The University of Baltimore is launching a two-year investigation called "Baltimore'68: Riots and Rebirth," a project centered around the events that followed the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and their effects on the development of our city. UB administration and faculty members in the law school and in the undergraduate departments of history and community studies are planning a series of projects and events to commemorate the 40th anniversary of this pivotal event. We are currently working with the Reginald F. Lewis Museum of Maryland African American History, The Jewish Museum of Maryland, Maryland Public Television and the Enoch Pratt Free Libraries to pursue funding for projects that may include conferences, a website and a library traveling exhibit.

Your potential participation in an oral history project would contribute to the very foundation of this project – the memories of Baltimoreans who lived through the riots and saw the changes that came about in response to them. Your life story can fill in the limited knowledge we learn from newspaper accounts and the television footage.

If you choose to participate in the project you would be interviewed by students from the University of Baltimore. They will ask you questions, but your memories will determine the direction of the interviews.

If you agree to serve as an oral history informant in this project, you will meet with a team of undergraduate students. The students will take a still photograph of you. In addition, if you have a photo of yourself in or around 1968, we would greatly appreciate it if we could borrow it, scan it, and return it. We would reserve the rights to reproduce those photos and use them on the website, conferences, exhibit or publications.

The students may conduct the interviews at a location of your choice, or you may meet them at the University of Baltimore Langsdale Library for your interviews. During the interviews, your recollections will be recorded in two forms: audio and video. The students will be responsible for operating the equipment. You can expect the interviews to last for a minimum of 30 minutes each.

Sometimes talking about events that occurred decades ago will unearth forgotten memories. Undoubtedly, some of those remembrances will be negative. We greatly appreciate your willingness to take the risk of exploring a potentially painful past so that your life experiences will be recorded.

After the interviews the students will transcribe your oral history. They will provide you with a copy of the transcription for your review before the transcription is published. The transcription, video and audio records will be archived in the Langsdale Library Special Collections and will be accessible to the public. Your name will be attached to these documents. The University of Baltimore may use your image and/or your words in any future documentaries, exhibits, conferences or publications. Participants in the oral history project agree to waive their confidentiality.

If at any time you are uncomfortable with participation in the study, you are free to drop out. Participation is strictly voluntary. While your participation is requested and highly valued, you are free to decide whether or not to continue participation at all times. You may decline to have your name published with your reminiscences

If you have any questions about this project, please feel free to contact me at 410-837-5296. Thank you for your participation.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth M. Nix, Ph.D.
Visiting Assistant Professor
History and Community Studies
The University of Baltimore

I have read and understand the information provided above, and consent to participate in the study. I have also been given a copy of the informed consent for my records.

Interview with Yvonne Hardy-Phillips
January 7, 2008; Towson University, Towson, MD
Interviewer: John Schwallenberg
Transcriber: Duane Howard

Schwallenberg: Could you state your full name for the record?

Hardy-Phillips: My name is Yvonne Hardy-Phillips.

Schwallenberg: What was your situation in the late 1960's, say 1967-1968? How old were you? Where did you work? Where did you go to school, things of that nature?

Hardy-Phillips: Okay, 1967… born in '52, 62 and five, so I was fifteen. And in '68 I was sixteen and I was a high-schooler at Eastern High School, which was an all-girls school. At the corner of 33rd [Street] and…

Howard: By the [Memorial Stadium] stadium

Phillips: By the stadium, that's not Loch Raven [Boulevard], right now the other street is evading me. But it's right up near the stadium.

Schwallenberg: Hillen, Hillen Road?

Phillips: No, it's not Hillen.

Howard: It's off of Greenmount [Avenue] and 33rd [Street]

Phillips: But it's 33rd [Street] and…okay, it's trying to come but…

Schwallenberg: Okay, that's okay.

Phillips: So I went to Eastern [High], an all-girls school, that was a good experience, it was, life

was good in Baltimore for us at that age.

Schwallenberg: Was the school segregated by race at the time when you were going there?

Hardy-Phillips: No, Eastern had been desegregated, but there was still some issues, you know, in terms of teacher-student relationships and…I think I remember at that time also we had sort of strict covenants about dress and stuff like that. And we actually protested to get to wear trousers to school which was something we, it was like our class— the class of '71, that's you know, our contribution to the school was to protest the fact that we couldn't wear trousers. But things were changing then and young ladies were wearing pantsuits and jeans were becoming popular and we wanted to wear jeans and pantsuits too.

Howard: Oh yeah. Oh yeah.

Hardy-Phillips: So after that protest then that dress policy was changed.

Schwallenberg: Was that, that was the only big protest or were there any other kind of… that was that a lot of social change going on?

Hardy-Phillips: No, there was a lot of social change and I guess because I've been, always been a student of fashion that's the one that kind of stands out in my, in my mind right now. But we were well aware of what was going on, you know, across the country and in the city because our, you know, the staff and the faculty made sure that we had discussions about social issues.

Schwallenberg: What would you say was the, basically the ratio, generally of black to white in the school at that times you were going there?

Hardy-Phillips: I think at the point it was probably more black than white, then. It seems to me it probably started off as all…in all situations as a gradual change, but then by the time that we got to the late 60's going into the early 70's, then there were more black female students than

there were white, but there still was a good number of them at the school.

Schwallenberg: What about the faculty and staff?

Hardy-Phillips: Most of the faculty was—hmm, that's good. Let me think about that…That, it might have been kind of even because I had white faculty but then I had African-American faculty as well. But maybe it was more white, but I think the leadership of the school was, at that point, black. I think Mrs. Williams was the principal and don't ask me her first name because I can't think of it, but Mrs.Williams whose kind of famous for being the principal at Eastern High School was, you know, an African-American principal.

Schwallenberg: Would that have been before the riots or after that you recall?

Hardy-Phillips: That was after…'cause the riots happened in '68, I graduated in '71, so yeah…

Schwallenberg: And you started there in…?

Hardy-Phillips: '67. '67 to '71.

Schwallenberg: Were there a lot of racial tensions or… in the school?

Hardy-Phillips: No, I wouldn't say that. I think that that was a time when we as young people were just discovering the world and if you remember now we had the social movements like the "Flower Power," you know, movement and people were hippies and we were discovering rock music and so you had, that was a, that's…and see, for me being a person of the arts, those are the transitions that I remember most. It's like going from listening to Motown and the, you know, the Four Tops and The Temptations to seeing my first concert with Jimi Hendrix.

Schwallenberg: Where did you go to see the concert?

