

Civil Rights History Project
Interview completed by the Southern Oral History Program
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Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of African American History & Culture
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Interviewee: Mrs. Gwendolyn Annette Duncan
Interview Date: Tuesday, September 13, 2011
Location: Meeting room, Hilton Bayfront Hotel, St. Augustine, FL
Interviewer: Joseph Mosnier, Ph.D.
Videographer: John Bishop
Length: 33:37 minutes
Note: Dr. Robert B. Hayling sat in on this interview.

John Bishop: We are rolling.

Joseph Mosnier: I have to do a little quick introduction.

Gwendolyn Duncan: Okay.

JM: Um, my name is Joe Mosnier of the Southern Oral History Program at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. I'm with videographer John Bishop. We are in St. Augustine, Florida. Today is Tuesday, the thirteenth of September, 2011. We are at the Bayfront Hilton in St. Augustine to do a series of interviews related to local civil rights history for the Civil Rights History Project, which is a joint undertaking of the Library of Congress and the Smithsonian National Museum of American History. John Bishop, I think we are not recording –

JB: Um, we are recording.

JM: We are recording to the XD cards.

JB: I got those back.

JM: Okay. We have those back. Um, do you need any room tone?

JB: No, we're okay on that.

JM: Okay. Any other housekeeping?

JB: No.

JM: I think not, okay. Um, we're delighted today to be able to sit down with you, Ms. Duncan. Um, uh, our interviewee is Ms. Gwendolyn Annette Perkins Duncan and we will talk about local civil rights history and her involvements, uh, that are ongoing still even today. Um, thank you very much for your generous willingness to sit down and also your flexibility because I know we've had to juggle our day today. So thank you for that.

GD: You're welcome.

JM: Yeah.

GD: Thank you.

JM: Let me ask just to, and I think we'll probably spend about a half an hour together, so we can kind of pace ourselves that way. Um, I wonder if you could start by talking a little bit about your family and it's, how, how it's situated here, um, historically in, in St. Augustine and how you've, how you've all had your various involvements in, in the Movement and its legacy.

GD: Okay. I'll start off. My name is Gwendolyn Annette Duncan and, um, I was born and raised in Lincolnville of St. Augustine, Florida, June 28th, 1956. I am a fifth generation native. My great-grandfather, my great-great-grandfather, Thomas A. Findley, lived in St. Augustine and in Lincolnville. I was told that he moved from the Carolinas. It took many years for them to get here and I used to often wonder from a child why would they come so far to St. Augustine? What was the driving force to lead this family to come, Findley is a surname, to St. Augustine? And later in life, I learned why.

But my great-great-grandfather, he had thirteen children. Some were born along the way coming to St. Augustine in South Carolina, Georgia, and eventually he ended up in, um, Moultrie, which is just south of St. Augustine, St. Johns County. And I was told that and we did the research that he had about thirteen acres and was a farmer. Now his daughter, which was my great-grandmother, Abbie Findley, she, she married a Hilman, Abbie Findley Hilman. She bought some land in Lincolnton and the *St. Augustine Record*, which did not mention black people often, made mention of his eighty-ninth. Uh, he died at eight, eighty-nine years of age and they said he served the white community well. That was in the newspaper. We all just like, we were, what he was, he brought his wares from Moultrie to St. Augustine, the city of, and eventually moved in Lincolnton with my great-grandmother. She was a founder of St. Cyprian's Episcopal Church, which has been in Lincolnton for maybe over a hundred and fifty years now. My mother, my mother's grandmother, Elizabeth, no, that was Abbie, she, um, lived right directly across from the church, which they built and it's still, it has half a congregation right even to this day.

Uh, it was fun growing up in Lincolnton. Things were segregated, but you know, as a child, you really didn't know what segregation was all about until you ventured off in the downtown areas. But growing up in Lincolnton like I said, it was great. There were many businesses along the way because of the segregation. You know, you had your own grocery stores. You had the beauty parlors. There were bars along the street on Washington Street. There were, uh, had newspaper publishers. Uh, you know, everything you needed was in Lincolnton and the church was a center of activity. They had the church socials, picnics, everything centered [5:00] around the church. And, uh, I am one of eight girls. My mother had eight girls, no boys.

JM: Eight girls.

