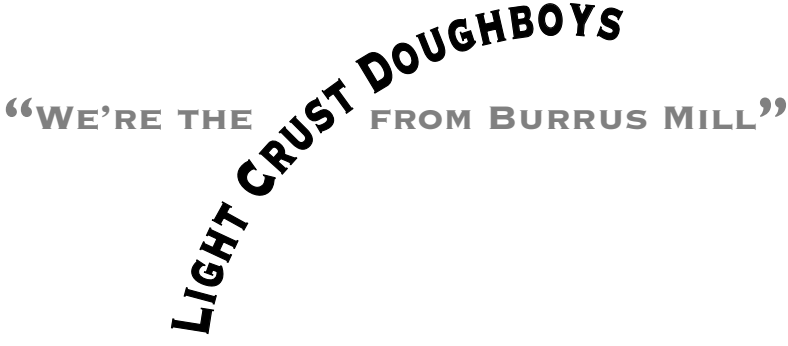
"We're the Light Crust Doughboys from Burrus Mill"

An Oral History

Jean A. Boyd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In memory of

MARVIN "SMOKEY" MONTGOMERY

who kept the Light Crust Doughboys
going and growing for more than sixty-five years

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PREFACE

In the history of American popular music, no other band formed more than seventy years ago is still playing today. The Light Crust Doughboys' unprecedented and remarkable longevity separates them from other popular groups but does not of itself call for a book-length chronicle of their existence. For me, the mandate for this study derives from the many questions raised by the lifespan of the Doughboys. How has this band lasted so long, continuing on through successive generations of Texans and monumental changes in the socioeconomic climate of the state? Have the Doughboys survived by changing with the times and attitudes, or by maintaining musical traditions that have offered stability to Texans in a state of flux? Why did the Doughboys remain regional musical celebrities rather than seeking the national limelight? Why in the last twenty years, quite late in their career, have they begun to receive prestigious recognition? What have they contributed to western swing, to Texas music? What do they see for themselves as their future?

These and other questions will be answered in the course of this narrative of the band. At the core of the research effort are the memories of Marvin "Smokey" Montgomery, a member of the group since 1935 and, until his death in 2001, the oldest living member of the band.

I first encountered Smokey Montgomery's name when I began gathering information for my first book, *The Jazz of the Southwest: An Oral History of Western Swing*. It seemed that each time I asked about the origins of western swing, I was directed to the Light Crust Doughboys. And I was thrilled and amazed to discover that the Doughboys band was still a working band and their banjoist, Marvin Montgomery, was its unofficial historian. He also turned out to be a wonderful, generous man who was bountiful with his time, his band stories, his photo album, and his collection of Doughboys memorabilia. These items constitute the foundation of this oral history of the Light Crust Doughboys. I dedicate this book to the life and memory of Smokey, who will not see the product to which he contributed so much.

In a very real sense, this book brings me full circle. A decade ago I began to study Texas music and, knowing how broad the topic was, settled on western swing as my research area. The history of the Light Crust Doughboys, however, pulled me back to the whole spectrum of Texas music. The Light Crust Doughboys have ranged far beyond any one type of Texas music to embrace all of the music of Texas, thereby becoming the quintessential representatives of the Texas musical scene. In 1977, Texas Senate Resolution No. 463 recognized the Doughboys for their significant contributions to Texas history and Texas music. In that resolution resides the best reason for undertaking a study of the Light Crust Doughboys, who are, in every way, a truly Texas band.

I would like to thank my family for their support as I researched and wrote and then rewrote this book. I also owe a great deal to my colleagues in the Oral History Institute at Baylor University. Theresa J. May, assistant director and editor-in-chief of the University of Texas Press, is the epitome of what an editor should be—knowledgeable, compassionate, and patient. To Chris Holmes, my graduate assistant at Baylor University, who helped me research the backgrounds of the songs listed in the appendix, I say thank you, and job well done. Finally, this study would not have been possible without the help of Smokey Montgomery. Thank you, Smokey, for your patience and for sharing your extensive knowledge with me.

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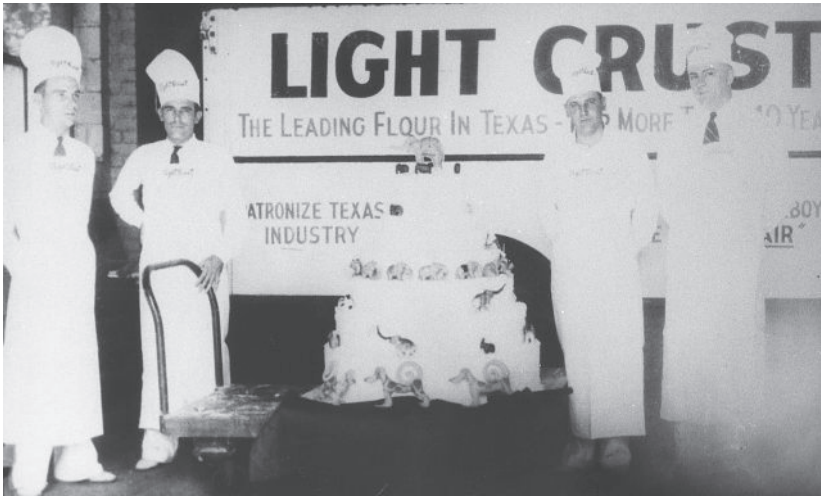
Summer 1931. The original Light Crust Doughboys sporting their military-style uniforms. Left to right: Milton Brown (main vocalist), Derwood Brown (guitarist, Milton's brother and unofficial Doughboy), announcer Truett Kimzey, Bob Wills (fiddle), and Herman Arnspiger (guitar).



January 1932. Original Light Crust Doughboys in their baker uniforms. Left to right: Clifton "Sleepy" Johnson (tenor guitar), Bob Wills, Milton Brown, and W. Lee "Pappy" O'Daniel (emcee).

Early summer 1933. The original Light Crust Doughboys perform at a birthday party at the Fort Worth zoo. Left to right: Herman Arnspiger (guitar), Bob Wills, W. Lee "Pappy" O'Daniel, chimp and zookeeper, Tommy Duncan (vocals, replaced Milton Brown), and Clifton Johnson.
Not pictured: steel guitarist Kermit Whalen.

June 1935. The Light Crust Doughboys after Milton Brown and Bob Wills left and O'Daniel was fired. Left to right: Ramon "Snub" DeArmon (bass, guitar), Leon Huff (vocals, guitar), Clifford Gross (fiddle), Hubert Barham (bass, guitar, replaced Herman Arnspiger), "Doc" Eastwood (guitarist, here playing banjo, replaced Clifton Johnson), Kenneth "Abner" Pitts (accordion and fiddle). Kneeling: Eddie Dunn (replaced O'Daniel as emcee and boss). Doughboy musicians often played more than one instrument.

October 1935. The reorganized Light Crust Doughboys band. Standing, left to right: Kenneth Pitts, Bert "Buddy" Dodson (bass fiddle), Eddie Dunn, and Clifford "Doc" Gross (fiddle). Kneeling, left to right: Dick "Bashful" Reinhart (guitar), Marvin "Junior" Montgomery (guitar and banjo), and Muryel "Zeke" Campbell (guitar). Dodson, Reinhart, Montgomery, and Campbell replaced DeArmon, Perrin (first name unknown), Barham, Eastwood, and John Bruce Pierce (vocalist and comedian briefly with the Doughboys).