Hardy-Phillips: Down at the Civic Center and I had a new boyfriend at the time who was just very extraordinary, very forward-thinking and always exploring other kind of cultural offerings. And so he discovered rock music, so it was, from there it was like Cream and Jimi Hendrix. And then at the time the Civic Center was fairly new structure so it was getting all of the big concerts through. So we saw everybody from Jefferson Airplane to…to, like I said, Jimi Hendrix I saw twice— I think in '66 and '67, the summers of both of those we saw him— so everybody came through. That was when really they did fabulous concerts at the Civic Center.

Howard: Sly and the Family Stone?

Hardy-Phillips: I saw Sly and the Family Stone. I saw, like I said, Jefferson Airplane, we saw Jimi Hendrix twice - you pretty much name it then, the big rock groups, we saw it.

Howard: Right, they came to the Civic Center.

Hardy-Phillips: They came to the Civic Center and we were always right there.

Howard: And it was a new building, not like the old…yeah.

Hardy-Phillips: It was a new building and downtown was a, was a destination. You remember we had Howard Street was…I mean Howard, shopping on Howard Street was really no different to me than going to New York on Madison Avenue. You had the Hutzler's department store which was really upscale and had literally everything that you can imagine from a… almost a white glove service counter, for having lunch, to, you know, the best fashions that you can imagine, beautiful gift wrap presents. I used to love downtown.

And then the Hecht Company was on one corner, you had Hutzler's, Stewart's, and Hoschild-Kohn's. I mean it, and then, surrounding it were a myriad of small fashion shops that had specific offerings— like there was one that sold only gloves and hats. So you could get a pair of gloves in there from every shade of purple imaginable, you know. So, and I don't remember when you couldn't shop and try on clothes in those stores. That was my mother's

generation when all you could do was go in the store, pick out something, hope it fit, take it home.

When I came through I used to try on stuff all the time, you know, and it was just like the place we used to…we had a destination every Saturday. We would go downtown to eat lunch and just roam.

Howard: Hang out with your friends?

Hardy-Phillips: Just hang out. We would meet from like, all over the city and then I had a really best friend that lived next door to me on Harford Avenue and he was going to Art school…no, no he was at City College [High School]. I was Eastern, and he was in the Arts program there and we as girls, if you were an art major you went to City everyday for two hours because it was a concentrated art program. So we would go to City College across the street for our art teaching. So we used to meet on Saturday and we would go downtown and just roam, because you could. You know, it was just, it was open,

Howard: Sure.

Hardy-Phillips: I mean, in and out of department stores, we had friends that worked in stores and we just…it was, it was different. I feel so sorry for these kids that just don't have the freedom to explore the world that they live in now— I really feel for them.

Howard: So, so you went to a all girl school –what was, what was your rivals? Like, who'd you mix with at the dances and stuff like that?

Hardy-Phillips: Well…

Howard: Was there a boys school that…

Hardy-Phillips: Well, I had friends that were from schools all over the city. I had friends that

went to Edmondson [High School], and, and remember back then most of the schools were pretty good. Now I was at one of the premiere schools—'cause you know that was Eastern [High School], Western [High School], Poly [Baltimore Polytechnic Institute] and City [Baltimore City College High School]

Howard: Kay.

Hardy-Phillips: Which is still pretty much is in the public school system. But Northern [High School] was a good school, Edmondson was a good school. I mean, there were hardly any bad high schools, they were all, you know. What was it? Forest Park [High School] was pretty good. The only schools that we were like—we don't go there—like Southern [High School], you wouldn't go to Southern, and besides, Southern was mostly white. And it was in a poorer neighborhood than the neighborhoods that we lived in. So I didn't know people that went to Southern

Schwallenberg: Okay.

Hardy-Phillips: But the other high schools, we had friends from all of them and we used to meet to go to parties at the Famous Ballroom. Never heard of it, have you?

Howard: Yes

Hardy-Phillips: Yes. On North…

Howard: I was married there.

Hardy-Phillips: Get out of here! You were?

Howard: Yes I was.

Hardy-Phillips: Oh my goodness! On North Charles Street we used to have…

Howard: Had my reception there.

Hardy-Phillips: We used to have these high school parties, like for Christmas holiday and Thanksgiving. Oh, they were the best! Oh my God, we used to have so much fun!

Howard: Dressed up and all that?

Hardy-Phillips: Dressed up and all of that.

Howard: Did you hook-up?

Hardy-Phillips: All, everybody was hooked and you would say to your friends two weeks before the party, "What are you wearing?"

Howard: Sure.

Hardy-Phillips: And people would go, "I don't know." And I used to sew so I made all of my outfits and my boyfriend, Robbie Thompson's sister Maria, she, her whole family and her mother and all of her sisters sewed. So we would just have like a contest, like who was gonna make the best outfit. Right? And we used to meet at the Famous Ballroom for the Thanksgiving Dance and the Christmas Dance…I'm…I don't think young people can have more fun than we had.

Howard: Now at these parties were there…was it all black, was it different [races]...

Hardy-Phillips: No. It was…it was pretty much all black.

Howard: Black. Did you ever mix with any other races or ethnic, ethnic [groups]?

Hardy-Phillips: Well, yeah. No, no, no. Absolutely because hanging downtown and now listening to rock music…

Howard: Right, that's what I was thinking.

Hardy-Phillips: We were hanging on Read Street

Howard: Okay

Hardy-Phillips: And on Park Avenue—which was like, then I became a hippie. So it went from hanging out at the Famous Ballroom listening to the DJ play The Temptations and The Four Tops, and just dancing James Brown's, "Say it loud, I'm black and I'm proud," until you were just like, covered with sweat –and it didn't matter because everybody just, you stayed on the dance floor. You just…it was tribal. Right? But then, as I'm moving into this rock period with my new boyfriend,

Howard: Sure, sure.

Hardy-Phillips: Now we're dressing up like hippies with jeans on and feathers in your hair and all that stuff. And we'd go on down to Read Street. And then they had all of these little boutiques and everything down there. And now all of the white county kids that wanted to be hippies were coming down in the city and we would meet on those two blocks and it was almost like a festival every Saturday. It was a festival. And there'd be like, hundreds of kids just milling around, up one side of the street and down the other.

Howard: No problems.

Hardy-Phillips: No problems.

Howard: No drama.

Hardy-Phillips: No drama. And then you would leave there and walk down to Park Avenue because then we had the Bead Experience, you know, the Bead is in the Rotunda [shopping center]. That's Edi and Idi whatever their last names are. They had one of the first "Head Shops," you know, that sold all the fringe clothes, and paraphernalia, and the music and everything. So you were hanging and right next door was another one, it was the Bead and…dang, what was that other store called? I can't think of it. But they had two like, they had like two floors and so, but it was really kind of like a hangout, like all the hippie kids would come downtown and we would be all dressed like Jimi Hendrix and I mean, it was really bizarre. And so you'd just go in, you would buy stuff, but then if you didn't have any money to buy stuff it didn't matter 'cause you were just hanging out. And the street was full of kids—up and down, up and down—you'd just go up one side of the street and come down the other. You did this all day long.

