if you go there now you would absolutely be floored at how integrated it is. I mean I've gone to football games and stuff and I've just been absolutely floored at how different the behavior is than it what it was when I was there. So that also reminds me that my guess is we were still mostly sitting at the football game in patches of white and patches of black so that's the other thing to ask about is what do people remember about that? At what point were those groups mixed up without anybody really paying much [attention], because again, if you're in the band, the band's integrated so you're sitting in an integrated [group.] But when you're sitting just by yourself or you're sitting in the lunchroom, who's sitting where and at what point did that become sort of more of a melting pot?

DC: You remember the lunchroom being pretty much cliques?

MG: I honestly don't remember. I don't remember. I mean I mostly remember sitting with kids who were in my class and my class was mostly white but I mean Winfred Washington was black and he was in my class and I'm sure he must have been sitting next to me at lunch sometime. I just don't remember that much, you know what I mean?

DC: I love that. The dating question is great and we will follow up on that. I don't think that has even come up in our brainstorming but I think that's a really interesting area.

MG: Yeah because that's the one where you really start crossing divides and again I'm sure there was some, you know, trailblazer who was out there on both sides that it happened but I honestly don't remember it in the five years I was there. I don't remember it. And again, I don't know when that would have occurred. Again, I don't remember seeing it at Duke when I was there and again at that time if you saw a black person and a white person walking down the street holding hands you would notice it. You notice it now too but less, right, so it's clearly become less unusual. Back then it would have been really, really unusual. Well, who was it that broke that mold? You know what I mean? Those are things I can think of.

DC: Great. Well, I appreciate it very much.

MG: It's good to talk to you.

END OF TAPE 1, SIDE B

END OF INTERVIEW

TRANSCRIBED MARCH 2005 BY CATHY MANN