GD: And, uh, so I guess it was kind of, you know, the house was situated for women and young girls, not my, my stepfather, who, uh, was the only man in the house, but a hard-working man and I thank the Lord, you know, for my great-grandmother. I knew her. She died at probably about eighty-nine or ninety years of age as well. She died before my grandmother, my mother's mother, died, and she died in November of 1963, the same month that, uh, President [John F.] Kennedy was shot. I can remember that happening. But I know you want to talk about the Civil Rights Movement. What I remember most from a child at seven and a half years old when Dr. [Martin Luther] King [Jr.] came to St. Augustine was the marches by the Ku Klux Klan. From a child's point of view, everybody dressed –

JM: Through Lincolntonville.

GD: Through Lincolntonville. From a child's point of view and you didn't know what was happening, uh, you thought it was some big parade that you wanted to participate in. You know, it was just, you know, it was a parade to me. But I can recall, you know, at night, there was a time of terror and, um, I remember one night in particular, I guess all the black people came out. Uh, I was a little child, but I can remember, you know, black people lining the streets and the Ku Klux Klan marching through the area and we went down on the corner of DeHaven and Central Avenue, which is now Martin Luther King Avenue and I, and we watched the marches march through our area. And I can remember as we were walking home, my mom holding my, one of my sister's hands and mine and she said, "Don't look back." I can just remember the terror of, "Don't look back. Keep walking."

And, um, some of my classmates, you know, at Excelsior [Elementary School], some of their homes on the other street were bombed, fire bombed, but I can remember something sticks

out in my mind about a bad cop and I used to think that Babcock Furniture store, they were bad people, but it was like this “bad cop” I would hear from a child’s point of view. Bad cop, she didn’t trust the bad cop, you know? And, uh, I remember one morning, you know, my mom was on the porch. She was combing hair and Dr. King must have, he was staying across the street to Mr. Proctor’s house and I don’t know if he stayed there that night. All I know is he came across the street to ask my mom is she was going to participate in the rally or the marches that night. And that, and I used to always think it was like a faded memory. I asked my mom when I got older, “Did that actually happen? Because I remember it happening.” You know? And she said it did. You know, you know, you have these faded memories and then you have to verify.

But um, as I grew older and I was about ten, eleven, twelve, when you had to venture off downtown, that was the only time I really experienced, uh, you know this segregation, going into a store and people watching you like you were going to take something or steal something. And I can remember the, because everything was in walking distance. Downtown was not far away. It was less than two miles, less than a mile.

But I can remember the doctor’s building and Flagler Hospital was around the corner and the, the doctor’s building on Tremerton Street, I can remember a “colored” sign being up on the wall when you walked through the front door and as you, it was right to the right. I mean, I can see that sign even now. But the memory is I can also, you know, remember it coming down. But we would have to go to the right and go around to the back of the doctor’s office and there was a straight hallway when you walked through the door that you could not tread and I was always wondering what was down that hallway? You know, that’s the way I wanted to go, but the sign, the colored sign pointed to the way that I should go.

But I can remember that sign coming down and although they painted over where that sign was, the spot where it was was still, it was, you still could see the spot. So when it came down, I thought, you know, and I took my sister, one of my younger sisters to the doctor because my mom would be working and my stepfather as well. But I had to take her to the doctor's office because although I was the second from the oldest, I, I was given a lot of responsibility, I guess, because I was, my mom always said, beyond my years. And I remember I said, "Well, that sign is down. I'm going to go straight down this hallway," which was forbidden before. And I walked down there and my little sister and we entered in the doctor's office and everybody looked at you as though you had a communicable disease, you know, when you walked through that door. I can just remember that feeling. But, um, and I went to the front, put my name down [10:00] for my sister as she needed to see the doctor and we sat down and to my surprise, they called us first and I thought, "Oh great. We don't have to wait that long." But then they marched us back through that office back to the back side where we used to come in the back.

JM: And if, if I followed your timing correct [clears throat], if, if you're ten or twelve at the time –

GD: Mmm hmm.

JM: This is well past, of course, the passage of the Civil Rights Act.

GD: Yes.

JM: This is '66, '67, '68.