Schwallenberg: Did you have problems with the police at all?

Hardy-Phillips: No, it was none of that. We were just free to be. We were just free to be who we were. What we were experiencing and what we were trying to experience as like, new to us especially as black teenagers. I mean that was…

Howard: Public Transportation? You caught the buses?

Hardy-Phillips: Caught the bus…

Howard: Free to just go.

Hardy-Phillips: And hitchhiked too! Like, if we had parties to go to…

Howard: Yeah.

Hardy-Phillips: I mean, 'cause that's what you saw in…What was the movie then? What did Jimi Hendrix do? The, the one it was Woodstock, of course and you saw a lot of people hitchhiking in Woodstock, and then he did that thing out on the West Coast that I wanted to see by myself. You know what I'm talking about. What was that, that big concert they had that was on the ocean? Dang, it'll come to us, but it was a big one, it was a huge one. And that was the first time Jimi Hendrix played the American Anthem with his guitar and just…

Howard: The National Anthem.

Hardy-Phillips: The National Anthem, and freaked everybody out, I mean, he just freaked out. The world was like, "Whoa!" Dangit, it almost came to me. I can't…But anyway, so, so then that means that we're hanging with our black friends, but then we got this whole other thing going too. And nobody was telling you [that] you couldn't do— you did what you wanted to do. If you wanted to hang with your friends today, your black friends, you did. You'd go to a party, you'd have fun with them. And then next Saturday, you get up, if you wanted to put on your hippie gear and go downstairs...downtown to Park Avenue and hang out for the rest of the day, you did that too. And nobody got upset with you, there was no, "God, why are you with them? What does this mean?" Your politics, it was like, no, we're just being…we're free to be.

Howard: Exactly.

Hardy-Phillips: I'm doing what I want to do, and like, just understand.

Duane: Back downtown to the shopping areas or something, they weren't having sit-ins or that type of thing was going on? When you shopped in there, did you go to a different [segregated section]?

Hardy-Phillips: Nope.

Howard: Was there segregation in the shopping.

Hardy-Phillips: No, nope, nope, nope. I don't remember any of that, none of that when I was coming through.

Howard: No separate facilities for shopping at that time?

Hardy-Phillips: No, no…and we started going downtown to shop…oh, I was probably fifteen, like, so that was the summer'66 - '67, it…no it was earlier than that 'cause I'm an only child so I've always been out in the world.

Howard: Sure, sure.

Hardy-Phillips: 'Cause there weren't too many people to keep you home, you know, it was boring.

Howard: Exactly.

Hardy-Phillips: So and my friend had two brothers, but he was also like that. We were kind of always like, exploring our world and we'd go a little bit further every time, we just kept pushing the envelope. So no, we were starting to go out when I…when we were thirteen. And I was, because I sewed, I was always going out to buy fabric and so that means that you had to go to places where they sold what it was you needed…

Howard: Exactly.

Hardy-Phillips: …To do whatever it is that you did.

Howard: Sure. The fabric and all that stuff.

Hardy-Phillips: Mhm. Fabric. And he was an artist, so he was always in the art store buying…

Howard: Thrift shops and all?

Hardy-Phillips: Yeah. Oh! Thrift...Oh man! Come on! See? It just, yes! We were thrifters, we would go up to North Avenue and Harford [Avenue] to the thrift shop there.

Howard: Alright.

Hardy-Phillips: And then there were other ones all around. So then you were starting to see you know, white kids coming out, 'cause everybody's wearing, like, the old stuff. That's, as a hippie that's what you wore, you didn't even want new clothes. New clothes were not something you wanted to wear. And then of course they started making new clothes look like old clothes.

Howard: Old clothes. Sure, sure.

Hardy-Phillips: So then like…Okay, we can go with that. Yeah! You're right! Thrifting and making clothes, and cutting off jeans, and making skirts and stuff…

Howard: So there was no racism for you, you had no racial tension at all?

Hardy-Phillips: I didn't have any

Howard: Okay.

Hardy-Phillips: Sort of like at school…I didn't.

Howard: Fantastic. That's fantastic.

Hardy-Phillips: I mean, I really didn't, not for me personally. It seems like I remember some stuff between teachers and students in school, but not enough to really… identify as racist. Or

maybe you knew it was, but it wasn't such that you felt like it was gonna hold back your progress or anything.

Schwallenberg: Where did you live at the time?

Hardy-Phillips: On Harford [Avenue] and Biddle [Street]. We had, we had… but see, I have to tell you I understood about racism and the "powers that be" from the experiences of my parents and mostly my mother. Because my mother was a fledgling business person back there in '66. And I think that's where it really came from, where I knew that these forces were out there and they weren't always in your, in your… in your corner. And we had to move…My parents…Well let's see. Okay. When I was born, my mother and father moved with my grandparents to Barclay—Greenmount, right in the 2000 block of Barclay Street. And we had a really wonderful house that had a big yard. My grandparents had a house that had a side entrance and then a big yard. And then her sister went across the yard and bought the other house with a side entrance and a big yard. So that meant us kids had a huge compound to play in.

Howard: Compound, I like that.

Hardy-Phillips: So, yeah we never had to stay in the house

Howard: Right.

Hardy-Phillips: 'Cause we didn't go outside our yard 'cause at that time, you didn't need to. You had more than enough space in your yard to play all day long and to do whatever that you wanted to do. So, that's where I pretty much grew up. And then my mother and father bought a house in Wallbrook Junction. And when they bought that house in Wallbrook Junction that must have been like, '57, 1957. So what would that make me? Five?

Howard: Yeah.

Hardy-Phillips: Yeah. That was probably about ’57. And that was one of the years they had a— we had a huge snow here, might’ve been like a snow blizzard—of ’57? I think it was. When the snow was this tall (*gestures height of snow).* It was so tall, when they cut a swatch, a path from the door down to the car, I couldn’t see over it. Five years, I was that tall (*gestures again)* right? So they moved to West Baltimore and at the time, we actually had still had whites on the block where she moved. What she didn’t know, and it was a lovely Cape Cod cottage with nice grounds and even had, it even had a, like, stone shed house in the back where you could put your tools and stuff like that— it was lovely. But what she didn’t know was that because there were no houses across the street is because the city had already acquired that property to build Walbrook High School.

Schwallenberg: I see. Okay.

