

SECTION TWO
BUILDING TOUR
CHAPTER 4
BUILDING 1 (LOT 41)



Corner of South Edwards and
327-329, 330, 328 Issaquena

HISTORY

Chapter 1 tells about Clarksdale Compress and Warehouse Company, the first property on two lots owned by Charles Farnsworth. The 1900 Sanborn map shows the Crawley and Oberby Stave Factory occupying the building.¹ The factory and the building disappeared because by 1901 Ashton Land Company owned the property and included it as lots subdividing the entire block into seventeen lots. The first two lots of the tour lie between the railroad tracks and an alley. The remaining fifteen lots lie between the alley and MLK Boulevard. The next sale occurred in 1906. Ashton Land Company sold a parcel including the corner lot and the lot next door on South Edwards Avenue to Anne Baccus for \$756.² On the same day, Baccus sold the parcel to Adolph and Charles Kerstine and Leonce Sidney Landry for \$1,600.³

Kerstine and Landry owned not only this property but also other lots behind Issaquena. They appeared to be developing the section encompassing businesses facing the railroad extending north to the railroad tracks and the dwellings facing the alley on the south side. Two loans made by Kerstine and Landry in 1908⁴ and in 1910⁵ used this parcel as collateral. Both loans were paid off in May 1913. Silvio Campassi and Charlie Pastore bought only the Issaquena grocery and the pressing shop for \$5,000 cash in October 1913.⁶

As soon as Campassi and Pastore bought the property and the building, they borrowed \$1,800 from the Clarksdale Building and Loan Association.⁷ This correlates with the Sanborn map showing the grocery store and the pressing shop in 1909. The 1914 map only

labeled the stores extending to the alley and did not write in the second-floor medical offices.⁸ (See map 7B, appendix.) Pastore sold his half interest in the Campassi property by 1917.⁹ Campassi bought the second or next-door lot on South Edwards for \$5,000 by September 1926.¹⁰ After a fire to both Buildings 1 and 2, in 1918, the local newspaper reported: “Work on the Campassi building is also going ahead, and if no interruptions occur [it] will be completed, possibly in ninety days, perhaps sooner...In addition...he will also have thirty rooms for transients and will run a restaurant in connection.”¹¹ The Campassi family retained ownership over seven decades. Louis Campassi Jr. sold the two-lot parcel to the First National Bank in 1978.¹²

Adolph Kerstine arrived in Coahoma County with his three brothers by 1873. Adolph’s son, Isidor Kerstine, talked about his father buying property one day and selling it for a profit the next. Many residents interviewed mentioned Adolph, a thin, short man with a mustache wearing a derby hat. The author did not know about her grandfather’s participation in the earlier land development between the track and the alley until she researched the land deeds. He died January 5, 1936, seven months before she was born.

Corinne Weiss Kerstine, the author’s mother, met Adolph in 1933, when she married Isidor and moved from St. Joseph, Missouri, to Clarksdale. Corinne gives the following description of her father-in-law: “At the time I met and knew Adolph, he was in his seventies...He was no longer wealthy or powerful, just an old man. I took walks with him, and he talked a lot. Adolph...was quite a mixer [and]...quite a talker...just talked, talked, and talked...[I can’t] remember what he talked about. Just said everything.” She did remember he said, “‘The older you were, the smarter you were’; [thus] he always wanted people to think that he was older than he was.”¹³

Kerstine became only one of several of Landry’s partners to buy and develop real estate. Landry arrived in Clarksdale in 1891 as a traveling salesman from Memphis. He not only bought and sold real estate but also opened a retail store on Sunflower Avenue or Front Street, which later was moved to Delta Avenue.¹⁴ In 1891, both Landry and Kerstine, who also owned retail stores, joined together in real estate development deals. This was the only property the author’s grandfather had on Issaquena Avenue; however, a few years later, Landry joined with John E. Sommers, a hardware store owner, to buy more.

While Landry was playing golf with a friend, Jimmy Blain, at the country club on August 19, 1926, a heavy black cloud forced him to seek shelter in a small shed. They assumed the summer shower would end soon, but lightning struck Landry and killed him instantly while he was holding his golf stick. Blain received only a slight shock, and the caddy was knocked down.¹⁵

OCCUPANTS

FIRST FLOOR, NORTH STOREFRONT

1909–1913 Unknown Proprietors for Grocery and General Merchandise Store

No names were found of the proprietor(s) of the grocery store at the corner of Issaquena and 1201 Railroad Avenue between 1909 and 1915.¹⁶ Due to the street name changing from Railroad to South Edwards, the corner store address changed from 1201 to 219/221, but no names are available for the grocery store proprietor during 1914.¹⁷ Charles Pastore's general merchandise store was located at 221 South Edwards¹⁸ in the 1916 city directory.

