

*Interview completed by the Southern Oral History Program
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Interviewees: Mr. Fletcher Anderson and Mrs. Cynthia A. Baker Anderson
Interview Date: May 27, 2011
Location: The Andersons' home, Bogalusa, Louisiana
Interviewer: Joseph Mosnier, Ph.D.
Videographer: John Bishop
Also Present: Ms. Elaine Nichols, Project Coordinator
Length: 1:22:09

John Bishop: We're rolling, Joe.

Joe Mosnier: Good morning, Mr. and Mrs. Anderson. It's a pleasure to be with you.

Thank you for welcoming us to your home this morning.

Fletcher Anderson: Um.

Cynthia Anderson: Morning.

JM: My name is Joe Mosnier of the Southern Oral History Program at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. We're here in Bogalusa, Louisiana, um, to do an oral history, uh, interview for the Civil Rights History Project, which is a joint undertaking of the Library of Congress and the Smithsonian, specifically the Smithsonian's Museum of, uh, African American History and Culture. Um, my – uh, I am with colleague, uh, John Bishop, who is our videographer, and the project curator from the National Museum, uh, Ms. Elaine Nichols, is here as well. And we are in Bogalusa with Mr. Fletcher Anderson and Mrs. Cynthia Anderson to talk

about the movement and the Deacons, um, in the '50s and '60s and, um, and talk about all that history. So, thank you again. It's good to be with you.

FA: Thank you.

JM: I thought I'd start if, um, if either of you would like to just [clears throat] – or both – um, would like to just reflect a little bit about, say, Bogalusa in the late '50s and early '60s, sort of set the context for the, uh, more active phase of local, uh, struggle that will emerge in the '64-'65 period.

FA: Okay. Well, our first instance come from the cross burning that happened in the '60s when the Ku Klux Klan burned a cross in our yard. And that's really what got our attention to something was going on, and from that point on, we definitely got involved with the Civil Rights Movement, making conditions better than what they were. We, uh – we was always aware that we was treated as second-class citizens, but we was kind of in a fix where it was acceptable. But as we saw things changing in the rest of the world, and laws begin to change, we wanted to be a part of that change.

And that cross burning come about because when I went to work at the box factory in 1962. And then, when I went to work at the box factory in 1962, they had separate everything: separate bathrooms, separate drinking fountains, separate doors that you go through to go into the job, separate pay lines, separate working places. So, I and some more of the employees, black employees, there wanted to make a difference. And first I started – as a new employee, the black employees that were previously there had me to do things that they wouldn't do, because I was a new employee, as if I knew no better. So, I would go and drink out of the water fountain, attempt to take showers in the white bathroom, but as far as the bathroom was concerned, I would be turned around. The water fountain – then they frown up and say, "You're not

supposed to do that.” Well, the oldest black employees knew I wasn’t supposed to do that – it wasn’t allowed – but since I was a new employee, they kind of had me to test things. [Laughter]

And, uh, at that point, we started filing lawsuits against our workplace. And we went to court along with, uh, Mr. Robert Hicks. He filed a suit, and we were participants in that suit. We all had to testify in federal court about our working conditions. And from that point, things kind of opened up at the workplace concerned. We was able to work on jobs that blacks had never been able to work on. And we was able to get our black females employed at that plant, which had never happened before. And we was able to get supervisors in the plant that had never been before.

And this is when things really started getting heated up, because that’s some changes that had *never* happened before. And sometimes change is hard to come by, because people get set in their own ways. And the white employees, they didn’t want to make a change; they didn’t want to see this happen. So, things got to be hot and sticky, as we might say in Bogalusa. [0:05:00] So, that’s when we, [clears throat] when we left out of the plant – we got the plant pretty well situated, but out in the streets, in the community, things were talked about, and it was heated.

We were dealing with a city that didn’t hire black city workers. Even on the garbage truck, we didn’t have a black person. Working in the ditch, we didn’t have a black person working. There was no elected people on the council or any form of government inside of the city limits of Bogalusa. And these are the changes that we went about trying – these are things that we went about trying to change.

And by doing that, we had to have many, many marches in Bogalusa, in the city of Bogalusa, to the city, uh, courthouse. And we ended up having to go to federal court to try to get some of these obstacles removed. And, in doing that, we had to testify in federal court. Then we

had to get an injunction against the police department in Bogalusa to keep them from brutalizing the black people of the city of Bogalusa. And we had to go – I was one of the ones that had to go and testify in federal court to make these things happen. I was a participant in all of the – most of the changes that happened inside of the city of Bogalusa and the surrounding areas.

We didn't have no black policeman. I had the opportunity to set down there with the negotiating committee and the committee that put [nb: here, at 7:01, he mentions a name that is unclear] from the AFL-CIO from the state of Louisiana. They come in, and I presented three names. And out of those three names that I presented, two of them was chosen as the first black policemen of the city of Bogalusa. Those three I presented was my classmates, the Class of 1959. They also worked with me at the box factory. And they was chosen to be the first black policemen of the city of Bogalusa.

JM: Yeah.

FA: And we had to get the injunction against the city, uh, the police, because they were terrorizing the black citizens of Bogalusa. They was beating them at will. They were doing – so we went to court. We got an injunction, so some of that ceased. Some of that ceased.

And then, we marched to Franklinton three times to try to get some things opened up in the Parish. We marched one time; it didn't do no good. We marched a second time; it didn't do no good. Then we said, "We're going to take it to the governor," Governor John McKeithen, in Baton Rouge. So, we marched to Baton Rouge. And at that particular time, we didn't get the chance to see the governor. He wouldn't meet with us. But things began to get so heated up then, he flew into Bogalusa. And we had a meeting with him at the airport. And I was able to set down in that, be a part of that meeting with him. And we went over a lot of things, and a few things opened up for us through that meeting.

But we kept the pressure on. We kept marching, we kept picketing, we kept demonstrating. And me and a lot more of the blacks, we would picket merchants to get them to open up and give black people jobs, employment. And as we kept pressure on them, as the blacks quit shopping in their stores, they began to open up and hire. And so, we were successful there. In most of the things that we did, we were successful and opened up employment for our people. Uh –

JM: Mrs. Anderson, would you like to – we'll [pause for a minute].

FA: Okay.

JM: Well, thanks.

FA: Okay.

JM: This is a wonderful start.

FA: Okay, okay.

JM: Thank you. It's a –

FA: Alright.