Hardy-Phillips: And she didn’t know that. She did not know that. So all of her dreams were in this house and we lived there for about ten years, and then the notice came that it was going to be “eminent domain,” and my mother was so hurt. She kind of never recovered from that. And so we went from that house, and because they were still paying for it they…she might have gotten relocation funds but, you know, how did you know how to fight it, you just didn’t know what to do, right?

Howard: Sure, sure.

Hardy-Phillips: So we moved from there to Pimlico in an apartment which was really…it wasn’t really a comedown because it was a brand new apartment so she was kind of okay with that. And then she got a job working with Aetna Casualty Insurity, which is a big… and I wish she had stayed there. I’m telling you, I think if she had stayed there, she probably could have been one of those black women that could have broken through in terms of management, I do believe that. And, but she wanted to own her own business, she just wanted to. So she took her savings, she worked there for about a year and a half, and got...and everybody was crazy about her, she was absolutely beautiful, she really fit in, she looked like management material, and she

had moved up a couple of areas, she started in the mailroom. And you know, for a lot of people starting in the mailroom is the right place to start because you get to know everybody in the corporation, right?

Howard: Exactly

Hardy-Phillips: And people were…they just liked her up and down the scale. But she had this notion that she wanted to be in business ‘cause she had done it when she was eighteen. She had bought a small business and she just wanted to do that. And she had been a day worker, household worker for Jewish people out in Pikesville and they were always business owners, so that whole business thing was always in her face. And she was like, “No, I just really want my own business.” So she took the money that she earned from Aetna, saved it up, and started her own business and I…you know what? I didn’t bring any…I’m gonna have to bring that stuff so you can see it. ‘Cause I have…she was one of the first…actually, I think she was the first black in the new *Baltimore* magazine, that first issue that they published. She had an article in it. In *Baltimore* magazine. She had a full article. And her…and she named her business Mr…no. East Side Sub Shop.

Schwallenberg: What was your mom’s name?

Hardy-Phillips: Doris Hardy, Doris E. Hardy. Her first business was East Side Sub Shop, which was on the Southwest corner of Harford [Avenue] and Biddle [Street]. At that time, if you know anything about that Harford Road corridor, that was a commercial corridor. There were businesses all up and down Harford Road, they’re not... below North Avenue. They’re not there now because they put all those new houses there, you know, along that way. But that was all business - you had a funeral parlor, you had…Sears was the anchor store right there at North [Avenue] and Charles [Street]…North and

Howard: Harford [Avenues].

Hardy-Phillips: Harford [Avenue]. And then below that we had funeral parlors, we had all kind of little eateries, you had hardware stores, you had green grocers, you had little small markets...

Howard: Different ethnic mixes? Was it…

Hardy-Phillips: Yeah, there were whites. Yeah most of em…

Howard: Italians and were there any Greeks or?...

Hardy-Phillips: No, most of…most of the businesses were Jewish and white at that point, right? And black. All up on both sides of the street and it was only a two-lane street, going north.

Schwallenberg: And this was the Harford Avenue part?

Hardy-Phillips: Harford Avenue below North [Avenue]. So between… from Gay Street to North Avenue, there were businesses all up and down that street from Ensor-Gay [area]… Ensor [Street], Ensor snakes on up, businesses everywhere… So my…and bars, of course. And bars. But they were good neighborhood bars.

Howard: Yeah.

Schwallenberg: Sure.

Hardy-Phillips: My dad used to tell me how…

Howard: Watering holes.

Hardy-Phillips: Yeah! My dad…neighborhood. Neighborhood. Where you could go in there and, "Norm!" You know what I mean? Everybody knew everybody. And my dad said when he

was young, he said there were little neighborhood clubs all over East Baltimore and West Baltimore.

Howard: Oh yeah.

Hardy-Phillips: And people used to literally get dressed up on Friday night after work…

Howard: Cabarets. Cabarets. Oh yeah.

Hardy-Phillips: And the men used to go home after getting off of their grubby jobs, take a quick bath, and put on their little "sweetwater [high-waisted linen] suits," and all go together to their favorite neighborhood club to start the evening. Then they would kind of hop from…and they always had bands in 'em, really good bands. I mean really good house bands. And he said they used to have so much fun. So…So, these are East Baltimore people born— not born, 'cause my dad was born in North Carolina. But, I mean, grown up and bred. And so they had a real love of East Baltimore. So she opens up East Side Sub Shop and she worked it from '66 to '71 when she moved across the street. Now she is on the East, Southeast corner. And she did that because at the time…I thought…For a minute I thought that was my building. That yellow one. Isn't that funny? One time it was yellow like that. I said, what? But I've got pictures of all of it 'cause she took pictures of everything. My mother took pictures of everything.

So, she moved because of the urban renewal. And the fact that right there at Harford [Avenue] and Biddle [Street] there— do you remember hearing about that…that portion of the 83 [Jones Falls Expressway] that was supposed to go through Fells Point and all that? They were getting ready to just tear Fells Point up and put this big highway through. Well somehow or another our blocks was configured in something that was gonna feed into that. And so right there at Harford [Avenue] and Biddle [Street], on that South-Southeast corner, they were gonna do some kind of cut…some kind of round off, and so they… she had to move.

Howard: Again?

Hardy-Phillips: That, no. This was the first time she moved the business from one side [of the street] to the other. She… Yeah, you're right, again. You see what I'm saying? It was heart-wrenching that she had to move, but she had enough money at that point not a lot, but she had enough money at that point and…that she could take the… buy the building across the street and renovate it to her specifications, which she did. And she made this really cute, really cute sandwich shop that she renamed East Side's Mr. Sub-It. That was the business that was featured in the first issue of *Baltimore* magazine.

Schwallenberg: Okay.

Hardy-Phillips: I mean, they did a nice three-page story on her and my dad – they're in it, right? So, that's how we got back to East Baltimore after we had moved west and then northwest to Pimlico, and then we came back east because she wanted to open up this business, you see.

Schwallenberg: Where was it in 1968, the business?

Hardy-Phillips: Right. It was on that Southeast corner. It was on the Southeast corner and the day, the weekend of those riots…What…What days were the riots?

Schwallenberg: April.

Hardy-Phillips: But I'm saying, it was April 5th?

Schwallenberg: April 3rd ,4th, 5th.

Howard: Yes.

Hardy-Phillips: And what days were those?

Howard and Schwallenberg: Thursday.

Schwallenberg: Thursday through…

Hardy-Phillips: Through the weekend.

Schwallenberg: Right.

Hardy-Phillips: Right. Well, after…after Dr. King got killed, we…I mean you just heard all kind of stuff in the neighborhood, you know?

Howard: Do you remember where you were when you heard it?