1913–1978 Campassi Brothers and Campassi & Son

Pastore, the proprietor in 1916 of the corner general merchandise store, turned it over to Louis Campassi Sr., not Silvio Campassi, as the address changed from South Edwards to 330 Issaquena by 1923.¹⁹ Chapter 2 reports W. H. Fitzgerald, N. A. Cartledge, and Silvio Campassi opened the Queen Theater in October 1915.²⁰ Sometime during the next eight years, Campassi became the sole owner of the Queen Theater at 411 Yazoo Avenue,²¹ which closed before he opened the Colored Theater at 208 South Edwards by 1927.²² The same year, both Campassi brothers, Silvio and Joe, joined Louis as partners in the general merchandise store. This partnership lasted until after World War II, when Louis Jr. returned home to start the partnership Louis Campassi and Sons.²³

Louis Campassi Jr. was born and lived in Clarksdale and Memphis and served in World War II as “Captain of the US Air Force...in the Western Pacific Theater of Operation...[and was] awarded the following medals: [a] The American Campaign Ribbon, [b] Army Good Conduct, [c] Asiatic Pacific Campaign with [d] one Silver service Star, [e] Philippine Liberation with one Bronze Service Star, [f] WWII Victory Medal and [g] American Defense Medal.”²⁴

This tall, thin, casually dressed ninety-year-old man enjoyed talking about his family's genealogical history, and how he remembered Issaquena Avenue. Some of his remarks can be found in chapters 2 and 3. The remarks of his fathers and uncles stemmed from their poverty life in Italy.

Louis remembered they focused everything around money. They wanted to make money; thus, they left their family and Italy, “because over there, they were starving to death.”²⁵ He recalled his father often saying “they were looking for the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow. They would find it in Clarksdale. Turns out [the pot] had the word *work* printed on it. So, work they did.”²⁶

Silvio, the oldest son, Joe, the middle; and Louis, the youngest emigrated from Alessandra Piedmont (Alexandria) in northern Italy. Louis's Italian name, Primo, means firstborn. He lived, but his twin brother, Secundo, died in childbirth. Silvio's naturalization document shows he migrated in 1905 to Mississippi, where his cousin, Carlo “Charles” Campassi lived in Coahoma. Louis Sr. came in 1912 through Ellis Island and settled in Memphis. While living in Memphis, he met and married Josephine Bursi, who came from Bosnia, Italy, to Memphis in 1902. In the early years, Louis Sr. used his Italian

name, Primo; however, after World War II, he legally changed his name.²⁷

Campassi remembered Joe leaving the partnership before WWII and opening the first African American pool hall on MLK Street, located across the street from the Chinese grocery. When he moved to Memphis, he opened a pool hall on Beale Street. “When he landed in Memphis, he was involved with Beale Street—back in those days, Beale Street was...gambling...and everything.”²⁸

The monthly news column *South Clarksdale News*, by W. T. Gibson, describes every merchant on Issaquena in 1929. He says this about the Campassi brothers: “These boys are as slick as grease, as wise as the proverbial owl and are perfectly at home when looking at the eagle on one of Uncle Sam’s dollars. It is the opinion of the writer that if nothing intervenes, they will be millionaires. May they always face the eagle with a clear conscience.”²⁹

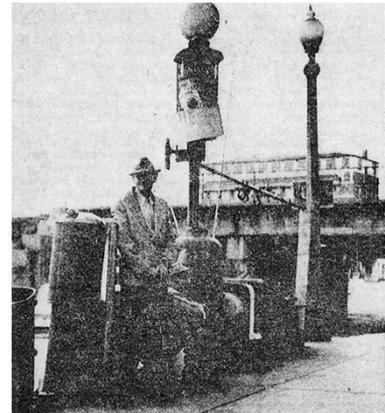
Campassi’s memories of the store are categorized by subtitles such as merchandise, clerking, customers, music, and the movie theater.

A. Merchandising Strategies

Thatcher’s newspaper article about Campassi mentions his early merchandising strategy. Although the first car in Clarksdale appeared in 1904,³⁰ Campassi installed a gas pump by 1917 for early auto owners. It brought business to his corner because “we were the first gas station in Clarksdale, the genial gray-haired merchant claimed.”³¹ Campassi is pictured sitting by the vintage pump forty years later.