May 1936. The Doughboys are ready to go to Hollywood to be in the movie *Oh, Susanna!*, starring Gene Autry. Left to right: Bert Dodson, Clifford Gross, Eddie Dunn, Kenneth Pitts, Marvin Montgomery, Dick Reinhart, and Muryel Campbell.

May 1936. The Doughboys are met at Republic Studios by *Oh, Susanna!* costars Smiley Burnette and Lynn Roberts. Standing: Eddie Dunn and Bert Dodson. Sitting on the bus, left to right: Muryel Campbell, Dick Reinhart, Kenneth Pitts, Clifford Gross (in back), and Marvin Montgomery.

July 1936. Back in Texas in the new broadcast studio at the new Burrus Mill plant in Saginaw. Gene Autry comes to visit. Standing, left to right: Muryel Campbell, Clifford Gross, Frankie Marvin (with Gene Autry's band), Bert Dodson, Art Davis (with Autry's band), Dick Reinhart, Marvin Montgomery, and Kenneth Pitts. Seated: Gene Autry and Eddie Dunn. Photo courtesy of Cargill, Inc.

May 1936. On the set of *Oh, Susanna!,* Republic Studios, Hollywood. Left to right: Muryel Campbell, Dick Reinhart, Marvin Montgomery, Kenneth Pitts, Clifford Gross, and Bert Dodson.

Early fall 1938, after the hiring of Parker Willson as boss and emcee. Left to right: Muryel Campbell, Jim Boyd (guitar, bass, and vocals, replaced Dick Reinhart), Buck Buchanan (fiddle, replaced Clifford Gross), John "Knocky" Parker (piano and accordion), Parker Willson, Kenneth Pitts, Ramon DeArmon (replaced Bert Dodson), Marvin Montgomery. Mascot Charles Burton (vocals) is pictured lower right.

The Light Crust Doughboys in their sweater-jacket uniforms, ready to fly in their own plane to Oklahoma City for a Montgomery Wards store opening. Same musicians as in previous photo.

Because of World War II the Doughboys went off the air in 1942. The band was reorganized in 1945 under the leadership of Mel Cox. This photo of the reorganized band, the earliest available, is from October 1946 and does not include musicians who were part of the postwar band at various other times. Back row, left to right: Hal "Curly" Harris (vocal and rhythm guitar), Marvin ("Junior") Montgomery (tenor banjo), Wilson "Lefty" Perkins (electric guitar and steel guitar). Front row, left to right: Mel Cox (emcee, fiddler, and vocalist), Charles "Knocky" Godwin (accordion and vocals), J. R. "Sleepy" Kidwell (bass fiddle and vocals), Carroll "Ezra" Hubbard (fiddle, vocals, and comedy).

1947, at the San Antonio Rodeo. Left to right: Wilson Perkins, Carroll Hubbard, Charles Godwin, Hal Harris, Marvin Montgomery, Mel Cox, and J. R. Kidwell.

1947. Top row, left to right: Carroll Hubbard, Mel Cox, Marvin Montgomery. Bottom row, left to right: Wilson Perkins, J. R. Kidwell, and Hal Harris. Charles Godwin, killed in a plane crash, was not replaced.

1948. Because of a Musician's Union strike a recording ban was imposed on all but union members. This group took over for the Doughboys (many of whom were nonunion) for about three months. Standing, left to right: Al Wesar, Jake Wright, Jimmy Jefferys, Fred Casares, Red Gilliam. Front row, seated: Dick Dyson and Paul Blount.

Late 1949. The Texo Hired Hands (Light Crust Doughboys). Left to right, Marvin Montgomery (now nicknamed "Smokey"), Wilson Perkins, Red Kidwell, Carroll Hubbard, Paul Parker (Paul Blount), Ted Gouldy (emcee). The band broadcast daily during the noon hour from the Fort Worth Stock Exchange Building at the Stock Yards in Fort Worth.

1949. Same musicians as in previous photo but with George Erwin (center) acting as "Jack Perry" when they played as the Light Crust Doughboys.

Late 1949. The Texo Hired Hands. Same musicians as in previous photo.

1951. The Light Crust Doughboys, off the radio but on the road. Left to right: Carroll Hubbard, Paul Blount, Marvin Montgomery, Walter (Jack Perry) Hailey, Lefty Perkins, and Red Kidwell.

Sometimes there were two groups of Doughboys on the road at the same time. This is a group that played in New Orleans and Mississippi in 1954. Left to right: unknown bass player, Paul Buskirk (banjo), Lefty Perkins (electric guitar), the governor of Mississippi, Buddy Brady (fiddle), Jimmy Collie (guitar and vocal), and Walter Hailey (Jack Perry).

1955. Left to right: Paul Blount, Carroll Hubbard, Walter (Jack Perry) Hailey, Jim Boyd, Artie Glenn (composer of "Crying in the Chapel"), Marvin Montgomery.

1955, at a television station in Midland, Texas. Left to right: Paul Blount, Jimmy Brown (fiddle), J. L. White (Light Crust salesman), Walter (Jack Perry) Hailey, Jim Boyd, Marvin Montgomery, Artie Glenn.

Ca. 1955. Light Crust Doughboys. Left to right: Paul Blount, unknown fiddler , Walter (Jack Perry) Hailey, Jim Boyd, bass player unknown, Marvin Montgomery.

1964. Light Crust Doughboys. Standing, left to right: Jerry Elliott, Paul Blount, and Ken Cobb. Sitting: Bill Hudson and Gary Xavier.

1970s. Light Crust Doughboys (left to right) Carroll Hubbard, Jim Boyd, Marvin Montgomery, Berny Annett (keyboard), and Jerry Elliott.

Fall 1981, photo taken at Southfork ranch, setting of the TV series *Dallas.* Left to right: Jim Boyd, John Strawn, Marvin Montgomery, Bill Simmons, and Jerry Elliott.

1970s. Light Crust Doughboys (standing, left to right) Berny Annett, Jim Boyd, John Strawn, and (seated) Marvin Montgomery and Jerry Elliott.

CHAPTER ONE

SETTING THE SCENE

"BEAUTIFUL TEXAS"

Beautiful, beautiful Texas,
    where the beautiful bluebonnets grow.
We're proud of our forefathers,
    who fought at the Alamo.
You can live on the plains or the mountains,
    or down where the sea breezes blow.
And you're still in beautiful Texas,
    the most beautiful state that we know.

The text printed above is the chorus of the song "Beautiful Texas," attributed to W. Lee O'Daniel, general manager of Burrus Mill and Elevator Company of Fort Worth and announcer for the Light Crust Doughboys from March 1931 until he was fired by mill president Jack Burrus sometime in 1935. The song boasts of the vastness and magnificence of the land and the unique history that has shaped generations of Texans. The Doughboys sang this song while O'Daniel was their boss and continued to sing it after his departure from Burrus Mill because their radio and concert audiences requested it. The Doughboys included "Beautiful Texas" on a 1986 album entitled *150 Years of Texas Country Music,* commemorating the Texas Sesquicentennial. The Light Crust Doughboys band was the obvious choice to record an album containing songs from a century and a half of Texas music history considering that for fifty-six of those 150 years they had been a working band performing and recording every genre of music popular with Texans: folk and fiddle tunes, gospel songs, commercial country songs and popular ballads, honky-tonk numbers, ragtime and blues, western swing favorites and

jazz standards, minstrel songs and movie hits. As a working band today, the Doughboys continue to reinvent themselves and perform material that appeals to modern-day Texans.