JM: It'll be a –

FA: Okay.

JM: A lot of history.

FA: Alright, um-hmm.

JM: Mrs. Anderson, do you want to start with some of your early recollections?

CA: Well, my first [0:10:00] interest was when they burnt that cross in my yard. And,
uh –

JM: Do you remember when that happened?

CA: Well, I know it was –

FA: '63.

CA: Yeah, about '63.

JM: '63? Yeah, that's when the Klan was really heating up.

FA: Um-hmm.

CA: Yeah. And when he left work – he was safe in the plant, but when he left work, between the plant and home they would attack him. And they kept calling him “Bob Hicks.” So, he came home one evening and he said, uh, “Come on, I want you to go with me.” And I said, “Where are you going?” “I’m going to find out who this person I’m about to die for.” [Laughter] So, he had found out where they lived, and we went to the Hicks’s home.

JM: You hadn’t known them at that point?

CA: I *knew* her, but I never had any kind of conversation or relationship with her. And when we went, we got to their house, and I walked in the door, she asked me for my driver’s license. [Laughs] I gave them to her. And from that point, we were a team. Yeah.

JM: May I ask a little bit, just a little bit more of the longer background. Um, could you each say a little bit about your family and, um, your parents and –?

FA: Well, uh, my grandfather was George Anderson, my grandmother was Maggie Anderson, and they was pioneers in Bogalusa. They eventually – uh, came from Mississippi, which is, uh – Street, Mississippi. And they left Street, Mississippi, and came to Bogalusa, looking for a better opportunity and for a workplace, because they had the paper mill here, they had the box factory here, and they were looking for employment. And my grandmother, she went into real estate. And my grandfather, he ended up being a taxi driver, and that was his employment.

He was one of the first black people to register to vote in Washington Parish. And he was always active in civil rights. Anything to help to elevate [someone coughs] the blacks during that particular time he was very instrumental in helping that to come about. My grandmother, she had, uh, boarders; people that come into town she roomed and board, roomed and fed them, while they worked at these different jobs in Bogalusa. And –

JM: You grew up here in Bogalusa?

FA: Oh, yeah. Uh-huh. Right here in Bogalusa. And my grandparents, they were a really good family. They were property owners and they was instrumental in – my grandfather, he attended college, and my grandmother, she attended college. And my mother was a very smart woman, too, but she was – my grandmother became ill, and my mother seen after her. That's basically what she did, took care of her mother. And, uh, but they were wonderful, wonderful, wonderful people.

JM: Yeah.

FA: Um-hmm. And I married, uh, Cynthia Baker, and out of that union, we had three kids. It was Sonia Anderson, Gamble Anderson, and Patrick Anderson. And Sonia, she is blessed to have a wonderful daughter. Gamble, she is blessed to have two wonderful grandchildren for me. And, uh, they reside now in Dallas, Texas. And my son, he is in, uh, Mount Hermon, Louisiana.

JM: Um-hmm. Where did your grandparents go to college?

FA: Alcorn [State University]. My grandparents went to Alcorn.

JM: Mrs. Anderson, do you want to share some recollections of your family history? Did you also grow up in Bogalusa?

CA: Yes, I did. My history is much different from his. Uh, my father was Johnny Louis Baker, Sr., and my mother was Esther V. Watson. [0:15:00] My mother was from Franklinton, Louisiana. My dad was from Zachary, Louisiana. We grew up – I grew up – yeah, well, we – my brothers and I – grew up in the mill quarters.

JM: The mill quarters, yeah.

CA: Yeah. And, uh, and, uh, we were considered, uh, the poorest of the black people. We were outdoors-type people. We hunt, fish. Uh, when I got in the seventh grade, my basketball coach told me to go ask my mama could I play basketball. And when I went and talked to her, she didn't even turn around. She said, "Yeah, as long as you make the Honor Roll." I made the Honor Roll from then on.

JM: Um-hmm.

FA: Um-hmm.

CA: I had a good life growing up in Bogalusa, and when I found out how people really felt about me, it hurt. And then, I wanted to fight back. And when they desegregated the schools in '54, I had a whole group of girls ready to go on over to the high school and take care of that little desegregation. But, uh, the teachers liked to had a heart attack.

JM: Yeah.

FA: Um.

JM: Tell me, if you would, a little bit about, um, Mr. Anderson, your decision to, um, seek a job at the, at the box factory, and what it was like to – what your job was at the factory, and what it was like to work in there.

FA: Yeah. When I first went there, my first job I was working in the shipping department. I was what you call a loader. That's loading boxcars and trucks. And from that, I

went to trucker. That's when you're promoted to drive a forklift and do the loading with a forklift. And I left that and moved to another department, which is called the corrugator, and I went on the job there as a take-off person. And I moved from the take-off person to a slitter operator, and I moved from that to a First Helper. And I left that position to go to an overhead crane operator.

And all those jobs was held, previously held – all but a take-off person – was held by white employees. And I was able to work myself through that line, and it wasn't easy. Because when you really had to be trained by a person that you was going – eventually replaced him. And that's not easy. That's not easy for anybody to do, so you can imagine about how much training you would get. So, we basically had to, basically, train ourselves. We had to train ourselves.

And the hard thing about when I went to the overhead crane operator, I didn't have no training whatsoever. I had to train myself on it, and that's a dangerous job, too, overhead rail, and a crane operator. And that is the job that I basically got injured on – probably the lack of training – that I had to retire from.

JM: Uh-huh, I see. I see.

FA: But to get a change in that box factory, going back to that workplace, we had to walk – I had to walk amongst some of our other employees – picket on our own company. And that's not easy, walking picket on your company, and then you've got to put the picket down and punch in and go to work for the same people that you're out there fighting. So, you can imagine how the tension in the things was there. It was, it was, it was, it was, it was tough. It was tough.

JM: Yeah.

FA: And –

JM: May I ask –? Excuse me.

FA: We went on to a – my wife mentioned about we went to the Meredith march when James Meredith got jumped on when he was going back to Ole Miss [University of Mississippi] for a reunion of some sort. And we were asked as the Deacons to come and protect the march. And from the time that we got there, we was able to march them in with no incident after that. And that [0:20:00] was during the time, because we were very good at what we did, protecting people. We protected our neighborhoods that stopped people from driving by, shooting up in their houses and beating them. We had walkie-talkies. We had things that communicate with one another all through the community. We'd know where everybody was at. We'd know if – we had block captains. We had everything set where anything – if anybody come in there, we were able to block the streets off. Because we have to be – we had to be our *own* protection, because the police were not there to protect us.