Thatcher writes: “Even...Silvio enjoyed talking about his 40-year-old gasoline tank...[he] claims. ‘I got out of the business when they stopped putting their own oil in the car and started expecting me to wipe their windshield’...A sign on the pump reads, ‘We paid \$550 for it, but I’d give it to anybody who’d cart it away.’”³²

The pump brought the customers, but Campassi’s best-known merchandising strategy and his real reputation developed around the variety of merchandise found in his store all the time. He recalls, “Minnows, old fishing minnows...We were just sort of dillydallying. It was like today’s Walmart, [a] general merchandise store on the ` corner. Candy...slot machines...racks of clothes, blues records and ladies’ hats.”³³



Silvio Campassi with the old gas pump, April 6, 1957 (CPCL)

Campassi describes the interior of the store, as shown in the photo: “It was dark and filled with showcases...We didn’t put prices on items. We knew the costs to include.”³⁴

Campassi Jr. adds: “During the war [WWII] when you couldn’t get stuff, know where they bought it from? Sears and Roebuck. Louis Sr. always said [when they] didn’t have the item a customer asked for: ‘If you don’t have it, you can’t sell it.’”³⁵ Like Harry Magdovitz in chapter 2, Louis Sr. kept a *want book*, defined as his inventory shopping list.³⁶ He adds, “If you had three hammers and sold one, you listed that in the book because he never wanted to be out of any item.”³⁷



Campassi’s interior, circa 1920s
(Louis Campassi Jr.)

“Tire chains—my father would buy them in summer time and have them in store when snow came because no one else would have them, forget ordering.”³⁸ This strategy resulted in very effective word-of-mouth advertising: “if Campassi didn’t have it, it wasn’t made,” or “if no one else had it, Campassi’s did,” or “if you couldn’t buy it at Campassi Brothers, it wasn’t for sale anywhere.”³⁹

When the author solicited comments from the internet Facebook page “Clarksdale, My Hometown” the responses included the following:

1. “My dad bought every pair of my baseball cleats from Mr. Campassi at this store. Cheap but served purpose,” penned Herman Lynn Jenkins.
2. “This was my source for BB’s and 22 bullets back in the day,” wrote Jim Giles.
3. “I used to buy Navy surplus bell bottom jeans from him in the late 1960s. No one else in town had them, and they looked at me all crazy when I asked for them,” wrote Andy McWilliams.
4. According to Edith Jacobson, a famous local recipe for baking brownies used by mothers included the instructions to buy the ten-inch brownie pan at Campassi’s, the only store in town selling it.⁴⁰

Maurice Labens remembers:

Silvio Campassi loved to fish, and he’d take Daddy fishing when he could go. Sometimes when Daddy wanted to go, and I was there, he would leave me in the store, and he would go fishing. This, of course was usually during the summer

when business was almost nonexistent. He started taking me with him on Wednesdays when school was not in session, and he was wonderful to me.

I had found out that he has so very many items in his store stock. Everything from a horse collar to every kind of seed imaginable. There were so many different items that it was virtually impossible to inventory them with any significant accuracy. Consequently, he took an inventory every ten years and stuck to those numbers until ten years later. One Wednesday he and I were preparing to go fishing. Two well-dressed gentlemen walked into his store. [One] announced that they were from the Internal Revenue Service. He further advised Uncle Silvio that their records showed that you have underpaid your taxes and are \$10,000 short. Uncle Silvio looked at him, and said, 'I am going fishing with this boy. As soon as my son, Johnny, comes here, you talk to him. If Johnny says I owe it I will pay it. He thanked them and before anything else was said in walked Johnny. Uncle Silvio and I walked out, and Uncle Silvio never even mentioned that again.⁴¹

B. Working in the Store

Campassi says:

We worked...me and my brother...We worked when we were real young. My parents liked me in the store helping because it was a place to keep the kids busy...We just clerked in the store. It is hard to say but we were about seven to nine years old when we started about 1927. We didn't put prices on items...It was interesting...We learned to make change. We got involved with maybe selling candy. We had candy bars up front...I remember Daddy fussing at me because we didn't know how to make change. We didn't know how to "count back." If they gave me a two-dollar bill, you gave them \$1.10 and you *count back*.⁴²

