

Alexis McGhee: I want to thank you for allowing us to interview you today. I am assuming that you have a good idea of the purpose behind...

Lindsey Parker: I understand, yes.

AM: [laughter] Okay. Well, I am Alexis, and this is Kendra.

LP: Nice to meet you, Kendra and Alexis.

AM: We are both Psychology students at Georgia Southern.

LP: Poor girls. [laughter]

AM: We are making it through.

Kendra Cooper: Yes.

AM: I just want to make sure that you understand the whole informed consent page, basically explaining that this is completely voluntary. You have the right to end the conversation whenever or skip any questions. Do not be shy to say that you do not want to answer it. [laughter] Then I just need you to verbally let us know that you understand.

LP: I understand that this is totally verbal. Anything that I say can and will be used against me. No. I'm familiar with the oral history business. I've been interviewed one time before already. But yes, go for it.

AM: [laughter] Okay. Awesome.

LP: I do best with prompting.

AM: With prompting?

LP: Yes.

AM: All right. So, we will start very simply. Can you tell me where and when you grew up, and what life was like within your family and your community?

LP: Yes. Well, my name is Lindsey Parker. Where and when I grew up? Well, I was born in 1956 in Atlanta or around Atlanta, a place called East Point, Georgia. As I understand, it's kind of a rough place these days. But we moved. My father was a chemical engineer in Atlanta for a place called Thomas Paint, which is no longer in existence. In 1965, he landed a job with Dixie Paint, I guess, it was, here in Brunswick, Georgia, which prompted him and Mama and the rest of my family, my four other brothers, to move down to Southeast Georgia from the Atlanta area. We settled on St. Simons Island right after Hurricane Dora. Dora was [19]64, and we moved here in [19]65. I grew up right there on St. Simons and attended high school here in town at Brunswick. What life was like growing up? I guess, it was typical kids growing up. You go to

high school. I was not on a shrimp boat daily, even every summer. I spent my summers – I guess, basically, they used to purchase a – buy a membership for the local King and Prince Hotel pool to – as basically a babysitter for the five boys. Mama would drop us off down at King and Prince in summer and come back and get us around 4:00 p.m. We looked after ourselves at that time and got into whatever we could get into. But there was no work involved, or we didn't have to work. We could do what we wanted. Let's see. I guess, somewhere relatively early on, I was still in high school, junior high maybe, my mama had a brain tumor and that kind of curtailed us a little bit. We boys learned to cook. So, we started – when Mama had the brain tumor, we got to take over the household chores and delegated them. We learned that, yes, there was more to running a household than just coming and going. But yes, at the end of high school, my daddy asked me if I wanted to go on to school, and where? Because he had attended college under the GI Bill. In his family, I'm not sure that he wasn't the first in his family to have ever attended college. But in any case, it's his goal and desire, I guess, maybe his lifelong goal was to put all his three kids through college. So, when my turn came along, I was fourth out of five, and when my turn to – for him to put me through college, he asked me, where did I want to go on to school. I told him in no uncertain terms, "Daddy, I'm done being to school, twelve years of it. I want to go do something fun." I had already planned that out. One of the locals, you all might get to interview them, Robert and Elaine Knight, their son was in the same class as me. So, when I graduated and got out of school a little bit early, like at Christmas break, I didn't have to go back because I was ahead in my credits. I had all the credits I needed to graduate. So, I didn't bother to attend school in the last half of my senior year. When I got out of high school, my good buddy that I was in high school, we were graduating together. He got out early too. We went down and messed around at his daddy's fish house. He had just bought Knight's Seafood, which is in business to this day. Well, no. It's not because they just sold it last year. But anyhow, that was my introduction to shrimping. I started – it was in the wintertime, so shrimping – the shrimp season was over. All that was going on was they would open the sounds for crabbing at the time, for blue crabs. So, I went crabbing on a shrimp boat. That's basically trawling in the sounds for crabs instead of shrimp. Springtime came along. I got on a boat, an out-of-town boat that was a trip fishing boat. The jelly was real bad. That old man, I made that day with him. He decided that I wasn't quite ready for a trip on a shrimp boat. So, he brought me back in. I stuck around and crabbed for a while. But eventually, the season started, I shrimped and got better. I feel like I did well on the task. I learned quickly. Within two or three years – well, no. I'm skipping, getting ahead of myself. I shrimped. An opportunity to go longlining for swordfish came up. Because here, locally, another friend from high school, their daddy used to longline for swordfish. So, I had the opportunity to make a couple of trips up in the northeast out of Woods Hole, Massachusetts on a longline boat. So, I longlined a little bit. I guess at the end of that, I think I was about ready to come back home and see Mama and get to a warmer climate anyway and get away from being on the boat for fourteen days at a time. But at the end of the trip, the captain's wife had heard from my family that Mama had another tumor, and she was back in the hospital. So, I came home. That gave me an easy out of bowing out from the longline and coming back to Brunswick. I got here, and I just went shrimping. Shrimped for a little while. Then I was in the right place at the right time and knew the right people and landed the job on the research vessel, *Georgia Bulldog*, which is where I have been until December. That was [19]81, and now's 2017. But yes, as I said, I was shrimping and longlining, longlining up in the northeast and a little bit down in the Gulf of Mexico because I helped a fellow out. I had lined up my brother to go with him. My brother got as far as Key