JM: Exactly.

FA: They were there to protect the Ku Klux Klan.

JM: Yeah. How did you first hear about the Deacons or become a member of the Deacons in ['61]?

FA: Uh, first we were just sitting around, and, um, somebody come from Jonesboro.

JM: Yeah.

FA: And was talking to us. And I was in that meeting. And they was talking about how they was able to form – they formed this organization. We become a charter member of it.

JM: You were at that very first meeting in February?

FA: That's right.

JM: With the – with, um, the two folks from Jonesboro?

FA: That's right. It was with Jonesboro. And it sounded pretty good to us.

JM: Tell me what you remember from that meeting. I think that – I think they were, um, Ernest Thomas and Fred Kirkpatrick.

FA: That's right. And I remember setting in on the meeting. They were explaining what they did in Jonesboro, and how they did it, and what we needed to do. And from that meeting, we just kind of bought into it. And then, we just kind of set up our own Deacons for Defense, and ours eventually kind of overshadowed theirs. But it originally came from Jonesboro.

JM: Yeah. Had you grown up using a rifle or shotgun to hunt, or how did you –?

FA: Yeah. We've all been hunters. We've all been hunters. We know how to hunt. We know how to take care of weapons. We know all of that. But that's the onliest reason we – I had never shot at a person or nothing like that, because we never dared. We always were law-abiding citizens. We knew, hear about – we come up, and our elders would tell us what certain things you can do and certain things you can't do. "This is not for you. Don't do that," because they were basically trying to keep us out of trouble. And, uh, trouble was easy to get into back then.

Because I was – I remember one time I was – me and three of my civil rights workers was coming out of that restaurant at Acme Café. And I walked out of the café, and somebody was on the side of me in the dark and hit me with some weapon. And from that incident, me and my three workers, we were charged with attempted murder, uh, of three waitresses in the restaurant that worked there.

JM: In '66, I think.

FA: In '66.

JM: Yeah. And, as I – if I – you can tell me if this is right or not. I read that, um, that when you were attacked, in an effort to fight back, a gun was discharged. And then, later the authorities charged you with attempted murder on the staff inside the restaurant.

FA: That's right. That's exactly how that happened. And the amazing thing about it, when I got – who arrested me was my two classmates, [laughing] the same two blacks that I helped to get employed. That's just the way it, it worked out. But they were doing what they were told to do. They were doing their duty.

JM: Sure.

FA: At that particular time.

JM: Yeah. I want to come back to a lot of these things. But, Mrs. Anderson, I know that you must have had a very interesting, um – well, I'd love to hear about – you had mentioned Mrs. Hicks and your relationship with her. I'd love to hear about that and I'd love to hear about your perspective watching your husband move into the Deacons and watching all that history unfold in front of you and your role inside of all that.

CA: We were partners. The, um, when they beat him, I was in Covington, Louisiana. I taught school there. And, uh, when I came home, they had arrested the car, too. So, his head was all swollen. And, incidentally, we were the only family that were involved in civil rights that could go to a doctor in Bogalusa. Everybody else had to leave town.

JM: Why was that?

CA: Cause they knew we would sue them.

JM: Because they knew you would sue them?

CA: Yep. So, when I got home, he was swollen up. Where's the car? [0:25:00] We didn't have but one at that time. And when they told me I could come get it, it was in the fire

station right next to the police department. And, um, they had the door down. That's a big, heavy door. And it was funny to the firemen. No black fireman there. And I tried to pull the rope to get – I weighed about a hundred and ten pounds. And I couldn't open the door. So, I climbed up on top of the car, caught ahold to the rope, swung down on it, and sent the door flying! Drove my car out – the back window was out of the vehicle – and came home.

I really – I was held back, because I'd have been in jail or somewhere. Mrs. Hicks was a calming factor to me, because when I wanted – if somebody did something to me, I wanted to get them back. She would say [speaking calmly], "No. No. Don't do that. Don't do that," and she would talk me out of a violent act most of the time.

In my family, when you were four years old, you were taught how to shoot and you were taught how to swim. When you made nine, you were given your own rifle. And all the time, I can remember when I was in a wagon as a little girl, and my daddy would take us hunting. And we'd stay and play around the wagon, and he'd go hunting. But I've been a hunter all my life.

JM: Were you, um – what did you think about, um, your husband joining the Deacons?

CA: All of the advice that other people gave me: "Leave him! You're just going to get yourself killed and get your children killed." No, that's not my way. I believed in what they believed in. If you don't defend yourself, who do you think will?

JM: Yeah. I want to ask you both for your feelings and recollections of, um, the, um – early '65 Robert Hicks, Gayle Jenkins, and, um, A.Z. Young will take, basically take control of the Voters League.

FA: That's right.

JM: And, um, and Andrew Moses resigns.

FA: Um-hmm.

JM: And, um – oops, we'll stop one second.

JB: What happened?

JM: We lost a light. We'll stop for a second. [Laughs] Just pause for a second.

JB: That's bizarre. [Pause] We're live.

JM: Okay. I'll just put the question back again.

FA: Um-hmm. Okay.

JM: Mr. and Mrs. Anderson, I'm very interested in your thoughts and reflections about, um, early '65, um, when younger folks, including, um, A.Z. Young and Robert Hicks and Gayle Jenkins, effectively take control of the Voters League. Andrew Moses has resigned. And there are a lot of – there are a lot of, um, conflicting opinions and perspectives on what's the best course to pursue civil rights in Bogalusa.

FA: Um-hmm.

JM: Some older folks have opinions. There's a lot of different range of opinion. And Mrs. Anderson, you had mentioned a moment ago, for example, that some people advised you, your friends even advised you to stay clear of the Deacons and direct involvement like that. So, could you talk a little bit about the various opinions that were in the community at that time, and how different people thought about trying to pursue civil rights?

FA: Um-hmm. Well, as far as the black population was concerned, the black community, a lot of them was afraid, because they had never stood up for opposition against the white establishment. They was afraid. And they was afraid that – they know who was in power. The police was in power, and they would come in and whup them. Some of them worked in the houses of these people. That's the onliest employment they had. And they was afraid that if something happened, they was going to get fired. They couldn't work at factories or nothing.