To describe the Light Crust Doughboys as the quintessential Texas band and the consummate musical representatives of the Lone Star State does not overstate their significance. Texas has produced a large number of successful musicians in all fields of music, most of whom have realized their potential and won their fame outside of the state, in places like Nashville, Los Angeles, and New York. The Doughboys have remained anchored in Texas culture and in the people of Texas, and it is from these sources that they have derived their music, their worldview, and even their comedy. The various cultural and musical threads that have crisscrossed Texas from the early days of European colonization to the present converge in the music of the Light Crust Doughboys. So it is to the multifarious culture and music of Texas that we must turn in order to ascertain the basis of the music of the Light Crust Doughboys.

TEXAS: CULTURAL AND MUSICAL CROSSROADS

Spanish explorers were lured into what is now Texas by rumors of incredible treasure, such as the Seven Cities of Cíbola, supposedly sighted in 1531 by an Indian slave belonging to Gonzalo Nuño de Guzmán, governor of New Spain. Although Guzmán's expedition to find the treasure discovered only an impoverished tribe of Native Americans living on the northern plains, the myths survived. In 1540, Francisco Vásquez de Coronado, governor of Nueva Galicia, led an expedition that carried him to present-day Kansas before he turned back empty-handed and reported to Charles I that there was no reason for Spanish colonization to the north.

Whereas these and other explorers added little to the Spanish treasury, they expanded Spain's landholdings in the New World. Much of the territory the explorers claimed for Spain was harsh and inhospitable, but as one cultural historian has observed,

> The Spaniards were the perfect people to conquer it. The Iberian Peninsula where they were bred and raised, with its own austere mountainous terrain and high desert plateau, prepared them for the hardships they had to face.[1]

The job of colonizing land north of the Rio Grande for Spain and the church fell to Franciscan missionaries who accompanied the conquistadors on their explorations. Although the Franciscans experienced little success in bringing the indigenous population into the church, they made great strides toward establishing the major industry of the area, cattle ranching. Spanish cattle and horses adapted easily to the New World. By 1560, what today is northern Mexico teemed with cattle, many of them running wild. Within twenty years of their initial exploration further north, the Spaniards had large herds grazing in three main areas: around San Antonio and Nacogdoches and between the Rio Grande and the Neches River.

The Spaniards brought not only the cattle and horses but also the ranch system that made livestock raising a profitable enterprise. Since the full-blooded Spanish considered cattle handling beneath them, they put non-Spaniards—Native Americans, African Americans, and mestizos—on horseback and trained them in the methods of cattle management, thus creating vaqueros, the cattle handlers.

By the beginning of the seventeenth century Spain had gone bankrupt supporting her far-flung empire, and land constituted the only remaining source of wealth for the crown and for its subjects to be derived from the empire. Spanish colonists in New Spain procured land grants from the government and amassed huge landholdings as a means of achieving political and social influence. The central institution of this landholding aristocracy was the hacienda, ruled by the hacendado (lord of the hacienda). The word *hacienda* stems from the Spanish verb *hacer,* meaning "to do," and identified an income-producing enterprise. There were cattle haciendas, lumbering haciendas, and mining haciendas, all representing economic and social stability. As the power of the Spanish monarchy decreased, the New World hacienda system began to resemble the feudalism of the European Middle Ages, with the hacendado ruling everything and everyone he could see and the vaqueros reduced to a state of serfdom through a strategy of low pay, loans, and indebtedness that kept generations of workers tied to the same hacienda. Thus was established the caste system of powerful landowners and powerless laborers that would continue to exist in Texas even after the demise of Spanish and Mexican rule.

First the Spanish and then the Mexicans made significant musical contributions to Texas, among them the concept of dancing as a primary means of entertainment and the specific musical instruments

that constituted dance bands. Violins and guitars provided the music for the *fandango,* originally the name of a type of Spanish dance. In the New World the term also came to mean a "festive gathering colored by gay strains of music, sinuous dancing, drinking, gambling, eating, and an overall commotion that gave the occasion an aura of both good and evil."[2] Fandangos were held at any time of the year and almost anywhere—in the streets, in private homes, and in temporary fandango halls. Spanish colonists thus made the very activity of dancing, as well as certain dances (like the two-step) and certain instruments (such as the violin and guitar), integral to Texas culture.

From Spanish colonial days through the period of Mexican control of Texas, music and dancing provided a means of escape from the hardship and drudgery of frontier life. Dance historian Betty Casey says that Mexican dances

> were performed with much flair and foot stomping. Among the Mexicans in Texas there were rowdy public fandangos patronized by the lower classes and elegant affairs, diligently chaperoned by older women. Fandangos added a bright note to the arduous, often dull and dreary lives of many Texas settlers of other [i.e., non-Spanish] ethnic origins.[3]

The Mexican inhabitants of the State of Texas also introduced early dance bands into the area. In parts of South Texas, which contained large numbers of Mexican Texans, the mariachi band was a favored dance ensemble. The "mariachi" consisted of trumpets (one or more), violins, standard and bass guitars, and sometimes a harp. Multiple trumpets produced close harmony, often in parallel thirds, that Anglo string bands reproduced using two or more violins. In Mexico mariachi bands entertained the higher social class of landholding Mexicans.

The dance music of poor, working-class Mexicans along the Rio Grande was provided by accordion-led *conjunto* bands. The push-button accordion and the polka, brought into northern Mexico by German immigrants, were quickly absorbed by border musicians. In his book *The Texas-Mexican Conjunto: History of a Working Class Music,* Manuel H. Peña argues that the *conjunto* ensemble and its repertory of polkas was the music of politically disenfranchised, socioeconomically deprived Mexican nationals and Texans of Mexican descent who labored in rural Texas. During the depression years

of the 1930s, *conjunto* artists became culture heroes to these impoverished workers because they kept their music pure and untainted by the swing jazz of the dominant white race. Like the mariachi and its music, the *conjunto* ensemble, consisting of accordion, violins, guitars, and sometimes a vocalist, became part of the Hispanic musical stream that flowed into Texas music.

The Spanish and then the Mexicans may have claimed Texas, but they made little effort to populate and develop the area. The largest group of non-Spanish settlers in Texas were white citizens from the United States. These Anglos had been trickling into Texas for years, but in the 1820s they began to create large colonies. By the end of summer 1824, the Mexican government had issued 272 land titles to individuals in Stephen F. Austin's colony, and by the end of 1831 Austin's colony had grown to 5,665 people and included a number of new towns: Washington-on-the-Brazos, Independence, Columbus, Hempstead, and San Felipe de Austin.