GD: Yes, yes, yes. I couldn't remember the exact year, but I do remember the sign when it came down and as I grew older, you know, you don't understand from a child's point of view what is happening all around you. Yet I remember being in the fifth grade and I completed my fifth grade year at Excelsior Elementary School and in the sixth grade, we had to go, it was

forced integration. So our school closed down and we had to go to Orange Street School and I can recall the teachers not wanting to teach you, you know, it was, and the kids not wanting to sit by you. But I felt good about myself because I was not, you know, I guess I, I had some good self-esteem and, um, and I was a smart, you know, no brag, just fact, you know, I was a smart child. You know, I probably would have been valedictorian if the class, if, uh, the schools remained black, you know, or salutatorian of my class.

But I can remember going, being forced to go to these schools and, and we had to fight, like it wasn't non-violence. We had to fight. Even to eat, you know. Uh, the teachers didn't want to teach you and, uh, and you felt a sense of a second class citizen, which I never felt being in the area of Lincolnville when it was segregated, you know. But, and I didn't like that feeling and, uh, so I, even to, to my teen years going to the junior high school, uh, the junior high school didn't even have a cafeteria. So you had to walk back to Orange Street just to eat and the white kids would form a line, you know, to prevent you from going to eat your lunch, you know. So it was, it was a lot of violence back then, I remember in the teens, you know, in the junior high and the high school. It wasn't non-violence, you know. People were fighting, you know, just fighting just to, uh, like I said, just to eat lunch, you know, because you were not wanted and they made you feel that way. You were not wanted at those schools.

But the Lord blessed and we were able to get on and graduate even through St. Augustine High School, but you still felt that atmosphere of not being a part of the city in which you grew up in. Uh, my kids experienced it, you know, and there is an atmosphere still here in this town. Uh, Mrs. Carrie Johnson refers to it as like, uh, uh, a hidden vapor, you know, over this town.

But I thank the Lord for the Twines [Henry and Katherine Twine]. I thank the Lord for Dr. Hayling. I learned about him later in, in life as I grew up and, uh, but there was an

opportunity after one of my friends, Mrs. Katherine Twine, died. She, she would tell us bits and pieces about the Civil Rights Movement and, uh, I felt that because I, I lived through it, you know, the signs being up and then them coming down. But David Nolan [historian in St. Augustine with great expertise concerning the Movement], after her interment in 2002, he and J. T. Johnson from Atlanta, Georgia; Jean Billingslea-Brown, she was a professor at one of the schools, I think it was Spellman [College] in Atlanta; David Nolan, as I said; Mrs. Carrie Johnson; Dwight, uh, I think, I can't remember his last, last name, Dwight Hines, I believe it was; Sandra Parks, they all met at a restaurant, South Seas, over on the island [Anastasia Island] and they discussed the upcoming fortieth anniversary of the Civil Rights Movement of St. Augustine.

And David Nolan, who was a local historian, asked me to put on my thinking cap to come up with some ideas of how we could commemorate or celebrate this event. And so when I got that email, I, uh, told my husband about it and he said, "We'll help, you know, we'll, we'll do what we can." So I emailed him back and I said, "Whatever you want me to do, I'll do it." I said, "We can base this celebration, this commemoration on a family reunion and invite all these people had participated in the Movement back to St. Augustine." Because in 2001, we had a family, our first [15:00] Findley family reunion, in which we invited people from all around the country, you know, back to St. Augustine for a family reunion and David Nolan took part in that. And, uh, I just want to mention too that we found one of, my daughter did genealogy research and we found one of our cousins, who was the ambassador to Madagascar under President [Bill] Clinton's administration. We found her all the way over there in Africa, Madagascar, the island on the side [that is, of the African continent]. But it was such a wonderful time, a joyous time, until I thought that would be a great thing to invite these people back to hear their stories, their

incredible stories of their participation because we, as we learned about the Civil Rights Movement, we know a lot of them left the city.

So, Mrs. Carrie Johnson and I set up a meeting at the Galimore Center [named for St. Augustine native Willie Galimore, who played professional football with the Chicago Bears] and, uh, and we put it in the paper and invited people to come for a strategic meeting to see if there was any interest in, you know, having this commemoration, which was to take place in a couple years. And we were amazed that older people came out and they began to share their stories. There were incredible stories. Some of them were heart-wrenching stories. Some just, I mean, uh, it was just tear jerkers hearing what these, the terror that these people went through during that era of the Civil Rights Movement led by Dr. Hayling and Dr. King. And, uh, so from that meeting on, we decided we're going to, we're going to just bring these people back to St. Augustine, invite them and so they can tell their stories and, you know, just get together and not necessarily, uh, have a joyous time, but commemorate and remember and recognize what happened in St. Augustine because it was, it was hidden. It was hidden by the power structure of St. Augustine, who didn't want to acknowledge that something like that ever happened.