They didn't hire them. They wouldn't hire them at stores. They was maids in these houses. And when you're talking about picketing and going into restaurants and eating at the same counter, they were frightened. They was frightened, and they didn't know – they were just confused, though, which [0:30:00] direction to take.

And then, when A.Z., uh, come into the Bogalusa Voters League, I was very pleased with it, because we worked together. We worked in the same department.

JM: At the plant?

FA: At the plant. So, I've known him. And, uh, he was never elected. He just come into the Bogalusa Voters League and, I would say, acted as president, because he wasn't ever elected as president. But he did ask, um, Bob Hicks – he'd take it if Bob Hicks would come with him. And both of them worked at the plant with me, but I worked *with* A.Z. I knew Bob Hicks worked there, but I didn't really know him. I'd see him, but I didn't know him.

But I knew A.Z. from the time – A.Z. used to be in the taxi business. He owned taxi cabs, and I had worked for him during that particular time. And we worked together on the job, so that was very – Mrs. Jenkins, I didn't know Mrs. Jenkins at that particular time.

I know when we met with her later on when Edwards – Edwards was elected governor of the state of Louisiana. He appointed Gayle Jenkins on the school board and he appointed R.T. Young, which was A.Z.'s brother, to the school board. And that's when I began to know something about her.

JM: Yeah.

FA: Yeah. But I didn't really know her. And, uh, most of the positions that we got on the city council and the school board, they was appointed positions. They was not elected. Then, after we fought and went to court, they started redistricting and [giving] the black

community majority in the population where a black person could be elected. And from that, Mrs. Jenkins got reelected to the school board, and also R.T. Young.

JM: Right.

FA: And we got our first city elected officials, which were William Bailey and Richmond, Michael Richmond – were the first two. They were first appointed, and then after they redistricted, they were able to get elected by the black community. And that, and that redistricting still stands. That's the only – the same two that they had, that Governor Edwards appointed, is the same two that's there now! Not the same two people, but the same two positions – nothing changed. City council – nothing changed. Nobody had never been elected at large.

JM: Right.

FA: Other than in that district.

JM: Yeah, because the black fraction of the Bogalusa population [was/wasn't] large enough to –

FA: That's right. That's right.

JM: Yeah. That's interesting.

CA: Well, we had established ourselves on the north side of town. And when –

JM: As a young couple?

CA: Not young.

JM: No. Sorry, when you said you established yourself on the north side –?

CA: Uh, we was in the '60s.

JM: Okay, yeah.

CA: We was in the '80s when this happened.

JM: Yeah.

CA: When we became *aware* this was happening. We had to reregister, had to change our voting place. And when we got our cards back, they had him in District D and me in District C. So, I went down in the community and asked people to show me their cards. And when they showed me, just about everybody on the street had lived in the same house, but they had them voting in different districts. And this was one of the ways they used to help keep us –

JM: Exactly.

CA: From being a power for one particular candidate.

JM: Exactly.

CA: So, uh –

FA: Um-hmm.

JM: Yeah. May I ask you, Mrs. Anderson – I'm interested, um – you mentioned your friendship with, or meeting Mrs. Hicks for the first time and then your friendship with her.

CA: Um-hmm.

JM: I'd like to hear about that relationship, and I'd also be interested in any thoughts you can share about [clears throat] kind of comparing – this was a movement here in Bogalusa that had very strong, very strong leadership, *and* very strong leadership both from women and from men.

FA: Um-hmm.

JM: And I'm interested in your thoughts about how women played their roles in this history.

CA: This is one of the few communities where the black women had a voice. [0:35:00] Uh, the men didn't try to keep them from talking or being involved. In fact, the majority of the

time, uh, when they were taking care of banking business or something like that, when the, uh, person got through talking to them, they'd turn and ask their wife, "What you think?" Or sometimes the wife would be the person to pay attention and explain to him what was said. So, uh, it was just a normal thing for the black women to step up to the plate.

JM: What can you tell me about, um, about Gayle Jenkins? What do you – when – if I were to ask you to help somebody, many years later, to know what's really the essential things to know about Ms. Jenkins, what would you say?

CA: I would say that, uh, she was a fireball. She would, uh, get excited and – and the older people liked her and they would do what she say do. When Gayle was a senior – well, not a senior – when she was elected Miss Central [Central Memorial High School], I was in the second grade and I was a part of her court. So, I had known Gayle for a long time.

She worked a, uh, Desport Clinic [pause], and her aims wasn't high. See, then, in our community, you didn't have role models. And I remember her saying one time her role model, her intention in life, was to wear a white uniform, go to work at some white person's house, and bring the newspaper home under her arm when she got off work in the evening.

But when it came about – when civil rights came about in Bogalusa, it just, like, opened up like a flower for her. She and some more women – when "Willie Boy" Crawford first, uh, won the suit to desegregate Vo-Tech [Sullivan Vocation School], Gayle and a whole bunch of ladies went to school there. It's a two-year school. Four years later was when I met them again, from childhood to then. By this time, I'm working in Covington.

I said, "What you majoring in?" They told me. I said, "It don't take but two years for that." They had been there four. What they were doing, they would add courses to their field every time it was – well, every year they did it after the two years until they had attended school

for four years, and they never did graduate from Vo-Tech. So, then they had to drive to New Orleans or to Poplarville to school, and they became nurses.

JM: Yeah, yeah. Mr. Anderson, let me ask you about the Deacons, um, your recollections of the leadership. It looks like Charles Sims, um, Mr. Moore [nb: JM meant Sam Barnes], um, and how – well, let me start with them. I'm sorry, let me start with – if you would, I'd love your, um –

FA: Charles Sims? Charles Sims was at – from the meeting that we had with the group from Jonesboro, Charles Sims was elected president of the Deacons for Defense. Robert Hicks was vice president from that, from that meeting. Charles Sims appointed me lieutenant from that meeting.

I've known Charles for a long time. He – first, he had worked at the same plant that I worked at. And he got laid off. He got in a brawl, him and another white employee, and, uh, Charles Sims, uh, hit him with a hammer, and they, uh, dismissed him. And I'd been knowing him for a long time, and he was a fiery person. He was a [0:40:00] fiery person. He could arouse a crowd. He had a – he was a very intimidating person. And he did a great job as president of the Deacons for Defense, yeah, along with Robert Hicks, which was the vice president.