Hardy-Phillips: Where was I? I remember where I was when I heard that John F. Kennedy got killed; I was in school. And I remember the teacher pulling the TV in and hooking it up and we watched the news.

Howard: That was ’63 for the [President John F.] Kennedy [Assasination].

Hardy-Phillips: Yeah. But when Dr. King got killed, I can’t really remember where I was, I can’t remember.

Howard: Okay, no problem. No problem.

Hardy-Phillips: But I remember that my mother’s…and this another kind of funny story, ‘cause our business was also like the family hub, and the family was always in and out, eating and saying, “Hi Doris,” and, I mean, it was like…it was like a gathering place, right? ‘Cause she had a few chairs—stools out front, but then she had taken a back section and sort of made a dining room out of it. So she had about five or six little white tables back there with little nice little café chairs and…so our family sort of just hung at my mother’s business. I mean, and my grandmother lived down the street, so that was a natural. She worked with my mother. So we

remember when he was assassinated how we were all brokenhearted, I kind of remember that part. I don't remember where I was when I first heard but I remember the rumblings about the riots starting to go through the neighborhood. Because there was a white business across the street from us on the Northwest corner and they were green grocers. So there was some concern for all of the businesses 'cause we knew that this wasn't going to be good, this was not going to be good. And so we heard from people like, you need to put "Soul Brother" [signs] on your window or hang some black cloth, or something to let people know you are a black business and not something else.

And I think the riots started on Gay Street and we remember going out the door 'cause the building—that corner is like a hill, and then you can see all of downtown— going outside and seeing all that smoke that was coming up from Gay Street. And my mother's cousin—we called him Shorty 'cause he was a dwarf— and he was working with my mother and we just…it was such a fun place to be.

Howard: Sure.

Hardy-Phillips: I used to work there after school, when I'd come home from Eastern [High School], and then I had two girlfriends that would work there, and because my mother and my grandmother worked so hard, they had to have some kind of break in the evening. So we would come and she paid me $25 a week to work after school, so I always had my own money, too. That's how I could go buy my outfits and things.

Howard: Clothes, there you go.

Hardy-Phillips: Right, 'cause I had my own money. I mean…

Howard: Get your hair done, all that stuff.

Hardy-Phillips: Right, she paid us to work. Right? Me and my girlfriends. And then, of course, oh this is the other part. Now, think about this: all of these teenage girls, so who do you think

were a lot of the customers?

Howard: Boys.

Hardy-Phillips: Teenage boys, right.

Howard: Teenage boys. That's right.

Hardy-Phillips: Okay, now my mother was not stupid, right? So all the boys in the neighborhood after they would play basketball for the evening and next thing you know they coming up to the sub shop buying… and it really did work, it worked.

So we remember seeing the smoke on Gay Street and then my mom, it just felt like panic for everybody, 'cause you…I mean, these are hordes of people, they're emotionally out of control and then some of them are just criminals, they'll take any excuse to start some stuff, and you know that, right? So they…they literally besieged Gay Street and then my mother kept running back and Shorty kept running back and forth to the door saying, "Doris, I hear they're coming, I hear they're coming." We were like, "Oh my goodness, they're coming!" I mean, really. People were running around saying, "They're coming," 'cause this was like a horde of people that was moving together. And my mother, I think had put "Soul Brother," or something signs in the windows. But she…she had, at that time they had grates on the windows anyway, but she had "Soul Brother," on the window and I remember as they were coming, 'cause then you started seeing more and more people trickling, there was like an advance of folk coming. And then she was like, "Okay, we gotta lock the door now." And so they locked the door. And Shorty and I and my mother we were sitting there, like on the radiator looking outside. It was like, "Oh my God! Where are these people coming from?" And they were sort of rushing past, rushing past the door. And I don't think they attacked the white green grocer business across from us. I don't think that they had any problems. I don't know if Crown's Food Market had any problems, I just don't remember. But I do remember this horde of people coming through and you just…like, "Wow, What in the world?"

Howard: Noisy, yelling, cussing, what...?

Hardy-Phillips: Sort of noisy…

Howard: Do you remember that?

Hardy-Phillips: But I don't remember.

Howard: Okay, right

Hardy-Phillips: I sort of don't remember, but that was when all the fires were being set that day. So it's sort of like…it… I don't know, I don't think, sometime I don't think when they're doing stuff like that, they might not be making a lot of noise, it's sort of like the aftermath when people are just wild.

Howard: Sure, sure, yeah.

Hardy-Phillips: I mean, so I don't remember a lot of noise, I just remember this throng of folks sort of heading north from Gay Street 'cause they had already set it all…the whole thing on fire, right? And people carrying stuff. Then the next day, we went over to my grandmother's house because now you're starting to hear about the curfew, and that there's a curfew coming. But it hadn't been instituted yet. And so, I can't remember how I got to my grandmother's house because now she's…this is Harford [Avenue] and Biddle [Street] and she's up at Barclay [Street]. So my girlfriends, who had been working with us that day before, 'cause they were in from West Baltimore; I met them when we lived in Walbrook Junction, so we stayed friends and we're still friends till today, forty-some years later. They went with me to my grandmother's house to spend the weekend. Or maybe it was because they couldn't get home anyway.

Howard: Right.

Hardy-Phillips: ‘Cause all up and down North Avenue there was problems everywhere so you just really couldn’t make that cross…cross-town kind of traveling thing. I, I remember being at my grandmother’s and hearing on the news that they were calling out the National Guard and we were like, “Whoa, the National Guard, oh my goodness!” And my grandmother was like, “Don’t go out, there’s a curfew.” I think my father like maybe brought us provisions and stuff like that, but… But my dad was a Baltimorean, brave man, had his own car. So as long as the curfew wasn’t on he was still on the street, right? He…you couldn’t make him stay home. So I sort of remember the night the National Guard marched down our street, on Barclay Street. It felt like something out of the *Twilight Zone* to see the National Guard. And my grandmother said, “Don’t get up in that window.” But we heard ‘em coming from like a block away. (*She pounds the table, mimicking marching).* You heard this marching sound ‘cause it was quiet as a mouse. Now this is curfew so nobody’s outside and it was dark. And we ran upstairs anyway and got in the front window and looked out. And I remember having the blades…the blinds down with my girlfriend and I, we’re in the window looking out and I just couldn’t believe that the National Guard was about, maybe they were about six or ten across marching down Barclay Street. And we looked at it; we were like, “Whoa, what does this mean?” ‘Cause they had taken over the city, they had to, it was so out of control. They…they felt like there was nothing they could do to regain control of the city so they called in the National Guard. So then…that was probably Saturday. And then Sunday we ventured out, ‘cause now we want to see.

Howard: Sure.