I remember one meeting we had at, uh, it was on DeSoto Place and J. T. Johnson would come in and he, he flew in from Atlanta. We invited him to come and there was a demonstrator sitting in the audience and he said, "Why don't you all let sleeping dogs lie? Why bring this up again? Just leave it alone. Let it go." And J. T. Johnson stood up and he said, "It's just time to just say thank you." And that struck me even to this day and we just wanted to say thank you. We wanted to bring these people back and just say, "Thank you for the sacrifices that you made for us."

I know it probably was disappointing to some of them who fought so much, you know, to make life better for the next generation and the generations after to come back and see things had not changed much here in St. Augustine. St. Augustine at one point didn't appreciate its black history. I learned later in life that, uh, that the first free black settlement in the United States was Fort Mose, you know, and that made me know why my ancestors came so far and risked so much to come to this place of sanctuary because it was a sanctuary for blacks at one point. But things have changed. They are not the same even now and it makes want to cry. It brings me to tears to know that, uh, all that Dr. Hayling fought for, all that Dr. Martin Luther King did here in this town, that some things still remain the same. But, and I will wipe my tears away, I am so thankful, I am so, uh, grateful for the sacrifices made by these people. I want them to know that their sacrifice was not in vain for me.

I have five children. Excuse me. I have five children and we stress education, that they must get a good education in order to survive in this world. But I have a son, uh, Zebulon Duncan, who graduated with an engineering degree from the University of Florida, industrial engineering degree in systems engineering, got a Bachelor's degree, and he got back to this town seeking a job and could not find a job. He was even qualified to teach, to teach geo, geometry, trigonometry, all of these high math courses, but he could not get a job in this city. So he went back to school and got his, uh, Bachelor's degree in building and construction and still couldn't get a job in this city. He wrote something that really touched my heart not too long ago and put it on, online, that the city that he loved will never be the city that he will come back to ever [20:00] again and this has been, this has been the norm for a lot of black people here in this, in this city. I'm just going to tell the truth, you know, about it. Uh, St. Augustine needs to change

and the change is going to come and I don't know who is going to make those changes. Maybe it will be the young people who will come to make changes here.

But, uh, about the Civil Rights Movement and the 40th ACCORD [formally the 40th Anniversary to Commemorate the Civil Rights Demonstrations, Inc. (40th ACCORD), a non-profit established 2003 to promote awareness of local movement history; placed thirty historical markers known as the ACCORD Freedom Trail Project], it has been a pleasure, it has been an honor these last eight years to bring recognition and honor to these folks, to enlighten the public about what happened here, the struggles that these people faced just, you know, for the basic human rights. And, uh, I just thank God our, uh, organization, the 40th ACCORD, there are no paid employees. Nobody gets paid and for a number of years, we weren't even funded, you know, but the Northrup-Grumman Corporation, thank God, they, uh, they decided to give us a chance and they funded thirty historic, civ – civil rights markers in and around the city. And I thank God that some city officials allowed this to happen and, uh, some private citizens offered and gave us permission to put these markers, these historic markers in their yard to tell the stories because there are many. There are numerous stories of the sacrifices made by just local citizens and those who came from afar, you know, to help with this movement.

And, uh, I'm, I'm just, uh, glad to be a part, you know, of bringing recognition to people like Dr. Robert Hayling, the St. Augustine Four, Audrey Neil Edwards [now Hamilton] and JoeAnn Anderson Ulmer. We have a lady who's a hundred. She'll be a hundred and seven years old this year who gave, her name is Mrs. Rena Ayers, who gave lodging and food to the many demonstrators who came from the North, to attorneys who came from the North to defend them in the courts. And, uh, it is our hope that, uh, this knowledge of this American history is known not only in the United States, but afar as well around the world. Uh, so if, uh, anybody watches

this fifty, sixty, seventy years from today, they'll know that, that there was some great people that walked among us, angels, I call them, and their sacrifices will not go in vain. And I want my children to know about it, my grandchildren to know. I want everyone to know what happened here in St. Augustine, Florida.