Me and Robert Hicks had occasion to travel. We went to California, raising money for the Bogalusa Voters League. We were very successful in doing that. And me and Robert Hicks worked shoulder – we walked picket together, we marched together, we did near about everything together. We sure did. And, um – but Charles Sims was a great leader, a great leader.

JM: How about –?

FA: Along with Sam Barnes and, um, Skipper Piper, and, um – they were tough. Uh, Perkins – Reese Perkins, and, um, and Willie James Preston, they were there. They were there, and, uh, Bertran Wyre. Bertran Wyre. Albert Davis, he was, um – they were some of the key members of the Deacons for Defense.

JM: Yeah. Let me ask you to think back to the first meeting again in February of '65, because I wonder if you – I wonder if you, if you, if all the members of the Deacons ever knew that the state authorities had an informant in that meeting.

FA: We sure didn't.

JM: Yeah.

FA: We sure didn't.

CA: [Whispers] I did.

JM: You did? Yeah, because a couple of days later, all those names were in the law enforcement files and on the governor's desk, etcetera. And I just –

FA: I wasn't aware that there was an informant in there. I sure wasn't. Um, um. I heard about one – I didn't – not in that meeting, in another meeting, one that come out of New Orleans, but I didn't know how true it was.

JM: Yeah. Mrs. Anderson, did you have a – did you want to say something about –?

FA: No, other than he, uh, than he was a plant in both organizations. I don't know how I got it, but usually I can tell a crook.

JM: Yeah. You knew at the time or knew it later?

CA: No, at the time.

JM: You knew it at the time?

CA: And it seemed like – when you voice that opinion about somebody, people kind of look at you. So, you have to be careful who you say it to, but I did say it to some people: “He’s a crook.”

JM: Yeah, yeah. Mr. Anderson, I know that some of the – many of the folks who were, um, among the list of men you just mentioned, many of them had military experience.

FA: Um-hmm.

JM: And so, they had, obviously, a lot of training with firearms and so forth. Other folks, like yourself and others, had hunted all their lives.

FA: Um-hmm, yeah.

JM: So, handling a shotgun or rifle was very familiar.

FA: Um-hmm.

JM: Can you describe some of the ways you organized your work? I know that you used special, like, flashlight signals. You mentioned walkie-talkies.

FA: That’s right, walkie-talkies. We also bought weapons to, um, defend ourselves, which were carbines and 30-30s, and we had handguns and stuff like that. We bought some of that stuff with the money that we raised and people brought in and donated to us, so people like Louis Lomax and other people from California. And we used those funds to arm ourselves, the people that didn’t already have arms. We had people like Willie James Preston and all had served in the military, and they were firearm experts. And they had other people that even much was not a member of the Deacons, but they would show you how to do certain things, because they was afraid to be known and they was afraid of what would happen to them and their families. But they would secretly show us how to do things, how they organized things, and how to – helped us all the way. Those that – people did not – never mentioned.

JM: Right.

FA: You know, because they were – wanted to not be mentioned.

JM: Yeah. How many, how many members would you say would have been publically recognized?

CA: Excuse me.

JM: Yes, please.

CA: May I take a break?

JM: Yes, please. Let's take a break.

[Recording stops and then resumes]

[Brief conversation about setting up microphones]

JB: Okay, we're back.

JM: Did it come back on? Okay, we're filming again.

FA: Okay. [0:45:00]

JM: Um. Let me ask about, um, right in the middle of the summer of '65, when things really kind of come to the fullest point of tension.

FA: Um-hmm.

JM: Um, the Klan has been really fighting hard to try to beat back the – any signs that the movement might move forward.

FA: Um-hmm.

JM: And, um, the League is pushing real hard, marching, marching, marching.

FA: Um-hmm.

JM: Um, do you remember how you feel – you felt in those months? Did you feel optimistic? Did you feel fearful? Did you feel – I mean, you might have felt many things.

FA: Um-hmm.

JM: I wondered, uh, what it was like to go through that.

FA: Well, what we felt is: How long is it going to take before we start seeing a change? You know, how long we are going to have to fight. See, we were doing all this marching and all that fighting and we still have to work for a living. And it was *heated* when you go to work, when you go into those workplaces. And we have to travel to different places, and then we have to deal with the police up and down the highways and the state troopers and all that. They'd be giving tickets; you'd be getting pulled over. You don't know, uh – we were always obedient to the law. You know, we always – regardless of what you have, they are the law. You have to honor the law.

CA: You respect them.

FA: And, although knowing that they wasn't upholding the law, they was just doing things to make everything difficult for us. We were getting tickets everywhere, have to pay them, and your record with the insurance company – insurance company dropping you because you get traffic tickets and all this kind of stuff, dropping your insurance on your car, your home, and your life insurance. It was tough. It was tough. But we were determined. We wasn't going to be stopped. We was going to make a difference in the city of Bogalusa and in the state of Louisiana. We was –. They were no black troopers in the state of Louisiana until we marched to Baton Rouge.

CA: That's right.

FA: And got a black state trooper assigned. So, we opened up doors that way. And some of the surrounding towns saw what was happening in Bogalusa, and they didn't want to go

through the same thing. They started opening up to the black community, in hiring, and opened up some doors for them in other areas. But it was tough.

JM: Yeah. Um, when you think back, again, on the Deacons and your work to protect the black community, is there any one episode or a couple of episodes that really come first to your mind when you think about that as a particularly interesting or particularly memorable, significant moment?

FA: Well, it was a significant moment when we were marching from – we had been to the courthouse, we were coming back, and one of the Klansmen, uh, attacked the march, somebody in the march. And he had to be shot. And that was, um, something that we was hoping that nothing like this had to happen. But it was a case of self-defense and what you have to do.

Even much when me and my two fellow workers was arrested for this, it was throwed out of court. You know, they would just put charges on you and bring things on you that they knew couldn't stand up in the court of law. And we were fortunate enough to have Elie and Robert and, uh – Nils [Douglas], [Lolis] Elie, and Robert [Collins] to come down and fight our case, and they just throwed it out of court.

JM: Yeah.

FA: I never – never went to – never went anywhere.

JM: Yeah.

FA: Never went anywhere. And at that particular time, they were three of the highest bonds ever been in Washington Parish. It was seventy-five thousand dollars on each account.

JM: Yeah.

FA: It was two hundred and, what, twenty-five thousand dollars that the – total.

JM: Yeah.

JB: [Speaking to Mrs. Anderson] What were you going to say?