C. Customers and the Blues

Campassi Jr. recalls: "Silvio sold a man with no legs a pair of shoes for his skateboard to replace the gloves he had to use to push the board. The disabled man told Silvio, "It was more difficult to push, but it worked."⁴³

According to Campassi one could often hear, "Take a load off your feet and sit down at the poker table in the back, where cigar-chomping Italian farmers trade gossip and moan about the weather."⁴⁴

Campassi Jr. enjoyed telling about his late brother, Willie, who saw a guitar hanging from the ceiling that was a part of the inventory, but he wouldn't ask for it because, in those days, the guitar was considered more a "black" musical instrument.⁴⁵

Edwin Kerstine, the author's brother, worked on Issaquena for Abe May during the 1960s. He says everyone knows the rumor about Elvis Presley buying a guitar from Campassi, but no one ever confirmed this.⁴⁶ According to Mildred Kerstine Jones, the author's sister, Elvis performed with the Grand Ole Opry held at the Civic Auditorium in the north section of downtown in the Autumn of 1954. He was the lead-in to Johnny Cash. Some of the performers included Minnie Pearl and Roy Orbison.⁴⁷

Both Julia Baker Glassman and Goldie Isaacson Himmelstein commented more on the music blasting on their end of Issaquena as they did not enjoy listening all day long to the record playing for the movie around the corner. Although everyone interviewed at this end of the block remembered the street music, the ones at the other end did not.

The Campassi family not only enjoyed the blues sound and promoting blues musicians but especially treasured W. C. Handy's biography. They had an autographed copy in which he wrote, "To my very good friend, Joe Campassi."⁴⁸

D. Watching Trains Go By

Campassi remembers as a child his front-row seat on the corner near the old folks' home, by that viaduct, watching trains: "I'd get a bit confused past a hundred. No telling how many hoboes got off those trains. And the crews stayed in rooming houses over Issaquena storefronts. I'll never forget the day even the gandy dancers were singing the blues."⁴⁹

Gandy dancer refers to a railroad maintenance worker, circa 1918. *Dancer* perhaps comes from the movements required in the work of tamping down ties or pumping a handcart; *gandy* perhaps comes from the name of a machinery belt company in Baltimore, Maryland.

In another newspaper article, Silvio said to Walt Thatcher, the writer, "That one [train] has 135 cars...pointing upward to the Illinois Central tracks. I remember when over 60 was a big train. Four of those go by here every day. Man, how many trains would that have been a few years back?"⁵⁰

Campassi recalls Calvin Coolidge's presidential visit; however, he questions his memory about which president. "Yeah. [We] had two presidential candidates. I've forgotten which ones. I think it was Coolidge and somebody else who came through Clarksdale—on the caboose side—and tipped their hat before [President] Clinton ever came. When they were campaigning. I believe it was Coolidge...The train didn't stop but just a minute, they came out on the rear [platform]. Tipped their hat; said hello. "Vote for me" and whatever."⁵¹

E. Fires

According to a *Clarksdale Press Register* article on August 4, 1952, an estimated \$15,000 in damages resulted from a three-alarm fire to Campassi's and Labens Clothing Store. "Mr. Campassi, who owns the building housing the two stores said he had no insurance on his business...The loss suffered by the Labens store is partially covered by insurance...Cause of the fire has not been determined."⁵²

Another fire occurred sometime after Campassi Jr. closed his stores in the late 1970s or early 1980s and moved to Memphis. Although he wasn't there, Julia Glassman heard "it burned so fast. The reason it went up so fast was because of those big celluloid records. The fire...they said it went boom. All lost."⁵³

The end of an era arrived. Johnny, Silvio's son, became proprietor when his dad retired,

and seventy-two years after the store started, Johnny closed it in 1988.⁵⁴ Silvio died in April 1987 at the age of ninety-nine. He is buried in Clarksdale's Oakridge Cemetery.⁵⁵

FIRST FLOOR, SOUTH STOREFRONT

1909–1940 From Pressing Shop to Grocery with Restaurant and Poolroom, then Cleaners

1. A pressing club occupied this first-floor south storefront between 1909 and 1940. No building at 327 Issaquena existed prior to 1909. The pressing shop's proprietor could not be found. According to Ted Landphair, a "pressing club" became the southern way of referring to a dry-cleaning shop. He says, "Given the stifling heat, drenching humidity, and cultural insistence upon keeping up appearances there in years gone by, neatly pressed clothes, right down to the knife's-edge crease in one's slacks, were serious business."⁵⁶ A newspaper article related to the local pressing shops indicates many were available in town: "The growth of clothes pressing clubs in Clarksdale is one of the strangest phenomena which we have been called upon to witness in many days. One well-known citizen affirms that there is a pressing club for every pair of trousers in Clarksdale. Men's clothes have changed very little in the past 25 years, and we wonder how people got along in the past without all these pressing-clubs."