JM: Let me ask you kind of a hard question, which is, which is what are the things that haven't changed that are the problems now as you line them up and, and see them in the, in the city around you?

GD: Uh, there are not a lot of jobs and opportunities for blacks here in St. Augustine. Uh, if you went up and down the streets, you probably wouldn't even find, you probably could count on your hand the black businesses and I doubt if one hand would cover it. There was a loss of jobs, uh.

JM: Doubt if one hand wouldn't cover it probably.

GD: Yeah, one hand probably wouldn't, you know, cover those jobs, I mean, you know, those businesses. Uh, there's not a lot of blacks in the city government. There's not a lot of blacks even in any type of, uh, you know, administration and power here in St. Augustine, to me, you know, and St. Johns County. And, uh, a lot of people have just left the, the city. The young people have left and I don't know if they will return.

JM: Like your son, like your son as well.

GD: Yes.

JM: Yeah.

GD: But he doesn't live that far away. He's right over in Jacksonville and, uh, his wife is a, a, a professional, internal medicine. She, uh, has an M.D. in internal medicine. Uh, my, I have a daughter who has a doctorate degree in physical therapy, but she, she's here in St.

Augustine. She has a job now, but, uh, she's looking to go elsewhere and she just came back here a few months ago from Ocala, Florida, and she's thinking about moving to Hawaii for a little while and, you know, just seeing the United States. But, um, if we could get job opportunities bla – back here, I think, uh, there, there would be a change made in St. Augustine.

JM: Yeah. Tell me, I'm, I'm interested in the, in the reaction to the placement of the Freedom Trail markers.

GD: Well, uh.

JM: And the range of reaction, maybe, is the right way to ask the question.

GD: Well, they are like, uh, [25:00] as Ambassador Young said, they are like weeds growing up, uh, you know. Uh, I guess the atmosphere now is better than it used to be, I can even say, two or three years ago. There is a demand to know about the history. There are tourists coming in asking about the, uh, Civil Rights Movement. Some didn't even know it was a movement here and when they heard about it through, I guess, "Crossing in St. Augustine" [film produced by Andrew Young] that Ambassador Young did, that brought a lot of recognition to the movement. Some did even know Dr. King even came, but, uh, I think now the, with the new city manager, uh, you know, that attit – [attitude], with Ambassador Young coming, the, uh, the attitude has changed, a, a little bit. And I guess that once history that was covered up by the city is now being embraced because they see and I'm thinking because it's a money maker, you know, and I, and I believe the dollars, the revenue that can be generated is the driving factor now.

JM: Do you think that, do you think that that's ultimately the calculation that motivated the city's willingness to place the trail markers and the foot soldiers monuments rather than a,

more a sort of a deeper moral transformation? I mean, I know you can't really know the answer for sure, but.

GD: Well, uh, the foot soldiers monument, that was a private venture.

JM: Yeah.

GD: I mean, the city took credit after it was –

JM: Yeah.

GD: You know, the money was there and, you know, but –

JM: But at least they sort of, if they weren't welcoming, at least they didn't do what all that they could have from stopping it from happening. I can say that, I guess.

GD: Mmm hmm. I think, uh, the wheels were turning and then it just wasn't going to stop. I mean, people were going to keep coming, you know, and like I said, a lot of the people that gave us permission were private citizens to put those markers in, in their yards, uh.

JM: Right, right.

GD: But the city, I guess the attitudes have changed somewhat and you know with the advent of the, uh, Ambassador Young coming back here and previewing his movie, that, that, I mean, really things took off after that.

JM: Ah, just more exposure.

GD: Yes, more, very much. It was national exposure.

JM: How do you, how do you evaluate the motives of Northrup-Grumman?

GD: Well, you know what? I just, I'm going to attribute that to just God's blessings because I had wrote a letter to the management there asking for funding, you know, to help with the commemorations, the recognitions, the services that we were having, and, uh, it fell in the right hands. That's what I, I say. Uh, the Lord just blessed and it opened up their hearts because

the history shows that, uh, Fairchild-Hiller [Corp.], the company that was previously there, they were not very friendly to the civil rights demonstrators or the blacks that were employed there. Uh, and I, I attribute it to the people coming from the North. You know, the attitudes were not the same as those that were here in the south. Mmm hmm.