CA: They, uh, arrested me. I was coming home from work. I stopped behind a school bus where they used to have a railroad track [0:50:00] when you just – when you got on 21. There was a state trooper behind me. He rode behind me, and I was behind the bus, made every stop the bus made, until we got to Waldheim.

JM: Until you got to –?

CA: Waldheim, Louisiana. He pulled me over. He said, uh – I handed him my driver's license. He said, uh, "Where you going?" I said, "Home. I live in Bogalusa." He said, um, "Hmh! Do you work?" I said, "Yes, I do." "Do you work?" "Yes, I do." "Do you work?" "Yes. I. Do." "Follow me." So, I did a U-turn and followed him to jail. He put me in jail, locked me up. My bond was forty dollars. I had it! I called Fletcher and told him I was in jail, come get me. And he came to Covington and picked me up. That charge was never taken to the next level. It was just harassment.

JM: Yeah. I'm pretty sure I understand the point you're making about his repeated questions, but for the recording, can you say why you think that –?

CA: Because I would not say, "Yassuh." Wasn't about to do that. And when I got in the cell, I was in the cell with a young lady and I was fixing to go into my act. And she asked me would I please not, because they would make it hard for her after she left. And they tried to make it hard for me, going in there, but I got on their nerves real good.

JM: Mr. Anderson, let me – you mentioned the shooting in July of '65.

FA: Um-hmm.

JM: Can you describe that situation in a little more detail, why it was, how that happened?

FA: I don't – we were just marching. They was heckling on the sides, you know. They were – uh, the guy that got shot was slinging racial, uh, slurs and everything at the marchers. Then, uh, quite naturally, a few guys slung back at him. And when they would give it back at him, it was just something that he couldn't take, and he just dashed toward the march.

CA: But that wasn't the guy hit Hattie?

FA: And, uh, he got shot, um-hmm.

JM: Henry Austin shot him?

FA: Mmmm. No, it was, uh, Milton – who the man that caught him – was it Milton? It was another guy.

JM: Milton Johnson was with –

FA: Milton Johnson. That's right, Milton Johnson.

JM: Yeah, because, see, Milton Johnson was getting attacked by the mob.

FA: That's right, um-hmm. Milton Johnson.

CA: Uh, Hattie, too? Was that when they attacked Hattie?

JM: The little girl?

CA: Yeah, Hattie.

JM: Yeah. I think that's right.

FA: And I remember one occasion we was picketing on, uh, public property, me and, uh, Robert Hicks and a bunch more of us. And they arrested us and put us in a school bus and carried us to St. Tammany. Well, the bus broke down, throwed a rod on the way to St. Tammany. So, we had to set in the bus and wait till they brought another bus. And, uh, that was

one of the tech – one of the things. We was on public property. No private property. Nothing came of that – busload of us – nothing became of that. No charges, no fine, no nothing. Got bailed out.

CA: [unintelligible remark]

FA: Our lawyers come in and got everything dismissed. We just walked out of jail. That was it. Never heard no more about it.

JM: Yeah. Let's take a little pause briefly, if we could.

[Recording stops and then resumes]

FA: Well, you know.

JB: We're back.

FA: Some of the people that were there? Is that what you're talking about? Yeah, well, some of the people, like I say, that was with us was Willie James Preston and his brother, Oliver Preston, and they were very, very active in the movement. There was, uh, women like Helen Jefferson, and, uh, a guy by the name of James Brown. And they was –

CA: Cornelius?

FA: Cornelius Griffin. And they was very [0:55:00] – Cornelius Griffin was the one that used to pick up James Farmer from court when he'd come in. And, uh, we would pick him up from the airport. We would protect him while he was here. We would protect his workers, the CORE workers, the civil rights workers, while they were here, make sure no danger comes to them. It was – that was Cornelius Griffin's and my job. That's what we were assigned to. And, uh, all the top people that would come in, we were the ones that watched them. We were the ones that protected them, Cornelius Griffin and myself, during that time.

And he was – Cornelius was attacked on Columbia Street in front of Winn-Dixie, when Winn-Dixie was on Columbia Street. They, uh, beat him up pretty badly. And nothing was – ever come to that. Anytime that something would happen to a black person, they would never do anything about it.

We had, uh, one of our dear friends, [Captain Donald Ray] Sims, come in from the military, Captain Sims. He was making a phone call in a phone booth right there on Columbia Street. A Klansman shot him in the phone booth. Nothing, uh – [Secretary of Defense Robert] McNamara had to come to Bogalusa to see after him. Nothing ever happened to that. And we were just open game. And even much with the protection that we were giving, some people come to town, like Sims, he wasn't aware of what was happening here. And he went to a phone booth to make a phone call, and all this happened to him. He's in the military, fighting for this country, and gets shot. Yeah. Yeah. Never one thing.

JM: Yeah. Can you share your recollections of, um, folks in CORE and the collaboration between the League and CORE?

FA: It was great! It was great. They was a lifesaver to us. And they came here with a lot of knowledge, too, because they were marching, demonstrating, and all that kind of stuff. They were very knowledgeable of what to do, and how to do it, and how to stay out of harm's way.

CA: And how to protect yourself.

FA: And how to protect yourself. They were very knowledgeable. And James Farmer was a – oh, boy! I don't know what we would have did if it hadn't been for him. I have so much respect for him. And Dick Gregory and all of them, they would come in and they would help us.

They would help us to raise money and do and help to keep the movement going. Dick Gregory was a lifesaver, too. He was very helpful to us.

CA: He taught the black people of Bogalusa how to stop a pattern that had been set or established. And, instead of buying a Cadillac, buy a Volkswagen and drive that until you could buy you a Cadillac, you could afford it. They emphasized, "Don't make the other man fat off your labor. Let your labor work for you." And as far as the Deacons are concerned, when we were on our way to Baton Rouge, we got to Hammond.

JM: You mean on the march to Baton Rouge?

CA: Oh, yes!

JM: Yeah.

CA: And, uh, we decided we were going to spend the night in the park, in Greenville Park. And that's where the football field was for a black high school. And the police department, sheriff's department, came down from Hammond, from Tangipahoa Parish, and told us that we could not stay there, that that was private property. So, we told the police that, "Okay, we'll march up to Southeastern University and we'll spend the night there. We pay taxes, so that's somewhere we can spend the night." Well, they discussed it and they decided it was all right to stay in the park. We circled the cars in the park like the wagons in the Indians' time. And, uh, they sent state troopers. Now, the state troopers were there to guard us, [1:00:00] not protect us. And, uh, we spent the night in the park. But the next morning, they wanted to search all the cars, black people's cars.