Hardy-Phillips: ‘Cause the city’s been burning for two days, two or three days, the curfew is… It seemed like things had just calmed down enough that people could now come out on Sunday morning. And it just felt right that you should come out on Sunday morning, it’s Sunday morning— you can’t, I mean you can’t be stuck in your house on….

Howard: The Lord’s day.

Hardy-Phillips: Yeah! It’s the Lord’s day, if you’re not going to go to church you can still come

out. I mean, who can keep us in the house on Sunday morning, right? So my girlfriends and I, we got up and put our clothes on and my grandmother said: "Don't get into any trouble, don't go into any…, just don't get into anything." But I think I remember she kind of trusted us to go out, 'cause if she hadn't, we wouldn't have been able to go out. But we said, "No, we just wanna go look. We wanna see what happened."

So we went round on Greenmount [Avenue], like Greemount and North [Avenue]. It was a mess. It was a absolute catastrophe. There was debris all over the place; there was water pooling and nasty ashy water all over the place where the firemen had been around there putting out the fires, and people were still going into the grocery stores and the little… 'Cause we, 'cause there were a lot of businesses right there, too, between… all up and down Greenmount Avenue. Except once you got to the cemetery then there weren't that many. But starting at North Avenue, it was a real vibrant neighborhood; we had a big drug store right there at the corner of… North [Avenue], it was the Northwest corner, was a big drug store, where you could go and sit down to eat and everything. And then across from that was a bar, a bar that you could sit down but also carry out. And then the other corner, catty-corner, was the…catty-corner was the cemetery, and then across from that was some other kind of carryout business. But these were all businesses really doing business, I mean, it was vibrant. And that was sort of like the crossroads of town for black people. So you had the, you know, you had the bus, bus depot kind of things where lots of buses—the fifteen, the nineteen, and the thirteen [bus routes]…

Howard: Right.

Hardy-Phillips: …Stopped right there at that corner, so there was a lot of traffic, you know? So we went out and we just…the devastation, the stench of the smoke, people still looting— it was amazing. But we just wanted to see what was going on.

Howard: So, where were the [National] Guards? They had they moved on?

Hardy-Phillips: Oh yeah, they had moved on then. Things had quieted down and, and no… Yeah, they had moved on.

Howard: And when you said they were marching in your neighborhood, they…they…

Hardy-Phillips: That was on…

Howard: ...They marched en route to somewhere else.

Hardy-Phillips: That was…or just a show of strength, or something. Because it was the curfew. There was nobody, unless you were out there looting and, you know, making trouble, there was nothing for 'em to do, not a whole lot to do then. But I just remember them [the National Guardsmen] coming down, coming down Barclay Street. And then, the next day— that must have been a Saturday and then…or a Friday, I can't remember— but then that Sunday was when we finally ventured out…

Howard: Got out.

Hardy-Phillips: …And saw all the loot, the devastation and all. And then I remember also probably that day or the next couple of days, my mom and dad got in their car and they just drove around. And still lots of people milling and looting, and you saw a lot of people with carts, refrigerators in the carts and you know… They… I don't know, it was just like this psyche just broke loose and they were just… They were going on, just adrenaline, and they got caught up. You know, sometimes people get caught up in the riot…

Howard: Sure, sure. "Mob mentality."

Hardy-Phillips: Yeah. They don't even really want to know why they're there, but once you get caught up in it, you just go with the flow. So there was lots of carts with stuff all piled up and, and boy they hit the liquor stores first off. Lots of Courvoisier and…

Howard: Top-shelf.

Hardy-Phillips: Courvoisier! Yeah, top-shelf drinks. You know, two, three cases of beer on the cart. I'm….it was like… See that? Now why out of everything that you can get, why would you just go in there and like, steal the liquor? Go get the baby some clothes! You know what I mean? But, I mean, people just were getting what they could get.

Howard: You've been doing a lot of talking. Wanna take a little break?

Hardy-Phillips: Yeah, 'cause I think my mouth's getting a little dry.

(Takes a break)

Hardy-Phillips: Okay I went to Robert Poole Junior High School.

Howard: And the question is, when did you first start going to school with other races?

Hardy-Phillips: Right. And when was that? What was that? '63? We had. Back then we had a choice of—you went to your neighborhood school, which was Clifton Park—I couldn't go to Clifton Park, I couldn't fight, and I didn't have any brothers or sisters to like, bring up there and protect me or something. It was really not my, it wasn't a kind of place I could go to school.

Howard: It was a bad school?

Hardy-Phillips: Yeah, it was, it was.

Schwallenberg: Okay.

Hardy-Phillips: And it wasn't horrible, it's just the kids liked to fight. I mean, it just, and I just really wasn't into that. And so, my cousins, like I told you, that live across the fence from us, they went, we all went to Robert Poole, which was across town in Hampden. And now Hampden

is like, a really gentrified neighborhood, but back then Hampden was a poor working class neighborhood. And so we got permission to go to Robert Poole, [School Number] 56, I think it was the number. And so we had to take the number ten [bus], the number thirteen [bus], and then the ten up to Robert Poole off 36th Street. Now that's really where I learned about prejudice. How could I forget that? I mean, we were tortured as kids. And…but I couldn't, I still wasn't that affected by it and you know why? Those kids were poorer than I was. And I used to look at them and say, "You know what, you better get a grip." They would come to school with tennis shoes on and no socks, in the snow. I mean, half of 'em didn't look fed, you know, they didn't have nice clothes… I really couldn't be offended by them.

Howard: Okay.

Hardy-Phillips: I really thought that they were kind of dumb. Like, you know? So what we did, my girlfriend and I, when I was in… starting the seventh and eighth grade, because they had initiation rites… I mean, they were really, they were really, they were their own tribe up there in Hampden, right?

So when you came in in junior high school in the seventh grade, they would do this lipsticking thing. Like, right? The first week of school they would take all the seventh-graders and they would mark your face up with lipstick.

Howard: A hazing type of thing?

Hardy-Phillips: Yeah, hazing. And I think that…I think I got done by that, but… and I don't think it was too bad. That, that wasn't too bad. So that was, like, I accepted that. But then they also used to like to throw eggs after school. And what happened was, they would have the older boys, the delinquent teenagers that went there and didn't go to high school, like they just stopped at junior high school, maybe even the eight grade, didn't graduate from the ninth, they would come back and terrorize all the younger kids. So they would throw eggs, too at the beginning of school, right after school they'd catch you coming up that street— that long street that comes to 33rd Street— and they would start pelting you with eggs.

Howard: Okay.