JM: Yeah, yeah

JB: Joe, I'm going to pause for a second.

[break in conversation]

JB: We're back.

JM: We're back after a brief, just a very brief pause to, um, change recording tracks.

JB: It's okay.

JM: Okay. Um, Mrs. Duncan, let me, let me ask you for, you've been so patient to accommodate our crazy schedule today and I, this, this history runs so broad and deep, it's, it's hard to, to have just a, a relatively small amount of time. But I want to ask you, are there other things when you tell this story and help people understand St. Augustine, other things that we should spend some time talking about, themes, episodes, incidents?

GD: Well, St. Augustine, I'm going to tell you, it is a great little town. I mean, it, I always thought it was a wonderful place to raise a family because it's quiet. You know, after being, being in New York City, you know, just visiting, I would not want to raise kids in, in, in New York City. St. Augustine was a, is a quiet town, a peaceful town, but as, uh, Hank Thomas said, it is paternalistic, as though we need caring for, you know, as though we can't take care of ourselves, your know. But, uh, it's a tourist town and, uh, they need to bring some more industry into the city. I can see the city of St. Augustine remaining old and, you know, uh, historic, but the county itself needs to open up to industry where people will come back and blacks will be, it

will be a place that they can come and raise their families, like it used to be. I would like to see it like it used to be.

JM: Yeah.

GD: [30:00] It was good growing up in Lincolntonville. It was good growing up in St. Augustine. And there were thousands of black people here. They have just taken flight out of this place and I think something needs to be done to draw the people back.

JM: What's next for 40th ACCORD?

GD: Well, uh, we have, uh, an upcoming speaker. Uh, we always commemorate the anniversary of the signing of the Civil Rights Act. This past July, we had, uh, Dr. Dorothy Cotton come. She was our keynote speaker and our guest speaker was Sonja Plumber. She was the granddaughter of one of the civil rights activists here, Rev. Goldie Eubanks. Uh, come July 2012, uh, we have, uh, author Taylor Branch coming and, uh, that's, that will be our signature event, the, uh. And we do Freedom Trail tours from time to time to educate the public and tourists who come, who want to know about the history, uh.

JM: And you help, you help, uh, with the whole series of, uh, materials and training for schoolteachers.

GD: Yes. We've done two workshops in the, uh, and we've gotten permission from the superintendant of schools and we did two workshops, uh, for the teachers of St. Johns County and it was wonderful and we had one at St. Augustine High School. Dr. Hayling was the speaker. We had brought in Miss Lillian Twine Roberson. Uh, it was numerous speakers to share their stories with the teachers. We put together a, a workbook, um, of civil rights activities: pictures, documents, for the teachers. The first year, Northrup-Grumman funded it and, uh, uh, I guess two years later, we did it again and we put them on, you know, the

workbook on a CD. But funding has been an issue, you know, for the 40th ACCORD in getting pro – programs done because it wasn't a popular subject and we sought state, federal, uh, you know, city, state, and county, federal funds, but never were approved. It wasn't for the Northrup-Grumman, you know, this story would not have gotten out.

So, uh, but our, I guess our long-term goal is to establish a civil rights museum here in St. Augustine. That is, it's not just the 40th ACCORD. We have, uh, the 40th ACCORD started an organization, uh, I guess a committee, and we had a meeting and they decided to come up from under the umbrella of ACCORD because it's such a big venture and, uh, we have the, uh, chairman, Richard [P.] Burton out of Jacksonville, who is a national NAACP board member. He's our chair, J. T. Johnson co-chair. We have the president of Flagler College on that committee. The mayor is on that committee. And, uh, we're looking by 2014 to have something up and running, not the multimillion-dollar facility that Ambassador Young has, uh, great hopes of, uh, raising funds for, but something to celebrate and commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the Civil Rights Act in St. Augustine.

JM: Yeah, yeah. Well, it's just been a great honor and privilege. I really want to thank you and, um, it'll be really great to watch all those plans move forward.

GD: Yes.

JM: So thank you for all that you've done and all that you're doing.

GD: Thank you.

JM: And thanks for joining us today.

GD: Mmm hmm. Thank you.

JM: Thank you. Mmm, wow. [clapping]

[Recording ends at 33:37]

END OF INTERVIEW