And that was the one time that I was proudest of the Deacons, because, see, when we were on that march, we didn't have – people wouldn't let us use the bathroom, we couldn't drink water, we had to provide all our own needs. So, Mr. Wyre built a latrine on the back of a truck,

and he and his wife drove the latrine. That's Bernadine's Mama and Daddy. The, uh – when we came out of that march and headed – I came out of the park and headed toward Baton Rouge, they sent me home. The rest of them headed toward Baton Rouge. But when I went that way the next day, they had tacks as thick as rocks for miles on that walkway, on that road going toward Baton Rouge.

JM: The Klan had put down all that, all those tacks?

CA: Yep.

FA: Um-hmm.

JM: Did you, um – what was your, um, sense of the Klan in the community after, finally, the federal government came in and really came down on them with a lawsuit? And, uh, did you have a sense that things had shifted in an important way, or no?

FA: Well, the onliest thing that happened at that point, they was – some of them was exposed.

CA: That's right.

FA: We knew who they were. You know, they was identified. The federal government had identified them, because some of them I worked with on my job. And, uh, some of them was my supervisors, people that was over me. And it's hard to – you can imagine how tough that can be, when you know that your supervisor is a Klansman. And he is there, and you can see him taking up money to send to the – to help the Ku Klux Klan in the fight out here in the streets and in the state. And you're working there and you have to take all this from your supervisor, whatever he tells you, you have to do. And you've got to respect him, whatever – as telling you what to do, yeah, you have to respect that. Because if you don't do that, then you

lose your job and you can't support your family. And we have to always keep that in mind, too, always keep that in mind, too, at the workplace.

But one thing about where I worked, regardless of what you did outside the plant, that was your business, as long as you were able to report back to work. They didn't penalize you for what you did outside of the plant. That's your business. You could do – we could do anything we wanted to do, as far as our activity for a march. And they might could [brief unintelligible few words] but they couldn't take your job, but they didn't do that.

JM: Because of the union, really, probably.

FA: That's right. We had a strong union. But at that particular time, we had two unions. We had a white union and a black union. And that is some of the things that we were – that they should do, is merge and make it one.

JM: Through the lawsuit?

FA: Yeah. Yeah. And that made it – when we all come together, that made things a lot easier. It sure did.

CA: It didn't help education, though.

JM: That's a great point, and I want to ask that in [one minute]. But can I take you back? You were shaking your head a moment ago when asked the question: Did it feel like much had changed after the federal government came down on the Klan? And you were shaking your head.

CA: No. No. In Bogalusa, when they make an announcement [pause], you can tell from the location whether black folk can attend. You're not welcome. All they want you to do is shop in town.

JM: It's your sense that, [clears throat] in that most essential way, the community didn't really change through the '60s and beyond?

CA: This town died to keep from changing, literally died. You can see the street. Drive down the street. It's dead.

FA: As far as education, to my knowledge, [1:05:00] it's that – at first it was separate. You know, we was getting the books that come from the, uh, white school. But when we integrated, we still was – we're reading out of the same books, we're having math and everything, it's the same, but we're on the same level. From that point, I think things are better, I think things are better.

But, although we – my last recollection was we are sixty-four in the school system, black kids, sixty percent black, forty percent white. But we're not in control of nothing. You know, the school board is predominately white. The principals and assistant principals and everybody in authority is predominantly white. So, even some of the whites in Bogalusa have sent their children to [DeParry]. They won't even much send them to public schools, because they say they can't get a good education in the system, because they quit teaching. That's what is being said. They've quit teaching anybody, so they say. They've opened up a lot of private schools and they send their kids to private schools because they don't trust the public school system. And by integrating, we're kind of on the same level, as far as being in the same school, with the same books and, you know, all that.

And it helped the relationship of the young people with each other. They can see that what their parents had told them down through the – that's not so. That's not the kind of people they are. They are good people. They come from good homes. They are this, and that

relationship with them is a lot better. And I think that comes from the integration of the school system, um-hmm.

CA: They, uh, they hired a lot of teachers that are not qualified. You've got – the biggest group when you go to a college graduation is the general education people. And when they came out, looked like all of them came to Bogalusa and got hired. Now, when they first desegregated the schools white teachers who could not stand the thought of teaching black kids retired. Some teachers stayed, and they could not stand the thought of teaching black kids and they taught the white kids. They changed the method of teaching. Teachers used to stand in front of the class and teach everybody, and everybody learned. After desegregation, the teachers had to walk up and down the aisle and pay attention to individual students and correct them. They did not correct the black kids. They just continued to go wrong. Then, they inter, inter, invented special education and modern math. All these things hindered true education.

FA: Hmm.

JM: Yeah.

CA: And it's still hindered.

JM: Do you have any final thoughts, things we haven't talked about, or Elaine, do you have thoughts, any last issues or words?

Elaine Nichols: I actually do. If you could do anything different, if you could change anything that you did back then, would you change anything?

FA: If I could change anything? What I would like to see that it comes a time when we see each other as a person, as a person, when the race – not the color of their skin, not anything to do that – we'll see a person as a person for what he is. Therefore, as far as – and that's what I would like to see. That's the change I would like to see. Will I ever see it? I guess – seems like

there's going to always be racism. I guess there was racism from the time that the country was ever formed. I believe the [1:10:00] – I can see it every day in the news media. I can see it every day in Bogalusa. I can see it at the workplace. What makes it? I don't know. I don't know.

But I'll tell you one thing. We're going to study and fight to try to make a change. We're going to study and fight to try to make a change. And all these changes that we have made so far, I know it was just the help of the good Lord that kept us here to fight it, because we have been in some battles.

And even much that march to Baton Rouge, it was fights all the way, all the way there. And it got so bad at one time, we got halfway there, they wanted us to go – take [Highway] 55 and go up through McComb, [Mississippi], and, uh, come back home. And at that particular time, we told the state trooper that if we have to die on the highway, we would die the way we come down there. That's the way we're going back. And we decided to come back that way. And there was – shots were fired at us coming back. But we made it back. We made it back.

And, uh, that's – we never did back up for no – regardless of the circumstance, we didn't back up, and I'm just so proud of that. I'm just so proud of the accomplishments, that I was able to work alongside of A.Z. Young, Robert Hicks, and Charles Sims to make a difference in Bogalusa and in the state of Louisiana.