Anglo-Americans were drawn to Texas by the promise of large quantities of extremely cheap land at a time when land prices were rising steadily in the United States. Most of the Anglos were farmers, some planters with slaves. They came from Louisiana, Alabama, Arkansas, Tennessee, and Missouri, thus imposing a southern outlook on Mexican Texas. The Mexican government imposed conditions on them—colonists were required to swear allegiance to the Mexican government, promise to improve their land within two years of settlement, profess to be Catholics, and agree to free all Texas-born slave children at age fourteen—but these requirements were easily ignored because the Mexican government did not interfere in Anglo colonial affairs.

Mexican dictator Santa Anna's refutation of the liberal Mexican Constitution of 1824 and his attempts to collect taxes and duties from which Anglo Texans had been exempt, coupled with the Anglo Texans' long-standing racial prejudice against all people of color—Native Americans, blacks, and Mexicans—led to the Texas Revolution of 1827–1835 and the founding of the Republic of Texas in 1836. Once Anglo Texans had won their independence from Mexico, they systematically excluded Mexican Texans from all political, economic, and social processes. The annexation of Texas by the United States in 1845 and the Mexican War that followed a year later further widened the gap between Anglo and Mexican Texans and exacerbated animosities on both sides.

Despite significant differences between Mexican and Anglo cultures in regard to language and folklore, religion, political systems, types of housing, and even food, Mexican Texans had established a socioeconomic system based on landownership that was highly compatible with Anglo intentions of building individual domains safe from government interference. Americans had moved west not only to acquire cheap land but also to escape federal and state government regulation, and when Anglo Texans took up arms against Mexico, it was allegedly to maintain their freedom from government involvement in their lives. Anglo Texans demanded and won freedom from centralized governmental constraints and the right to do with their land and water as they saw fit, a right that in Texas is still sacred.

Anglo Texans were hardworking and mostly literate, family-oriented, politically active, and religious. They played as hard as they worked, despite occasional moral outcries against pleasurable activities. National and religious holidays were times of celebration, as were marriages and even funerals. There were competitions in all manner of skills, as well as sewing bees, church dinners, and choir rehearsals. Circuses, county fairs, and traveling tent shows occasionally added interest to the lives of Anglo Texans. And Anglos, like their Hispanic neighbors, enjoyed dancing. In fact, at times dancing was the only entertainment available.

Anglo settlers brought a variety of dances to Texas: schottisches, waltzes, mazurkas, jigs, polkas, lancers, quadrilles, and cotillions. These mixed with Mexican dances already in place to create new Texas dance steps. Like their Spanish predecessors, Anglos danced primarily to string music. Larger towns like San Antonio, Galveston, and Austin had a variety of bands to accompany dancing, but the violinist (fiddler) and his music remained the mainstay of dancing in nineteenth-century Anglo Texas. Fiddlers were much in demand, and their presence in a community prompted almost instant dancing.

Texas fiddlers played a repertory of tunes, many of British origin, which had been passed through oral tradition since the eighteenth century. Most British and American fiddle tunes formally comprised two similar melodic strains, one of which was higher in range. When fiddlers played for dances they repeated the two strains until the dancers tired. Building on this British fiddle tune tradition, Texas fiddlers devised a distinctive fiddle style that has been highly significant to the development of Texas music.

In a 1974 interview, Texas fiddler Benny Thomasson described two of the basic elements of this unique Texas fiddle style. First, Texas fiddlers have long preferred a longer bow stroke in which many notes are played on a down- or up-bow. Whereas a fiddler from the Southeast will probably divide the two strains of a fiddle tune into short, choppy, rhythmically syncopated two-measure segments, the Texas fiddler will create longer phrases by eliding short segments together and smoothing out the rhythm. The result is a flowing melody line, played at a somewhat slower tempo but with intricate left-hand fingering work resulting in triplet and sextuplet patterns.

The second feature of Texas fiddling identified by Thomasson is improvisation. Says Thomasson,

> See, those old tunes . . . was just little two-part tunes and they never had any variation to 'em. Now I play the same old tunes, but then I have arranged variations of the same parts in different positions on the fiddle.[4]

Other Texas fiddlers have described this process of improvised variations of two-part fiddle tunes in a similar fashion. Carroll Hubbard (b. Dallas, 1919) received systematic training on the violin from the time he was a child, and he was also influenced by jazz violin giants such as Stephane Grappelli and western swing fiddlers Cecil Brower, who was classically trained, and Johnny Gimble. But Hubbard reserved the highest honor for his own fiddler father, who encouraged Carroll to "play it through once and play it again, but don't play it the same way. Paint a different color each time you play."[5]

The first country musician to make a recording was West Texas fiddler Alexander Campbell "Eck" Robertson. In 1922, Robertson and fellow fiddler Henry Gilliland from Oklahoma marched into the New York studio of the RCA Victrola Company and dared the company executives to cut a record of country fiddle music. Though the company had shown no interest in rural music to that point, they recorded and released some duet tunes featuring Robertson and Gilliland and Robertson's solo "Sallie Goodin'" (Victor 18956). Robertson's recorded performance still amazes not only because of his skillful technique but also due to the thirteen distinct improvised strains, or variations, worked into the two "original" courses of the tune.[6]

The promise of vast resources of nearly free land drew central Euro-

peans, especially Germans, to Texas in the nineteenth century. German colonization in Texas began in 1831, when Friedrich Ernst and Charles Fordtran avoided a large German settlement in Missouri for the promise of a virtually free and inexhaustible supply of land in Texas. Though life in Texas was a struggle, Ernst wrote a glowing report to friends and family in Oldenburg encouraging further German immigration to Texas.

The largest movement of Germans to Texas began in 1842, under the supervision of the Mainzer Adelsverein, a society comprising five sovereign princes and sixteen other aristocrats. Three shiploads of Germans arrived in Galveston in December 1844 and traveled by wagons and oxcarts to a designated site named New Braunfels, after its founder Prince Carl of Solms-Braunfels. After 1847, the Adelsverein declined as an agent for transplanting Germans to Texas, but German immigrants continued arriving to fill up what came to be called the "German Belt."[7]

Whereas the Anglo pioneers who settled in Texas tended to distance themselves from their neighbors, the Germans congregated in well-organized communities. Social historian Richard A. Bartlett comments:

> In spite of their growing love for their new country, the Germans nevertheless tried desperately to retain their cultural heritage. In addition they were very literate, and a goodly number of them were trained in the arts and professions. All over the West there were German Liederkrantz [i.e., singing] clubs and Schiller societies . . . Turnverein[e]—societies combining gymnastics and physical fitness with liberal, even free-thinking ideals—flourished in most American cities. There were breweries bearing German names . . . and occasional mining engineers and metallurgists who had graduated from the School of Mines at Freiburg. There were numerous German-language newspapers. Yet the power of the predominant American culture was such that the Germans were overwhelmed.[8]

Germans were absorbed into the basic mix that emerged as the people of Texas, but their indelible and unique mark continued on in improved farming and ranching techniques, emphasis on public education in the state, and the creation of literary societies, theatrical

societies, athletic societies, fraternal organizations, and singing societies. It was the German tendency to organize into societies and clubs that greatly affected the entertainment industry in Texas. For Germans, as for Mexicans and Anglos living in Texas, dancing was an integral part of recreation and socialization. Given their bent for organized activity, German Texans, not surprisingly, formed the first dance clubs. The fact that the label "German Club" was used to identify any dance club, even when no German Texans were involved, attests to the pervasiveness of their influence on organized dancing in Texas. By the early 1900s, "german" was a common way of denoting a large ball or dance that lasted for several hours and included a midnight meal. In early Texas days there was even a complex circle dance called the german, which though it was actually of French origin, was so named because it was a community and family-oriented dance. Even the dance hall scene in Texas owed much to the enterprise of German Texans.