Hardy-Phillips: So that was really bad and then the black boys, they used to beat the crap out of them. I mean, the big guys would just wait for 'em and then you'd see 'em chasing 'em through 36th Street and they… you were trying to get on the bus. So what we started doing was staying after school, like being involved in after-school activities. Just hanging back just enough to let that first wave go so we could stay out of the fray. But yeah, that now…come to think of it, that's where I first got my first real taste of, of prejudice and discrimination and how people…how they can act that out.

Howard: Okay.

Hardy-Phillips: 'Cause you know, it's one thing to say, "I'm prejudiced against you," or, "I don't like you," or whatever. But to act it out, to do stuff to you, you know, negative things to you, and… But, like I said, I couldn't take it real serious 'cause I felt sorry for those kids.

Howard: Yeah. But it was interesting how you talked about them… the festival days, which was a pleasant experience...

Hardy-Phillips: I know, I know. In the beginning…And see, that's why, but see, when you come… when you grow up and you have, like, really good self-esteem and your family helps you to continue to see a wider world and how it unfolds in front of you and you are a creative person, because creative people don't harbor a lot of mess. 'Cause we are always, like, creating something new. We're like, "Oh, they are stupid, so I'm going over here." Or, "This doesn't work anymore, so I'm gonna making something new." We just make new stuff all the time, so you don't get so caught up in what, the "What is," 'cause you always, in your heart and mind, you know you can make something new happen. So those kids, to me it was kind of sad. And then I have a picture of me in the seventh grade at my office because I found out that one of my coworkers in facilities' wife was in my class.

Howard: In the seventh grade?
Hardy-Phillips: In the seventh grade, isn't that funny? It just never goes away, right?

Howard: Okay.

Hardy-Phillips: And so I have…he brought the picture in. She said…she said, "You can have this." And I was like, "Oh my God, there I am in the seventh grade." So we had this one white girl in our class named…oh dang, I can't think of her name now, but she was beautiful. She looked like she should have been going off to be a rock star or something. She was the prettiest one in the class, but the problem was she was also the fastest one. So because she was so mature looking and so beautiful, the boys were always at her and she got picked up by the wrong crowd almost immediately. And she was always the one that knew everything. Oh, you know, she would be the one talking about sex, and we're all like, "Ooh! What is she saying?" But it was always her. She was the fast one in the class but she also was the one that everybody was always dazzled by 'cause she was so…she was really pretty. Really, really pretty. And believe me, she got hung up and when…and dang, I don't know why I can't…and I always did know her name but I don't know why I can't think of it now… She wound up with a drug habit because it started with drinking with the older teenage kids. From there, huffing because they did a lot of huffing glue and stuff like that— that's what the white kids did. They did a lot of huffing. We didn't know nothing about drugs or any… we weren't even interested in that stuff. They were huffing and all of that stuff was in the neighborhood, [Hamden] and dang her name almost came to me. And she started hanging out with the more experienced kids and the next thing you know the rumors were flying, she was getting in trouble like juvy stuff… and stuff and so… and she wind up being a drug addict. And years later, Connie; see, I knew I would remember her name. I can't remember her last name, but her first name was Connie and she was beautiful but just too street wise for everybody. Just like, we were… Connie. And then she wound up with a drug habit and up on North Avenue and Charles Street and sometimes if I'm up that way, 'cause you know that's still my neighborhood, I would run into her. And she was like, "Oh I saw you on television." And I'm like, "Connie! Golly damn." [And she would say,]"Yeah, I know."

Howard: Not tired yet…

Hardy-Phillips: Yeah. She just a drug addict and I don't know what's happened to her. But that's sort of like my first real experience with having that kind of prejudice directed directly at me.

Schwallenberg: Now let's get back to the riots for a little bit. What…did you watch any coverage of the riots on the television?

Hardy-Phillips: Yeah, we were glued to the TV; everybody was. We were glued to the television and you saw the…all the stores burning and the people walking, running out with stuff, and it's like, I don't know if I knew what to think about that. I don't know what I thought about that, because I knew there was some people that didn't have anything and that maybe this was something that they needed. But you knew that the rest of 'em was just… They were just caught up in it and just picking up stuff. Yeah, so we did. Everybody watched the news then, we just…everybody was glued to the television.

Schwallenberg: Did…did you see any national news that showed Baltimore like NBC or CBS or any thing like that?

Hardy-Phillips: That's a good question 'cause I think… I think we were probably… Yeah, well everybody watched the national news, too. 'Cause wasn't that…was Walter Kronkite still [a newscaster]? Yeah, we all watched all of the coverage. I mean, 'cause it was just something that the family would do, watch the news, and my great grandmother liked to watch the news, and my grandmother too, and they read the newspapers and you know, so we and that's the same way my house now…. My husband buys like three newspapers a day, four on Sunday, you know, we watch all the cable news stations. So yeah, we've always… and then, it was no different then, you did watch the news.

Schwallenberg: Did you, did you think the news, I mean, thinking about it, was it sensationalized or were they well… Was it pretty even-handed or how would you portray that?
Hardy-Phillips: I can't remember, I mean, all I remember are certain images of the riots and people running in and out of stores and stuff like that. Which didn't make you feel good but then you were saying, "Yeah, but they killed Martin Luther King." So, people were upset. Yeah, so I don't… I don't remember if it was skewed too much, in terms of the coverage. I just remember there was a lot of it. And then they were showing you like, Detroit burning and this city and that city and it was jumping all around Washington, Detroit, Baltimore. You know, that kind of thing. So they were letting us know that it was happening all over the country and I think our attitude was, "Well, what do you expect?"

Schwallenberg: Sure.

Hardy-Phillips: I mean, it was happening all over the country.

Schwallenberg: Can you name any specific businesses that you recall that were damaged?

Hardy-Phillips: No, not really, not by name. I just sort of know locations.

Schwallenberg: Okay and you gave us plenty of those.

Hardy-Phillips: Yeah, locations.

Schwallenberg: Is there anything else you can think of that maybe we haven't talked about that you think people would want to know about the riots?

Hardy-Phillips: Well, I think that I want to tell that story that I told at the [Riots and Rebirth] conference [refers to CUMU, Fall, 2007. Baltimore, MD], when I was first out about…about the work that you all were doing on the riots, because I 'm not quite sure if people, everyone sort of understands what…what the relationships of the times could be for individuals, you know, in

the… in the city neighborhoods. And even though none of this stuff happened to me, I sort of know of it from my mother, who I said was really a activist in her own right and a business person. My grandparents lived at 1053 Harford Avenue, and like I said in our neighborhood there were mostly Jewish stores, and of course, you know, they kept— quote, unquote— a book that would allow people to have credit. And there may have been…some people may have suspected that they always didn't get treated honestly, but maybe you didn't know whether you were being… Or, if you weren't [being treated honestly], or something was tacked on, you figured well at least I could get credit because I didn't have money for the kids to eat last week, so, I mean, that's just the price you pay.