West. He decided that the longlining life and life on a fishing boat wasn't for him. So, he hauled ass from Key West, leaving the fellow without a crew. For whatever reason, I went down there and finished out the trip with him, went down off of Mexico and back up to Pensacola, I think, doing a little longline. So, it's longlining and a little bit of scalloping before I got to work on the *Georgia Bulldog*. But yes, that's how I got into it. Since then, I've been working for the University of Georgia Marine Extension Service on the research vessel *Georgia Bulldog*. I had the opportunity of doing a lot of things on the *Bulldog* that most people would not get the opportunity to do.

AM: So, can you tell us more about some of those experiences that you might have had?

LP: Still up ahead. [laughter] When I started on the boat, the shrimp fishery was considered overcapitalized. I never could understand what that meant. [laughter] Apparently, what they mean by that is that there was too much infrastructure for it, too many boats. I don't know that I agree with that, but that's what they felt. They were pushing for other fisheries for the shrimp boats to participate in, to keep enough money flowing to where they could stay in business. Because fisheries were important to the United States and that was back when fisheries were important to the United States. They put a little bit of money and effort into it. Today, I believe it's all gone to recreation and tourism. People don't give a damn where their food comes from because they can import that slop from China and India all day long. That's all they think about is we can keep our place pristine. We don't have to do a damn thing except ravage the rest of the world, and they'll bring us our food. But anyhow, the shrimp fishery was overcapitalized, and they were looking for other fisheries for us to get into. They had gotten a project to use a shrimp boat for the snapper-grouper fishery, which was at that time, even though it was only thirty-five years ago, it was considered underutilized. The snapper-grouper fishery was an underutilized fishery. We needed that protein, but there weren't enough people doing it. So, we did a project where we were trawling for snapper-grouper fishes. We were using the shrimp boat for longlining, as well as trapping. Basically, the trawling for fin fish was short-lived. I think there were several boats we got to try it. They made a little bit of money in the wintertime when the shrimp fishery was not active. So, it did afford some revenue to the shrimp fishery. But it didn't take long before they outlawed trawling for snapper-grouper fishes. It was all political. Recreational fishing, by the same token, was becoming popular, and unlike – prior to my time, I think, people were too busy making a living to do too much recreation. But people found their recreation wherever they found it and a lot of it was fishing. Well, by the [19]80s, a lot of people had enough money that that's all they had to do was recreate. They didn't like people working around where they were recreating. So, when they would see a commercial fishery, a commercial fishing boat out in the waters where they were trying to catch fish, they automatically felt like, "Well, that boat is taking too much. Whatever they take, I could be taking." So, there was animosity. It didn't take them long to illegalize trawling for fin fish. Some of the ridiculous remarks that were heard was, "That trawler took away a 4-foot cave that I've been diving on for years and years and years. Then they came through, and the cave was gone. All the fish that were in the cave were gone." That's the bullshit that they used against it. But they illegalized that. It wasn't too much longer after that the turtle problem was becoming evident and was coming to a head. My boss man here at the Marine Extension, Dave Harrington, remained very active in the research and development of fisheries. He's the one that started the snapper-grouper project. He knew that they had enacted the Endangered Species Act back in the