Germans also brought their favorite instruments and their own dances to Texas. As mentioned previously, German immigrants first introduced the accordion and the polka into northern Mexico, from whence both made their way into Texas. Immigrants coming directly from Germany to Texas also brought the accordion and polka into Texas musical culture.

The people who exerted the most profound influence on Texas music were the African American slaves who came west as the property of their white masters. Southern society was transplanted complete into East Texas, Central Texas, and the areas south of these regions, where conditions were perfect for growing cotton and river transportation was relatively available and cheap. In the decade before the Civil War, Texas plantations grew in number, size, and prosperity, and Texas became the last outpost of the southern plantation system, with its economic and social dependence on slavery. Even residents of Texas who had no part in plantation culture and slave ownership shared the plantation-South mentality. The slavery issue linked Texas to the Lower South: slavery was considered just, moral, even biblical, and certainly an economic benefit to both owners and slaves.

> Many Texans envisioned their state as becoming a great slaveholding empire. To threaten slavery was to flout destiny . . . Texas' conception of what they were to become was a strong bond to the Lower South.[9]

By 1834 there were some twenty thousand Anglos and slaves living primarily in an area east of the Guadalupe River and south of the old road from San Antonio to Nacogdoches. In Texas, slavery and cotton cultivation expanded together. By 1860 slaves represented a sizeable proportion of the Texas population (182,566 slaves compared to 430,891 whites) and a substantial portion of capital assessed for taxes (a total assessment value of $108,688,920 at $672 per slave).[10]

Most slaves in Texas lived better than those in the Deep South. Since escape to Mexico was fairly easy, especially through the aid of Mexican Texans, most Texas slave owners practiced a relatively humane form of slavery. Slave quarters generally consisted of a one- or two-room cabin for each family. The food consumed by slaves was the same as that common to poor whites—bacon and cornbread. Garments consisted of two store-bought changes of clothing each year. Medical attention was usually available, and slaves often had Saturday afternoons and Sundays off from work.

The planters who profited from slavery constituted only a small part of the population of Texas. In fact, at the beginning of the Civil War in 1860, only about 5.7 percent of the nation's slave owners lived in Texas, or some 21,878 individuals. Of these, only 54 planters owned one hundred or more slaves, and only 2,163 owned twenty or more. The average number of slaves owned by Texans was five or less, insufficient to justify hiring an overseer. Yet the influence of Texas planters was disproportionate to their numbers. They were highly respected community leaders who represented the ideal held by most white subsistence farmers. The wealth of Texas planters varied widely, from $60,000 to $600,000, but they cultivated a luxurious lifestyle that was envied by much of the rest of the state's population.[11] Since Texas formed the western-most sector of the Confederacy and was not a major battlefield, many Southern planters sent their slaves to Texas for safekeeping during the Civil War.[12]

White slave owners throughout North America stripped African slaves of most of their cultural identity, including language, religion, and ceremonies, but did not and could not divest Africans entirely of their musical heritage. Slaves salvaged and maintained some African musical genres and stylistic features, while creating new types and approaches that combined black and white musical elements. Retentions from Africa included rhythmic work songs and highly individualized field hollers. Slaves reinterpreted biblical passages in light of

their own experiences and then either devised new melodies or completely re-created white songs using their own ideas of performance practice to make spirituals. To all of their music, whether newly created or borrowed, African Americans attached their distinctively African concepts of melody, harmony, rhythm, form, and sound.

African musical practices that survived in slave performance included call-and-response patterns in singing and playing that resulted in a particularly African form of polyphony, or heterophony. This pervasive call-and-response form allowed individuals time to improvise variations based on but different from what the group sang or played. Also deriving from African music making were certain rhythmic traits of slave music, especially syncopation and the multiple layers of interlocking rhythm patterns typical of group performance.

Texas was the western frontier of the slave culture in the United States, and also the last repository of slave music made first in other areas of the American South. Texas also became an incubator for new types of music that grew out of slave music traditions. Writing specifically about slave music in Texas, cultural historian Larry Willoughby states:

> While Texas may have been part of the western frontier for many, it was genuinely southern for the black Texans who worked the cotton patches and cane fields. The slaves who first came to East Texas in the 1820s brought with them the Afro-American musical heritage indigenous to the other states of the cotton kingdom. They brought their songs: the field hollers, work chants, ritual shouts, chain gang moans, and gospel rhythms. They brought their instruments: the banjos, panpipes, mouth organs, recorders, three-string guitars, and any cylindrical object to serve as a drum. For the next century the so-called race music in Texas existed in a state of incubation waiting to give birth to ragtime, jazz, and rock 'n' roll. With the exception of the Mississippi Delta region, no geographical locale was as rich a spawning ground for the country blues and all its derivative musical styles as was Texas.[13]

Texas blues artists like "Blind" Willie Johnson, "Whistlin'" Alex Moore, Sam "Lightnin'" Hopkins, "Blind" Lemon Jefferson, Huddie Ledbetter (Leadbelly), and Mance Lipscomb recorded for companies such as Columbia, Gold Star, Aladdin Records, Arhoolie Records, Okeh,

and Paramount. These bluesmen traversed the rural Texas countryside and often wandered into Texas towns. "Lightnin'" Hopkins worked the south side of Houston in the years following World War II; he dominated the Houston blues scene until his death in 1982. "Blind" Lemon Jefferson took his rural blues from the little town of Wortham Bend in Central Texas to the city of Dallas when he was twenty years old. By 1918 he was performing regularly in the bars and brothels of Deep Ellum, the primarily African American entertainment district in north Dallas. He left Dallas to tour the South and Midwest in the mid- and late-1920s. Huddie Ledbetter, who was born on the Louisiana-Texas border, near Caddo Lake, was twice released from prison to pursue his musical career. His second parole was granted by Louisiana governor Oscar Allen in 1934, at the request of folklorist John Lomax, who took Ledbetter to New York City and set him up as an entertainer. Unlike his contemporaries Hopkins, Jefferson, and Ledbetter, Mance Lipscomb had no desire to leave the East Texas farm near the convergence of the Navasota and Brazos rivers, where Mack McCormick of radio station KUHF in Houston and Chris Strackwitz of Arhoolie Records discovered him sitting on his porch playing his guitar and singing. Lipscomb was in his sixties in 1960 when he was signed to a recording contract and began appearing at folk festivals and on college campuses. He died in 1976, still playing and singing at the age of eighty. These and other Texas bluesmen sang of rural poverty and urban alienation, and of the "desperation and hopelessness of black Texans trapped in the economic tyranny of racist America."[14]

Spanish and Mexican, Anglo, German, African American: these were the four most crucial cultural and musical ethnicities that weaved their way through Texas life and music. Each ethnic group contributed elements to Texas music and to the Light Crust Doughboys. The Doughboys captured the sound of a mariachi band's duet trumpets in their twin violins, and they performed Spanish-flavored popular songs. From Anglo, or British-American, folk music they borrowed fiddle tunes, breakdown fiddle style, and the country songs that grew out of that tradition. At various times members of the band played accordion, and the Doughboys included polkas and waltzes in their repertory. They assimilated many stylistic features and genres from African Americans, including improvisation, swing, syncopation, ragtime, blues, and jazz.