2. After this pressing shop moved to Building 2 in 1914, Peter Mensi and Charles Campassi, Silvio's cousin living in Coahoma, opened a grocery store with restaurant in this location between 1914 and 1922.⁵⁷ The street address changed from 327 to 334 by 1923.

3. Next, the New York Shoe Hospital, owned by Zicer Landman, operated between 1927 and 1928.

4. Andrew Costanza opened and operated Banner Cleaners in 1927, the first cleaning operation to move to Fourth Street by 1929.⁵⁸ Prior to owning his plant, he worked as a presser at Sunflower Laundry in 1916.⁵⁹

5. After the cleaners moved, Najeeb Shamoan operated a poolroom between 1929 and 1930. He was born in Zakel, Syria, in 1880 and immigrated to America in 1900. His brother Charles immigrated the same year. Najeeb stayed in Brooklyn a short time. His World War I draft registration and naturalization documents in 1916 say he was five feet, eleven inches and weighed 150 pounds and had brown hair and eyes. Najeeb was living with Charles and his , Celena, while working in Charles's grocery store at 393 Yazoo.

6. Another cleaners, Quick Service Cleaners, owned and operated by G. Tuminello and Gus Chicouras, chose this storefront by 1933.⁶⁰ No information was found about G. Tuminello, although many Tuminello families lived in Clarksdale. Gus, a partner and proprietor of Reno Café across the street in 1929, left the restaurant business to join Tuminello in this venture. The cleaners closed before 1936, and the storefront remained vacant until Laben's Quality Store moved in by 1939.⁶¹

1940–1975 Labens Quality Store

Before Harry Labens moved into the Issaquena storefront, he moved often.⁶² The first move came soon after his birth in Grodno, Russia, in 1896, when his parents brought their six sons and two daughters to New York in 1903. His family’s Russian surname was Labensky, but they changed it.⁶³ Harry grew up in New York, and in June 1917, while working for the New York Railroad, he registered for the draft. He described himself as stout build and black hair and green eyes.

Harry, age twenty-six, moved to Minter City, Mississippi, by 1920 to work for the Adelman brothers to be closer to his mother who had remarried, and lived in Minter City, located thirty-seven miles southeast of Clarksdale.



Building 1 and 2 Looking north on east side

Harry met and married Lillian Hochstein, born in New York but living with her family in Clarksdale in 1923. Alvin, their oldest son, says, “That same year, [Daddy] went into business for himself for two years in Duncan, [fifteen miles south on Highway 61]...[He] called his store Jewish Hardware. They lived there one year, then moved to Yazoo City [109 miles directly south].”⁶⁴

Alvin talked about his birth on November 23, 1923, in Clarksdale. Children were born at home; thus, his mother returned to Clarksdale to have her first child within her parents’ home. The birth procedure did not go well. They called the mortuary to send the hearse because there was no ambulance; the new hospital was around the corner. He couldn’t explain the complications but says, “At my birth...Dr. Primrose delivered me and threw me on the cot.” He said, “Let’s try to save the mother.”⁶⁵

Labens continues, “He gave me CPR. That saved me too...the cord was wrapped around my neck...I was the third child [to receive care] in the new hospital.”⁶⁶

A. Moving to Clarksdale

¹ Chapter 4: Building 1

Sanborn Map, November 1900, 4.

² Land Deed Record, #19, May 26, 1906, 534.

³ Land Deed Record, #19, May 25, 1906, 535.

⁴ Trust Deed Record, 2nd District Coahoma County, September 22, 1908, 516.