mid-[19]70s and that sea turtles were on the list of threatened or endangered animals. The National Marine Fisheries Service did a study on it. It turned out the study indicated that the shrimp fishery was possibly the main – the biggest of all human activities. Shrimp fishing had a greater impact on the population of sea turtles than any other human activity. Well, the fishing business didn't feel that way. They were convinced that it was, if anything, development and stealing eggs. Many will tell you today that that's exactly – they were a bigger part of it, a part of the problem than the shrimp fishery. But the shrimp fishery was small enough that they could get their hands around their neck and just strangulate. So, they were looking hard for solutions to this sea turtle problem. They did attempt to bring about a voluntary use of turtle excluder devices. They made a lot of efforts to get people to pull turtle excluder devices voluntarily. So, they didn't have to mandate them. But even before they made them mandatory, they went to the industry, and they attempted to mediate a solution. Basically, they got representatives from all the shrimping states and got together with some of the environmental people, environmental groups and stuff, and the National Marine Fisheries Service, and said, "How can we work this out? We've got this problem or perceived problem that you're killing sea turtles. What can we do about it?" They had come up with an agreement that most everybody could live with. It included such things as turtle excluder devices on our coast from June 1st or maybe May 1st, all the way until September or October. That we would pull TEDs in our state waters and federal waters. Then after September or October, we did not have to pull TEDs. In the Gulf of Mexico, there were – some of the inshore waters had to pull TEDs for about the same length of time. The offshore fishery in the Gulf was not going to have to pull TEDs. Southwest Florida, I don't think called for TEDs because very few sea turtles were encountered down there. But they had an agreement. They were ready to agree to it. But the Louisiana representative of the mediation talks said, "No. I can't go along with that." He backed out of mediation that put the writing on the wall of the environmental groups – some of the environmental groups. I don't know who all – I don't even remember who all they were. But they sued the Department of Commerce for lack of action or enforcement of the Endangered Species Act. About that time, it was clear to my boss man that yes, the only next step that the government had was to mandate turtle excluder devices. He realized that you had the Endangered Species Act, and you've got the shrimp fishery that, without a doubt, we did impact occasionally the sea turtles. To do something about it, we had these turtle excluder devices that the government had been working on. But it's also the turtle excluder device – that first one closest to the door, the big cage. How I described it yesterday was that they made it into a Swiss watch. They tried to market it as a trawl efficiency device because it had hummer wires that helped you get rid of fin fish. You could adjust the bar spacing to get rid of other bycatch. So, they attempted to market it as such. They had lots of scientific comparable – comparative towing, lots of data, lots of scientific research that had gone into proving that this device would exclude sea turtles. My boss man knew also that if they had to require a device in a shrimp net to exclude turtles, that it was going to have to have scientific data behind it for it to be allowable as a turtle excluder device. At that time in [19]86, there was only one device that had much scientific work had ever been done on. That was the NMFS' big box turtle excluder. So, my boss man, realizing that, he, on his own, determined and talking with industry representatives, that better get some science on some other alternative turtle excluder devices before this mandate comes out. Because if they mandate these \$500 devices on every net on these shrimp boats – as you can see from that device back up there, you literally cannot walk from the stern to the bow if you put four of those devices on a boat as big as the *Georgia Bulldog*. The *Georgia Bulldog* is on the bigger side of the shrimp boats in Georgia. Most of