THE TEXAS WORLDVIEW

Scholars describe worldview as the totality of belief systems (religious, political, and social), institutions (political and social), and laws shared by a group of people who belong to the same culture at the same time. It is entirely acceptable to acknowledge an American worldview, for the United States possesses a unique culture, different from that of any other country in the world, and the American people have evolved a singular nature, with a distinct point of view. But to suggest that Texas possesses a culture of its own and that Texans subscribe to a point of view that diverges from that of other Americans strains the credulity of many people.

Cultural historian T. R. Fehrenbach writes,

> While no one denies that there is such a thing as a Texas mystique, the very notion offends many Americans who in this time and place can accept any form of ethnicity except the Old American wrapped up in a sense of territoriality. But there is a true Texas ethnicity, American to the core, American in its origins, American in its intense patriotism—but in some ways divergent from the American mainstream. And at the same time it can be argued that while Texas is constantly changing under the pressure of American society and government, Texans are also influencing the nation as a whole.[15]

Individualism and a strong work ethic are certainly two of the basic components of the Texas worldview. The society created by white Americans in Texas was simple and predicated on the belief that anything was possible for white people who worked hard and possessed some ability. In their eagerness to carve out their own society and prove their invincibility, these American pioneers were incredibly wasteful. Forests, prairies, and meadows disappeared under the plow, or were decimated by grazing herds of animals. Land was laid waste, but the American pioneer in Texas, and elsewhere in the West, never looked back.

Whereas modern-day Texans have learned the hard lessons of land management and conservation, they still react negatively to laws, federal or state, designed to dictate land or water use. There is more at stake than personal property rights; the larger issue is individual free-

dom. Americans moved west not only to acquire cheap land, but also to escape government regulation.

> Texas was thus the antithesis of a corporately conceived and organically organized society. From the first there were enormous differences in economic condition and social status among colonists, but there was nothing approaching social or political hierarchy. The society was based upon landownership. Every landholder was in determined theory a peer among equals, a member of a pure male democracy.[16]

This "pure male democracy" extended only to white males, certainly not to Mexican Texan or African American males. Anglo males assumed that they had the right to conquer and dominate the frontier. Men explored, fought, won the land, and worked it. Men formed cooperative societies, participated in politics, and dominated social life. But the family was important as the only point of stability on the frontier, and women dominated family life. Women who migrated west with their husbands experienced greater prestige than those who remained back East, because they were such an integral part of frontier life, and their numbers never equaled those of men. Many frontier women were literate and either made certain their children attended school or supervised their educations at home. Women in Texas, as elsewhere in the West, lived lives of drudgery and loneliness, but they brought literature and art onto the frontier.

After the family unit, religion formed the next level of societal organization. In pioneer areas Methodists and Baptists thrived rather than the more formalized Catholic and Episcopal churches because pioneers needed a faith they could practice individually, without the assistance of ministers or priests, who might not be readily available. Furthermore, pioneers required a religion of emotion rather than intellect, a religion that would bolster their optimism and make life more livable.

In Texas, Methodist and Baptist missionaries were at work even during the Anglo colonial period, when Mexican authorities required that American settlers swear allegiance to the Catholic Church. After the Texas Revolution, these two denominations grew rapidly, and by 1860 the Methodist Church was the strongest in Texas, followed by the Baptist denomination. Presbyterians ranked third in Texas but were quite

active and visible. The Episcopal Church had nineteen congregations in Texas by 1860, and the Christian Church began to grow rapidly from the 1850s. In Texas, as elsewhere in the pioneer West, churches were centers of socialization and education as well as moral guidance.[17]

By 1900, the Baptists had overtaken the Methodists as the most populous religious sect in Texas. The Baptist approach to faith certainly appealed to an emergent Texas culture, which "has always made the individual the base of society—and of religion as well—and put individual responsibility above all forms of corporate responsibility or other social claims."[18] Baptist tenets coincided with white Texans' basic view of themselves and their world: the right of each individual to approach God, thus exercising personal control over his own soul; church sanction of worldly success; the naturalness of racial separation; the puritan ethic with its dislike of pretense and luxury; belief in personal sin and personal salvation, with the individual as the center of his or her religious experience; suspicion of alcohol; dislike of formal creeds and ritualistic observances; and the independence of each congregation.

Writing in 1957, George Fuermann equated the Baptist denomination in Texas with a kind of state church and claimed that it was largely responsible for the sociopolitical conservatism that characterized Texas.

> Baptists excel other faiths in Texas in efficiency of organization. Congregations include few occasional worshipers. Sunday school is a cradle-to-the-grave plan. Church lights burn every night for meetings, dinners, and discussion groups. The faith is based on primitive Christianity. Infant baptism is renounced. Each church is an autonomy; each member the arbiter of his soul. There are no bishops; no member has any spiritual authority over another. Aloneness—aloofness to mingling with anything foreign—is dogma. . . . Nearly one in four Texans is a Baptist of one group or another, including Negroes trained from the cradle to shy from alliance. The state's fear of the United Nations and its opposition to federal rights arises in part from Baptist convictions.[19]

Texans have the reputation of being politically and socially conservative, honest and hardworking, Baptist, committed to God and family, and, unfortunately, racist.

Racism in Texas targeted a variety of people. Most Anglo Texans considered all African Americans, Native Americans, and Mexican Americans "colored" and inherently inferior to themselves. To Anglos, Mexican fandangos, gambling, cockfights, and siestas were the activities of a lazy and morally bankrupt people. Once Anglo Texans had won their independence from Mexico, they began to deprive Mexican Texans of their land and their political influence. The annexation of Texas by the United States and the Mexican War that followed strengthened the conviction held by whites that Mexicans were racially inferior.

The second great tide of Anglo migration to Texas occurred between 1900 and 1930, when South Texas ranchers, tired of battling the uncertainties of the declining cattle industry, began selling their land to Midwestern commercial farmers. These Midwestern farmers arrived in Texas with different political, economic, and social ideas and much less understanding of the Mexican population than previous generations of Anglos had. The Anglo old-timers had treated Mexicans harshly but insisted that they understood how best to handle the Mexican population of Texas. Midwestern farmers found any relationship with Mexican Texans unsatisfactory. Their goal, to accrue profit while elevating the moral level of the residents of Texas, necessitated the elimination of the so-called inferior elements of society, both Mexican American and African American. Due to pressure from the newcomers, the Texas legislature in 1902 passed the first poll tax requirement, specifically designed to discourage Mexican Americans and African Americans from voting. The new commercial farming elite of South Texas also sponsored the first segregation laws in the state.