Howard: Sure.

Hardy-Phillips: But in a way it's still not fair if that's not…if you're not telling me you're doing that. It's still not fair and it's not right. But there was a incident with my grandparents' house right there at 1053 Harford Avenue. They bought that house oh, I guess, I wanna say the…maybe the 40's, maybe in the 40's they were buying this house from this Jewish land...you know, owner. And in '72, I think, during that urban renewal, the city came through to buy their house because they were tearing all of that block down to build the East Baltimore Medical Center. And so, during this time my mother handled all or most of the family business, so she was handling all the negotiations for my grandparents. Of course, they didn't want to move but then, as old as they are, a move might be a good thing to, you know, a little further out. And they settled on this house out in Northwood on Argonne Drive right…right across from the mall. And my mother thought it would be good right across from Northwood Mall because they got the food-shopping and everything and they're older and so she's trying to really help her parents, you know, deal with that latter part of their lives, right? So, in order to get a house for a house, which she miraculously, was able to negotiate with the city for them, 'cause not everybody was getting that deal, right? You had to own a house. Well, now they bought the house in the 50's, here we are in the 70's. No, they bought the house in the late 30's - 40's. Here we are in the 70's, and you know they didn't pay that much for the house, find out the house still not…they've been paying on this house all that time. And the house had been paid for like ten years before. So this

Jewish owner of the building, of this house, was continuing to pick up money from them on a monthly basis, after the house had been paid for. And he knew that it was paid for, I mean, how could you not? He was keeping the book. So my mother was so angry, she was going to sue him. 'Cause at that point she was in a suing state of mind. Remember now, her house got taken, her business got taken…

Howard: Sure.

Hardy-Phillips: Here we are with this third property getting ready to be taken…getting ready to be taken by these shysters, right? The… the… and I don't remember his name, but I think I have… I think I have the book in her personal belongings, the rent book, right? He comes to the house, and my mother said, "You have to come see us today, 'cause this is what's happening." And of course he knows everything 'cause now all the…all the propositions from the city are going to him and not them because he still technically owns the property so any relocation funds or anything that would come out in terms of a deal, he would have gotten paid twice if they didn't know that this…this is not correctly, you know, calculated.

So he comes to the house, my mother said he was shaking like a leaf on a tree and crying, and looked at my grandmother and grandfather crying; shaking. And my grandmother and grandfather said, "No Doris, just let it go." Now that, that's the kind of people they were and they had gotten taken advantage of for years and years and years this person was collecting. So, see, some of that animosity that black people had, some of it was born in some, some reality. It wasn't all just in their heads, it wasn't because they [black people] kind of didn't understand what business practices were and [it was not as some people claim], "Oh, they don't really know [business practices]." Some of it was real. You see? So that rioting, some of that was born out of real anger over past slights and injustices as well.

Schwallenberg: Do you, do you think certain businesses were targeted for those types of practices?

Hardy-Phillips: Probably…probably, and I can't say for sure, but I'm sure that any grudges or

any, you know… any…not, I wouldn't say slights 'cause black people usually don't respond to slights by doing, you know, ugly, spiteful things. But if you had a reputation for taking advantage of people and we weren't quite, like, sure, we figured we were taken advantage but we couldn't quite prove it, or even if you could prove it, what would you do about it? Kind of thing… That may have been the case, but I can't say for sure.

Schwallenberg: How do you think Baltimore has changed after the riots?

Howard: Or has it?

Yvonne: I think I'm kind of, right now I'm kind of stuck in this "parenthesis of poverty." Did you all mention that at your…[CUMU Conference, Fall, 2007. Baltimore, MD]? Didn't you all kind of coin that phrase? Did I hear that at your session?

Schwallenberg: I don't recall…

Hardy-Phillips: We were talking about the "parenthesis of [poverty]," 'cause that is my new mantra now.

Schwallenberg: Oh! Oh right, yeah, yeah, yeah. Peter Levy. Peter Levy talked about that.

Hardy-Phillips: That's my new mantra. I've been telling everybody, because it's hard to get your head around why we have this crime located in these certain zip codes and what is it? And it is [a parenthesis of poverty], it's like a bubble. If you take North [Avenue] and divide it east and west— no North [Avenue], north and south and Charles Street east and west it is— it's a "parenthesis of poverty" on each side of that divide. And yet you look at other parts of Baltimore, and it looks like another city. I go down to the east side of the Harbor where there was nothing but docks and rats and, you know, funky vegetables that were rotting in the… and now it looks like New York. But yet you come twelve blocks north and it still looks like the way it looked after the riots. I mean, some of that stuff is still boarded up from '68, it just never came

back. I take issue with that. You see, I take real issue with that because, for lower-middle class and middle class black folks, I think we are being pulled down by the poor. And it's not all their fault. But I think that we have to spend money on things that we shouldn't have to spend money on, like private schools. We shouldn't really have to spend [money on private schools]. We should have good public schools that our kids can go to and that money we would put in a private school…we should be buying another piece of property that adds to the family wealth, but we can't. Because we're spending it on essentials. Because the poor are just existing and they're still acting out and doing stuff that costs the city coffers money. You know, drugs and prisons and…and we shouldn't be putting all that money there. But they just are hopeless. We try to keep getting away from 'em but we can't. We can't keep trying to run away from them, we can't. They keep following us and they're following us out of the city. And then the speculators are coming in buying up the city and then we won't be able to get back in. I'm like, "Oh, I see what's going on here." And they're encouraging us to sell our properties to move to where it's "nice." But yet all the culture and eventually the business will be back in the city again, and it's…I see it's happening. Because the East side of the harbor is an amazing looking place now; it's just fabulous. And I…once again, I love being a East-sider because East side is the best side. Yeah so I just…I, I hope [Mayor] Sheila [Dixon], I hope Sheila can really impress upon all of us, 'cause it's not going to be any one group that's gonna help pull the poor out off that precipice of just falling, you know? Into a place they just can't get out of. And we'll keep paying for it. We just keep paying for it. And I don't want to keep paying for it. I want them to progress, their children to progress, and my children to progress, and I want them to know each other. And they won't if we keep making these separate kinds of existences that we keep creating. So, that's my story.

Howard: You said it well.

Hardy-Phillips: Thank you.

Schwallenberg: Alright, thank you for your time.

Howard: You said it well.

Hardy-Phillips: appreciate it. I appreciate what you all are doing, too. This is a fascinating project.

Howard: I'm enjoying it.

Hardy-Phillips: Yeah, I know you are.