them are smaller than the *Georgia Bulldog*. Most of them still pull four nets. So, they would have to have four TEDs. He knew that it would just put the fishery out of business. This was back in the heyday of the fishery. So, that was not an option. So, he called around in the fishery, arranged to go down to Cape Canaveral, and test fisherman-designed devices. He basically spelled it out to the fishermen. "This is the problem. Okay. We've got a shrimp net, and we got sea turtles in the water. We've got to be able to put this shrimp net out in the Canaveral Channel where turtles are thick as fleas on a dog's back, a mangy dog's back." [laughter] "We've got to put that net into that water with all the turtles in it, and it's got to come up with no turtles in it." Well, there were four devices that we tested. One was the Georgia Jumper that we make a lot of noise about here. It was a device pretty much designed and invented by Sinkey Boone. Sixth-grade education but is a damn hell of a machinist. He never took to book learning or reading, but he was damn good and a serious thinker. He could put something together. He put together the turtle excluder device, and he did it. The reason he did it was because, as somebody else mentioned earlier, Southeast Georgia was one time called – claimed to be the capital of the shrimp fishery, the birthplace of the American shrimp fishery. We still have King and Prince Seafood, which is one of the biggest processors of shrimp in the United States. We have Rich-SeaPak, the same designation. Back in the day, as somebody was saying, I think Frank McDowell was pointing out, right down there at the foot of Prince Street or Gloucester Street was a big freezing plant. So, from here all the way to Mary Ross and Park were shrimp docks. So, we were the capital of the shrimp fishery, the birthplace of the shrimp fishery. The processing plants would complain about the quality of the shrimp. Because when you catch wild shrimp and you catch them with jellyfish or crabs or conchs or horseshoe crabs and they're bumping around in the net; yes, damage to the shrimp and damage to the product does occur. Sinkey, not so much because of the jellyballs – jellyballs were a big-time problem almost year-round, but they were a problem. You could always just leave the jellyballs and go fish somewhere else. But sometimes the shrimp were in the jelly balls. So, not only was cannonball jellyfish a problem, but crabs were a problem to Sinkey. Because of all the pieces that we put on the dock, the King and Prince, they throw them out because they can't use them. They've got to have a whole shrimp and no pieces. So, Sinkey put all his labors into the turtle excluder device, but he was – his efforts were to reduce bycatch. Basically, it was a bycatch reduction device that wound up being mandated as a turtle excluder. We had four of them. There was the Georgia Jumper, the Sinkey Boone's TED. There was one called the Matagorda Bay TED. Matagorda Bay is a bay in Texas where they trawl. The cannonball jellyfish are notorious for being there and being there thick. So, when they got thick in Matagorda Bay, the fishermen had these Matagorda Bay jellyball excluders which were basically the same sort of thing as Sinkey's, only it was built out of PVC. Therefore, it was squared off. But they made the bar spacing to suit the size of jellyballs that were in the neighborhood. If they were small jellyballs, they'd have a narrow grid of PVC in the net, in front of the bag, to deflect the jellyballs out and allow the shrimp and fish to pass through. Then we had a Cameron TED. Cameron is a city in Louisiana who had that – occasionally had jellyballs. Fishermen there had devices that they pulled out when the jellyballs got bad, and it would allow them to fish. I am not sure whether we still got it out there. We hauled it over to Mississippi. But anyhow, it was a barrel-shaped device. They would put it in with barrel clamps. They'd cut the bag off and clamp the front end of the TED to the net and clamp the back end to the bag. They were ready to go fishing the jellyballs. Well, let's see. Georgia Jumper, Matagorda Bay TED, Cameron TED, and nobody has volunteered any other devices. But we decided, "Well, we'll pull the NMFS' device as well. When we're doing

this, let's do it right. They have a lot of science on this NMFS TED. Let's put it into comparison. Maybe once we get through comparing them all, maybe we will be able to tell something about how much more efficient the NMFS TED is than our TEDs or vice versa." We even invited the National Marine Fisheries Service and all the state's regulatory agencies to join us down there, and Sea Grant agents, to see what we were doing. We knew that we had this turtle problem, a perceived turtle problem, and we're working on it. They're going to come up with a solution. You all come to see how we are proposing to do it. We had big sea turtle names, Ross Witham and Archie Carr. Maybe Archie was gone by then. But Ross Witham was on the boat. We had the National Marine Fisheries Service, the Department of Commerce, and lawyers from up in D.C. We had – each state had a DNR representative. All the states have it. So, we went down there. Each day, we'd pull out another ten. We'd go make 20-, 30-, 45- minute tows and haul back and see how many we had. From that, you could see that there was more than one way to exclude sea turtles from a shrimp net. It was obvious, plain as the nose on your face. As a matter of fact, Ross Witham – he's a turtle man, big time – a big name in turtle research, too. He commented today that each time the nets came back, the Matagorda Bay TED, it was white PVC, and he knows that there were never any turtles ahead of the Matagorda Bay TED. There were never multiple turtles in front of the Georgia Jumper. The Cameron TED, which you snap in with barrel clamps, and the National Marine Fisheries TED, which is a full-frame TED, round frame in front, round frame in back, both of those would sometimes haul back. There would be two or more turtles ahead of the TED. Couldn't go through the TED because of its construction. The nets did not catch those turtles. Because in order to catch a turtle, the turtle had to get to the bag or cod-end of the net. From that, Ross could see that yes, the full – the Matagorda Bay and the NMFS TED, there were just so many damn turtles down at the Cape that the turtles couldn't get through the TED in time. So, yes. When you hauled back, they were still there. With the Georgia Jumper, sometimes there would be one in front of the TED. But he would go through the TED, it would go through the opening. The Matagorda Bay TED, with it being white, he determined that even though it's letting turtles out, anything that's ahead of that TED, as it comes up, they see that, and they swim back out in front. But anyhow, that was the beginning of the TED saga. So, the next year when they came out with a mandatory rule, there was that little bit of research that showed that these other devices excluded turtles sufficiently. So, there was more than one device allowable. The Georgia Jumper was the simplest. So, it was probably the most popular. Matagorda Bay TED was – it just wasn't rugged enough to stand up to the rigors of shrimping. The Georgia Jumper style TED, they started – they modified it some more and put the bend in the bottom of the bars and made it out of aluminum and called it a Super Shooter. It is probably the most popular style of TED today. But it all came – it stemmed from the Georgia Jumper. Benny Mac, I remember him, hearing him say, "In ten years, there won't even be one of these damn shrimp boats." [laughter] I remember hearing him say that, "I can't wait. Ten years from now, the goddamn people on the beach, I hope they getting eaten up by sharks." Because we used to kill some of them and now, we aren't killing sharks. The sharks, they're saving them, so they're going to start eating people next. [laughter] To some extent, that has come true. But yes, we got into the TEDs. The TEDs just lasted for a long, long time. We've done a lot of turtle excluder device work with baby turtles over in Panama City, with the National Marine Fisheries Service, wild turtle testing over here using cameras. We developed a camera system, an underwater camera system so that we could put cameras on the nets around the turtle excluder device and watch the turtle excluder device while it was being used. If you've been out here and looked at the river, you can see the water is pretty muddy, turbid, not real clear. So, visibility is