> Separate quarters for Mexicans and Anglos were to be found in the farm towns. Specific rules defined the proper place of Mexicans and regulated interracial contact. The separation was so complete and seemingly absolute that several observers have described the farm society as "caste-like.". . . [R]ace consciousness and privileges permeated social life in the farm order.
> By 1930, 90 percent of South Texas schools were segregated. By the early 1940s, separate schools for Mexicans existed in at least 122 school districts in 59 representative counties.[20]

Ideology used to support segregation followed several different lines of reasoning. Both old-timers and newcomers accepted without ques-

tion the notion of Mexican inferiority, which was substantiated for many by the fact that the Mexicans had lost Texas not once but twice, first through the Texas Revolution and then the Mexican War. Newcomers, less interested in history, depended on hygiene and germ theories to prove Mexican inferiority. Mexican Texans were perceived as being dirty: their skin was dark, they worked in the dirt of the fields, they lived in shanties, and they suffered from disease more than whites did. Oppression and poverty were never considered as potential causes for their condition; dirtiness was viewed as their natural state, making physical separation essential. Mexican Texans in South Texas were not allowed to live in the same neighborhoods as whites, or to frequent the same movie houses, drugstores, restaurants, retail stores, banks, or schools. Anglo Texans and Mexican Texans lived in totally separate worlds that converged only in the dusty fields, where Mexican Texans labored on land owned and supervised by Anglo Texans. These conditions remained unchanged until the civil rights activity of the 1950s and 1960s.

The plight of African American Texans mirrored in many ways that of the Mexican Texan population of South Texas. Emancipation for slaves arrived in Texas with General Gordon Granger and the federal occupation forces on June 19, 1865. Suddenly faced with a large population of freed blacks, and an equally large group of poor, displaced whites, the former landowning elite of Texas, like their social equals elsewhere in the South, were forced to create a system to manage the human flood of unskilled labor. The answer was a new form of slavery, the sharecropping system. Freed slaves and poor whites were allowed to settle on and farm previous plantation land. The landowner paid each sharecropper's expenses and in exchange received at least 20 percent of the value of the harvest, after deducting what the sharecropper had "borrowed" to buy necessities. The sharecropper might be left with very little, certainly not enough to move to another location. Whereas cotton production actually increased under the sharecropping system, Texas society was profoundly and negatively affected by the two-tier reality of owners and workers that it imposed. One of the most damaging results of tenantry was the rapid decline of black-white relations and the emergence of extreme racism. For poor whites stuck in the sharecropping trap, only skin color separated them from their black neighbors. Socioeconomically impoverished whites emphasized the supposed racial inferiority of blacks in order to elevate

themselves in the social order that was the sharecropping system. "Caste replaced servitude, in a logical if not defensible pattern of domination and discrimination."[21]

Blacks and poor whites remained on the farms of Texas until the Depression era of the 1930s, when landowners discovered that the sharecropping system was unprofitable and that more money could be made by leasing or selling large tracts of land to commercial farmers using machinery. Black and white tenant farmers were forced off the land, thus beginning the process of urbanization in Texas. African Americans migrated to small towns, then to larger cities, always moving north. The census of 1870 showed that 30 percent of the Texas population was African American, but that figure declined in the twentieth century. In 1940, one out of every seven Texans was African American; in 1950, one in eight; and in 1955, one in nine. While the white population increased 23 percent between 1940 and 1950, the African American population increased by only 6 percent. African Americans were leaving the state much more rapidly than they were coming in.[22]

The explanation for the declining African American population of Texas, at least through the 1950s, can be found in the reluctance of ultraconservative Anglo Texans to relinquish the color barrier and to implement improvements in the lives and education of African Americans. Resistance to social change frequently turned violent during the first four decades of the twentieth century, especially as African Americans were leaving the isolation of farms and moving into more densely populated areas where closer contact with whites was inevitable.

> Racial turmoil was common, and during those years Texas exceeded the Deep South in the number of recorded lynchings, the extralegal executions of suspected blacks, in which authorities either acquiesced or sometimes took part.[23]

This extremely violent phase of black-white relations in Texas ended about 1940, but the color barrier was enforced through legal means—the poll tax and segregated schools, neighborhoods, and public facilities. After twenty years of lawsuits, African Americans finally voted in a Democratic primary in Texas on July 22, 1944, but the poll tax prevented them from becoming important to the political process in Texas. School desegregation was an even more difficult goal to attain

in Texas, despite the 1954 United States Supreme Court ruling that separate schools were not equal, and thus were illegal. The Texas House attempted to pass seven unsuccessful bills to preserve school segregation.[24] But more effective than political machinations were the community pressures that kept Texas residents in their presumed places, and separate.

Even during the civil rights struggle of the 1960s, African Americans in Texas remained relatively uninvolved, probably because they knew from generations of experience that local authorities would not tolerate civil disobedience. Black leadership in Texas tended to operate along lines established by white authorities. Social change has come much too slowly in Texas, but it has come, for both African and Mexican Texans, as white Texans have been forced by law to relinquish segregation and its inequities. African Americans, who came to Texas not by choice but in bondage, have altered the character of Texas society and Texas music more dramatically than any other group.

The Texas character remains a complex mixture of good and evil: individualistic, but territorial; freedom-loving, but determined to exclude certain groups of Texans; politically minded, but capable of circumventing laws intended for the protection of all if they infringe on personal property rights; hardworking, moral, and religious, but racist. Texans have expressed their identity in their music, in songs like "Beautiful Texas," "The Yellow Rose of Texas," "Amarillo by Morning," "When It's Round-Up Time in Texas," "Texas in My Soul," "Across the River from the Alamo," "Does Fort Worth Ever Cross Your Mind?," "Sure 'Nuf Texas," "Texas When I Die," and countless others. There is no denying the existence of a Texas worldview, and with it, a distinctly Texas music. The Light Crust Doughboys subscribed to that worldview through their song and instrumental selections, as well as their jokes and humor. It is to the Doughboys' credit, as to that of most musicians, that they never allowed prevailing racist views to deter them from assimilating musical numbers and style features from the state's ethnic minorities.

TEXAS AND THE GREAT DEPRESSION

How did self-confident, individualistic white male Texans react to the catastrophic economic events of the stock market crash of October 1929 and the subsequent depression? Most landowners assumed that,

since the Texas economy was based on the land—agriculture and oil—rather than industry and stock speculation, the Texas economy would remain strong. In fact, the stock market crash seemed to validate the natural Texas antipathy to speculators and the Eastern financial establishment. The generally held view was that the market collapse would be good for Texas business because it would divert capital away from stock investments and into agriculture and manufacturing. Texans' inbred worldview insisted that

> Wall Street's traumas were of minor concern to the men on the plains and in the woods. They had been hungry before and had done without food and had survived. If necessary, they would do without again, and they would survive.[25]

But Texas did feel the effects of the economic depression as severely as any other state in the union. By 1932, one in every four Americans, including those living in Texas, was jobless, and middle-class incomes had dropped by 50 percent. The decade witnessed the collapse of the American banking system, with seven thousand banks failing; some of these banks were located in Texas. A hundred thousand businesses failed, and corporate profits plunged from $10 billion in 1929 to $1 billion in 1932. At the same time, the gross national product declined by half. Bank and industrial failures ultimately affected crop and livestock prices, sending them impossibly low. A Texas cotton crop planted in the fall of 1931 promised to earn a market price of 9 to 10 cents a pound, but by harvest time in the spring of 1932 it was worth only 5.3 cents. Corn and cattle prices fell to half of what they had been in 1929. Farmers planning their crops for 1932–1933 had to produce three times what they did the year before merely to pay off their bank loans. Small subsistence farmers went bankrupt; sharecropping, which had been widespread in Texas before the Depression, proved unprofitable to landowners, who ran the tenants off their property and rented or sold it to commercial farmers with the latest machine technology. The agricultural depression was very real for Texas farmers and ranchers.