And there were women like myself [FA means his wife] and Mrs. Hicks and Mrs. Jenkins that was a part – and Mrs. Wyre – that was a part of this, that were part of – these strong women, strong women that made a difference. Strong women that had their husbands' backs when they [unintelligible few words]. Strong women that protected these children and marched them to

school when they were the first blacks to go into the school and were there to protect them while their husbands were at work, made sure there was no danger come to them.

And we've definitely got some strong black women in this town, and some of them are still in the school system, still fighting to make education better for the blacks *and* the whites, because the black ones is still teaching. They're still there teaching, because they know everybody needs an education. Whether you're black or whether you're white, you need an education. And the less educated is where you're basically going to find the Ku Klux Klan, because the educated person mostly has more knowledge and education and sense to do the things that the less-educated Klansman does. An educated person is very seldom going to drag you down the streets behind a car or lynch you. They're not going to do that, but the less educated person will.

And that's why education is so important. It is the key. It is the key to racism, I think. It is the key to America being a better America than it is. And we need education. We have to strive to have education, whatever we do. And this –

EN: Can I add one other question, based on your response? A number of people who were involved in the civil rights movement have talked about their great disappointment that young people have not taken up the banner and found areas where they could create change and make a difference themselves. What's your thinking about the role of young people today?

FA: That is a question that troubles all of us. I – either – now, some of those young people don't know nothing about the movement, and we do as much as we can to get the history out, the same thing y'all are doing now. And the more knowledgeable they become, hopefully, they will get involved in it.

But some have said that drugs were planted in the community. Drugs were planted in the community by the policemen and the federal agencies, I've been told. I know it's here. How it get here? I don't know. No black person have no way of getting it here. And it feeds their drugs in the community, and they get hung up on drugs, and that's all they look for.

They've got these teen pregnancies that there's no man [1:15:00] in the home, and that makes a difference. That makes a difference, and they're not doing the things that we figured they should be doing to make life better. Because they get – if they're trapped in poverty, some of them have got where they don't see no way out. And for some reason, they think that if they could just stay high on drugs, stay in the situation that they are in, that they're going to survive. But that's, that's, that's not what's going to happen.

Either you're going to get your education and you're going to come out of the situation you're in, or you're going to die in poverty. You will not – to be a leader, to help, you have to have an education. You have to have an education. And these, uh – and some of the young blacks that have went on to have an education and they – I think they think if they make a wave, it will interfere with their life.

CA: They're scared for the children.

FA: If I'm doing pretty good, I'm not going to reach back and help nobody else. If I'm, uh – got a commercial or something, when it comes to athletes, I'm not going to speak out against anything. I'm just going to take the good, easy road for myself and my family. But that's not the way we were. That's not the way the civil rights was based on. That's not the way Martin Luther King, that's not the way the rest of us have – A.Z. Young, Fletcher Anderson, Robert Hicks – that's not our thinking. You've got to help somebody else. You've got to help somebody else, regardless of – life is not worth living if you can't think of something you did to

make life better for somebody else. I think we all are put here for a purpose. That purpose is to help life better for yourself and somebody else in your family, to make this world a better place to live in than when you found it. Make it better. Make it better. My children are supposed to have more than I have. Their children are supposed to have more than they have. We're supposed to grow, not sink. But if some of the blacks stay on drugs they've got them where they just become stagnated right where they are. They don't choose to move. But, hopefully, through what y'all do, through history, through what they can see what the other blacks have achieved during their struggle, what's still *left* to be achieved, they will step up to the plate and start doing something. I hope I can live to see that day. I hope I can live to see it.

JM: I've got one final question.

FA: Okay.

JM: Um, when you think back on the Bogalusa movement, could it ever have taken the form that it did without the real capacity in the community for self-defense?

FA: I don't think so.

CA: Me either.

FA: I don't think so. Because we have to be able to – for the community to see that there was somebody going to protect them, that they could go to bed, knowing that somebody was out there protecting them, that they wasn't going to be drug out of their houses, they wasn't going to be killed, their children wasn't going to be an Emmett Till or those type situations happening to them. And once they knew that, they was able to come out and go to their jobs and come back. A lot of them suffered. A lot of them got laid off. A lot of them got laid off because they come out of the maid business, and some of the – some of them that was the onliest income that they had, because some of them didn't have husbands.

CA: A lot of them.

FA: And they suffered, too. They suffered, too. But without the Deacons of Defense, your question, no, it couldn't have stood. The Klan in Washington Parish is as powerful as any population in the world. Population size is strong as any place else in the world, and that still exists. That still exists. That still exists.

CA: Only they got on a three-piece suit, now, and a tie. That's the difference in them.

FA: But, uh, the fear is gone. The fear is gone out of black people of the Ku Klux Klan. That fear is gone. There is no more fear there. The Deacons took the fear out of it, because they taught them that the same [clears throat] bullet [1:20:00] that will kill you is the same bullet that will kill somebody else. There's no difference. There's no difference. But it also shows you that you don't look for trouble; all you do is protect yourself. Protect yourself. And, um, so far, that's been happening here. Yeah. We have very few killings when we have a black killing a white. Our thing is black on black crime. We have a lot of that. We've been working with that. And there's not as much here as in other places. Very seldom it happens here.

CA: It used to be if a white killed a white, they'd go through the black community beating up the black men. [Pause]

FA: Um-hmm. And we've been able to keep that black-on-black crime down tremendously in this city, in this city. That is one of the things that I think a lot about and I'm very proud of, I'm very proud of. And talking to the young black people is something that we constantly do, in our churches, in our communities, and everywhere else to make things better.

Right now is – Bogalusa is trying to get one YMCA. You know, they had a black one and a white one. Now, they're coming together to get one. [Someone coughs] That's the first time that's ever been did in the history of Bogalusa. In all other cities, you probably see just one,

where all go the same one, but here they still got a black one and a white one, and this is 2011. This is 2011. Well, thank the good Lord, thanks the help of the Lord that this is going to bring about a change, bring about a change.

JM: I really want to thank you both so much on behalf of all the folks involved in the project. It's been a real privilege and honor to be with you. Thank you both so much.

FA: Thank y'all. Thank you all.

CA: You're quite welcome.

FA: Thank y'all for coming. Appreciate it.

[Recording ends at 1:22:09]

END OF INTERVIEW