a problem doing underwater camera work here. But we discovered that we could go out on the edge of the muddy water. See, the tides, we have such a tidal flow, up to 8 or 9 feet on the spring tides, 10 feet on the spring tides, and that significant rising and lowering of the tide twice a day muddies up our waters. Brian was talking about the nutrients, the detritus, the marsh rat, the Spartina, and how it breaks down and starts to change life around here. Well, yes, you go over to the Gulf of Mexico, and you can see 10 feet into the water. I tell you that's poor ass water. Over here, we've got some life in it. But anyhow, it made it hard for using cameras, but we could get at high waters and slack tides. The water would clear up enough to where you could at least see what was going on with the turtles. You could see the turtle coming in and see whether he got out or not. So, we started doing some wild turtle testing, trying to identify problems with TEDs, and the same thing with bycatch reduction devices. That started around 1996, almost ten years after the TEDs started. Same thing with BRDs, we did a fair amount of working with bycatch reduction devices doing studies, comparative towing studies with bycatch reduction devices, and turtle excluder devices. We incorporated cameras into that research. Eventually, nowadays all we do is catch turtles. That's the only long-term project we got going on is the development of an index to abundance of sea turtles in the water. Because as you all know or will be told or should be able to figure out, the only time these sea turtles hit the beach is either when they die, or if they're a nesting female, or if they're a hatchling. They don't have a problem with hatchlings because there are thousands and thousands of them. They're good seagull food and shark food and raccoon food and hog food. They're vulnerable, and they're abundant. So, that isn't where the problem lies. The nesting females, that's adult mamas that they get to look at and tag and touch and feel. They get to touch and feel the hatchlings, the adult mamas, and the dead ones. They don't know what in the hell is out in the ocean. The fishermen, three or four or five years after TEDs were mandated, they started realizing how many more sea turtles there were than even prior to TEDs. They had spent their lives out there trawling with no TED. They would occasionally, once, maybe twice a year, would catch a sea turtle. Very seldom would they catch one in the little trinet. But four or five years after TEDs were mandated, fishermen were catching two and three sea turtles in their little 15-, 20-foot trinets, which were not required to pull a TED. They're sample net. Fortunately, they hadn't required TEDs on the little nets, the trinets. But turtles got so thick that they were catching three and four in one try in the sample nets. So, the fishermen said, "Great God, enough is enough. We're going to save these turtles until they're a nuisance. When is it going to end? When are you all going to slack off on us?" Finally, after enough bitching and moaning and groaning, all these observations of, "Man, I spent forty years shrimping, and I caught a total of fifteen turtles in forty years. Now in five years, I've caught fifty of the damn things in my little bitty 20-foot trinet. What's wrong with it? The turtles are doing fine. When can you can slack off on us?" Well, that's all anecdotal information because it was not recorded in a scientific manner by a scientist. So, it is inadmissible in a court of law. [laughter] It's just anecdotal data. Fishermen got tired of hearing that, and they started bitching. We, finally, thanks to Senator Hollings up in South Carolina, we got funded for a project to determine an index to abundance in the southeast. Over the years, the coast of Georgia and South Carolina became designated as sea turtle, shrimp fishery – I forgot – sea turtle, shrimp – it's a special management area, Georgia and South Carolina. Because we got more turtles than the majority of the states up to – I don't know about now, but we did. Maybe it was just because we told them what we were catching. But yes, we finally got the index to abundance of sea turtles study funded, and that's what we've been doing ever since. In the meantime, having been involved with so much of the research and done a lot