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- ⁵ Trust Deed Record, #23, March 21, 1910, 613.
- ⁶ Land Deed Record, #31, October 5, 1913, 586.
- ⁷ Trust Deed Record, #28, October 15, 1913, 100.
- ⁸ Sanborn Map, June 1914, 6.
- ⁹ Land Deed Record, #48, June 21, 1917, 223.
- ¹⁰ Land Deed Record, #93, September 2, 1926, 89.
- ¹¹ “Work on Brick Hospital Is Going Ahead,” *Clarksdale Daily Register*, August 15, 1918, 3.
- ¹² Land Deed Record, #481, April 7, 1978, 634.
- ¹³ Corinne Kerstine, interview by author, Jackson, MS, August, 15, 1987.
- ¹⁴ Weeks, *Clarksdale*, 99.
- ¹⁵ “No Time Set for Funeral¹⁵ Miller, vol. 4, 238.
of L. S. Landry.” *Clarksdale Daily Register*, August 20, 1926, 1.
- ¹⁶ Sanborn Map, August 1909, 1.
- ¹⁷ Sanborn Map, June 1914, 6.
- ¹⁸ Miller, vol. 2, 170.
- ¹⁹ Sanborn Map, May 1923, 5.
- ²⁰ “The Queen Theater,” *Clarksdale Daily Register*, October 22, 1915, 8.
- ²¹ Miller, vol. 3, 197.
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- ²³ L. Campassi Jr., interview, 2009.
- ²⁴ “Louis L Campassi Jr.,” *Clarksdale Press Register*, January 7, 2010, 2.
- ²⁵ L. Campassi Jr., interview, 2009.
- ²⁶ Ibid.
- ²⁷ L. Campassi Jr., interview, 2009.
- ²⁸ Ibid.
- ²⁹ W. T. Gibson, “South Clarksdale News,” *Clarksdale Daily Register*, June 5, 1929, 8.
- ³⁰ Weeks, *Clarksdale*, 111.
- ³¹ Walt Thatcher, “Issaquena St. Offers Many Reminders of Earlier Years in City’s History,” April 6, 1957, 5.
- ³² Ibid.
- ³³ L. Campassi Jr., interview, 2009.
- ³⁴ Ibid.
- ³⁵ Ibid.
- ³⁶ Ibid.
- ³⁷ Ibid.
- ³⁸ Ibid.
- ³⁹ Ibid.
- ⁴⁰ Edith Shainberg Jacobson, interview by author, Memphis, TN, October 30, 2015.
- ⁴¹ Maurice Labens, interview, January 2017.
- ⁴² L. Campassi Jr., interview, 2009.
- ⁴³ Ibid.
- ⁴⁴ Hood-Adams. “Blues Back Beat—Issaquena to Oakhurst Music Rode the Air,” 2003, 1B.
- ⁴⁵ L. Campassi Jr., interview, 2009.
- ⁴⁶ Honorable Edwin Kerstine, interview, 2013.
- ⁴⁷ Mildred Kerstine Jones, interview, 2019.
- ⁴⁸ Hood-Adams, “Blues Back Beat—Issaquena to Oakhurst Music Rode the Air,” 2003, 1B.
- ⁴⁹ Ibid.
- ⁵⁰ Walt Thatcher, “Issaquena St. Offers Many Reminders of Earlier Years in City’s History,” April 6, 1957, 5.
- ⁵¹ L. Campassi Jr., interview, 2009.
- ⁵² “Two Stores Gutted by Fire,” *Clarksdale Press Register*, August 4, 1952, 1.

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- ⁵³ J. Glassman, interview, 2010.
- ⁵⁴ R. L. Polk & Co., *Polk's Clarksdale (Coahoma County, Miss.) City Directory 1988: Including Lyon*. (Richmond, VA: R. L. Polk, 1988), 44.
- ⁵⁵ Silvio D. Campassi, Oakridge Cemetery, Clarksdale, MS, April 10, 1987.
- ⁵⁶ Ted Landphair, "Pressing Business," *Ted Landphair's America*, digital image, Voice of American, accessed October 19, 2018, <https://blogs.voanews.com/tedlandphairsamerica/2009/03/06/pressing-business/>.
- ⁵⁷ Miller, vol. 2, 115.
- ⁵⁸ Interstate Directory, 1929–1930, 38.
- ⁵⁹ Miller, vol. 2, 121.
- ⁶⁰ DeShanto et al., *City Directory 1933*, 193.
- ⁶¹ Robert Morton Baldwin, *The Baldwin and Register Clarksdale Mississippi Con Survey Directory*, vol. 2, no. 82 (Hebron, NE: Baldwin Con Survey Company and Clarksdale Register, 1936), 257.
- ⁶² Maurice Labens, interview, January 2017.
- ⁶³ Alvin Labens, interview by author, Memphis, TN, November 3, 2004.
- ⁶⁴ Ibid.
- ⁶⁵ Ibid.
- ⁶⁶ Ibid.