of the research, I've garnered the dubious honor of being called a TED specialist even. I know a lot about TED. Well, yes. You swallow enough of it, yes. [laughter] But anyhow, like I said, I was in the right place at the right time and knew the right people. So, I've done a lot of sea turtle research. We try to help the fishermen in any way we can. They went through – I got out of the business, but I'm right here next door to it. So, I know about what went on. Through the fin fishing days, there wasn't much to talk about. Then the TED days came in, and you had the TED mandate, which put a crimp in everybody's style. They had to buy these \$300 or \$400 devices, one for each of their nets. The government didn't – I guess, they're probably deductible as a business expense. But it's not like they buy the turtle excluder devices for the fishermen, which, like they said, "All that money fighting to save turtles, and it would have been nice if they had used all that environut money, put it where their mouth was, and buy the TEDs for them. They wouldn't have had near as much to bitch about." But as it was, no. They mandated TEDs. They went on to harping on something else, bycatch. We worked heavily with TEDs trying to get reasonable devices legalized that would not kill the fishermen financially. In the meantime, they closed – here in the state of Georgia, they closed the sounds back in 1984, I believe, for all practical purposes. Used to be they opened them September 1st each year and closed on December 31st. As some of them said, the day when the shrimp got too small, the sounds were closed automatically because you couldn't trawl for such small shrimp. But it was a regular thing. As a conservation management decision, and it was a management decision to work on larger shrimp. Shrimp boats were getting larger and more available. In an effort to improve the price of the shrimp that were being caught, they managed the sounds out of – a case can be made these days that the larger quantity of shrimp that we used to catch when the sounds were open at the smaller size would be more valuable today than the lesser number of shrimps, but the larger size that we catch since the sounds have opened. But when they closed the sounds, the idea was to catch – instead of catching X amount of shrimp, we might not catch all of X, might only catch three-quarters of X. But that three-quarters of X will be at double the price. Therefore, it'd be worth more than what we were catching in the sounds. Well, it's gone the other way, and we'd be better off catching them in the sounds. But the management decision was made. They claim, and I can't even understand exactly – well, I know it's human nature. It goes right back to where the recreational and commercial fishermen, people got enough money to where all they had to do was recreate. Therefore, anything commercial was bad for their recreation area. They claim that even if they announce that they are going to open our sounds, they claim that the recreational fishermen would sue the government and not allow them to open them. It's totally political just because they think they were catching some of their recreational fish. It just doesn't happen. People got their blinders on, and they got money to recreate year-round without having to work. So, poor fuckers like fishermen, they just got to find something else to do because, "We don't want you shrimping in our backyard." That's the way I feel about it. But nowadays, I guess, mostly what we do with the *Bulldog* is catch sea turtles. We do a lot of extension work on the turtle excluder devices and bycatch reduction devices. The latest and greatest and probably the worst problem that has ever come up, black gill, which you all probably heard a little bit about yesterday. As far as the shrimp fishery as a whole, black gill is relatively new. It was in [19]87 when sea turtle excluder devices were first mandated, and that was full time. It was on again, off again with court battles, different injunctions, and stays until I forget what they say, [19]92 or [19]93, [19]90 or [19]92. Turtle excluders have since then been consistently pretty much year-round all waters in the United States. You've had to pull turtle excluder devices. The bycatch reduction devices that I was speaking of, those were first mandated in 1996. They never went

away. The managers would admit today that the bycatch reduction devices on the East Coast at least, did very little to cure any bycatch problem that we had with weakfish or Spanish mackerel. But they're not going to reduce or get rid of the mandate. Then in 2000, the – oh, shit hit the fan. The worst of it started.

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