Though agricultural times were hard, Texas farmers and ranchers continued to espouse the gospel of private property. Thus, when state and federal lawmakers sought to raise prices by reducing production and eliminating surpluses, farmers and ranchers at first refused to cooperate. The idea of leaving fields and pastures barren was loathsome

to agriculturalists accustomed to harvesting the wealth of the land. Even more irritating for Texas landowners was the notion of submitting to authority, especially when that authority was infringing on sacred personal property rights. It took penalties and taxation to ensure the compliance of Texas farmers and ranchers.

Texas oilmen responded similarly to attempts to curtail oil production. Columbus Marion "Dad" Joiner brought in a well in East Texas near Kilgore in October 1930 that opened a vast new oil field with seemingly unlimited potential. As more oil poured onto the market, the price of a barrel of crude dropped precipitously, but still the East Texas oil producers drilled and pumped. Only the intervention of the Texas Rangers quelled their determination to produce. The issues for agriculture and Texas oil were more complex than this simple summary suggests, but one thing is apparent here: property rights were often held to be more important than the public good.

Another aspect of the Texas worldview was reflected in schemes to grant less in federal and state relief money to minorities and women. The city of Houston denied relief money to African Americans and Mexican Americans on the grounds that to fund these minority groups meant depriving "more deserving" whites. Cities, like Midland, that had large numbers of migrant Mexican Texans searching for jobs used law enforcement to keep these transients from remaining in the community. All cities in Texas instituted austerity programs that often functioned at the expense of women. Married women were usually fired from city jobs in order to open job opportunities for white men, and public schools refused to hire single women and fired women married to other public employees. In other words, the Depression was harder for minorities and women because relief efforts were aimed at white males. The New Deal initiated by President Franklin D. Roosevelt did not extend to minorities and women in Texas. When African Americans and Mexican Texans did receive federal relief aid, they were paid less than whites. Job training for African American men prepared them only for menial jobs, and Mexican Texans were offered no assistance. During the Depression, some 250,000 Mexican Texans were exiled to Mexico. Since many of these people had never lived in Mexico, this was, in fact, the deporting of American citizens. Though most returned quickly to Texas, this move against Mexican Texans further amplified existing antagonism between white and Mexican Texans.[26]

Texans were, as always, resourceful during the bleak years of the Depression. I remember my mother, who was born in 1925, talking about how her family managed to survive: "We were never hungry," she said, "but we ate a lot of red beans and cornbread." Her father worked on the WPA project that built the Will Rogers Coliseum and Auditorium in Fort Worth, and her mother took in laundry and also worked as a seamstress in a dress factory. Mother's sister, five years older, went to work right out of high school and brought home her paycheck to help support the family. A dollar would buy quite a few groceries, but wages could be as little as $1.50 per week for the lowest-paid workers.

One job that paid well in Texas during the Depression was dance-band musician. Over the past ten years I have interviewed over fifty western swing musicians, many of them survivors of the Depression; all of the Depression-era musicians spoke about earning a great deal more money as musicians than in any other job for which they were qualified. As noted earlier in this chapter, Texans have historically viewed dancing as a primary means of entertainment, and during the Depression, dancing assumed even greater status because it was affordable.

Pioneer western swing fiddler Cliff Bruner spoke about his teenage years in Tomball, Texas. "We'd come into Houston playing the parks. We'd pass the hat and get money. We'd play for the country dances." Cliff went on to explain that he would work in the cotton fields around Tomball, in the stifling heat of the summer, for a dollar a day, and then go out at night and play for a dance and earn ten or fifteen dollars.[27] Marvin Montgomery, banjoist for the Light Crust Doughboys from 1935 to 2001, told about his leaving a traveling tent-show that was paying him eleven dollars per week as a musician in order to work with a dance band that paid him three dollars or more per night.[28] Both guitarist Eldon Shamblin and pianist Al Stricklin explained that Bob Wills could hire good musicians off of other bands because he paid so well. Al remembered the day in 1931 that Bob Wills walked into the Cinderella Roof dance hall in Fort Worth where he was working and offered him a job as a Texas Playboy.

> Bob and I sat down at a booth. He said, "Strick, I've hit it pretty big up in Tulsa. I've got a radio program and it's going pretty good. We're making about $2,000 a week. I got an old boy who sings. His

name is Tommy Duncan. He also plays the piano, but he doesn't know too much about it. He gets a lot of laughs but I'm looking for a better piano player. I'm going to need one in September."

"Are you offering me a job?" I asked.

"Yeah, I am," he said.

"How much does it pay?" I asked.

"Thirty bucks," said Wills.

"A month?" I asked.

"No, a week," he replied.[29]

The band stories could continue for many pages, but the point is clear that the job of musician paid quite well in comparison to other types of work. The Light Crust Doughboys band started its long career at the beginning of the Great Depression and continued playing right up to the time that the United States entered World War II. After the war, it resumed its performances, though with different personnel and in a different business environment. The Doughboys worked as a radio and show band, not a dance band. During the Depression they were driven by economic concerns that tied them to their sponsor, Burrus Mill and Elevator Company. One could speculate that had they been willing to gamble and proceed independently of Burrus Mill, they might have achieved national fame, but band personnel could not trade moderate economic stability for economic uncertainty. Thus, they settled for being regional celebrities playing and singing a plethora of different types of music. Their sound and their music belonged to Texas and Texans, and it exemplified the three themes discussed in this chapter: Texas as a musical crossroads, unique Texas attitudes, and the meaning of the Depression for a generation of Texans.

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CHAPTER TWO

GETTING STARTED

1930–1935

There is some uncertainty as to when the Light Crust Doughboys band was first organized under the sponsorship of Burrus Mill and Elevator Company of Fort Worth. The consensus for many years, as reported by Bob Wills' biographer, Charles Townsend, and longtime Doughboy Marvin "Smokey" Montgomery, held that the band first broadcast as the Light Crust Doughboys on radio station KFJZ in Fort Worth in January 1931. Western swing historian Cary Ginell has proposed an earlier date based on the radio logs of the *Fort Worth Press.* These logs indicate that a band calling itself the Light Crust Minstrels performed a series of programs on station KTAT from 7:45 to 8:15 A.M., November 1, 12, and 19 and December 3 and 17, 1930. Since the logs do not name the band personnel, it is impossible to say with certainty that this band consisted of the acknowledged original Light Crust Doughboys members: Bob Wills, Herman Arnspiger, and Milton Brown. What the logs do reveal is that the management of Burrus Mill and Elevator Company recognized the advertising benefits of sponsoring a band on local radio, and that they had begun to do just that by late 1930. Early in 1931, and it could have been in January, the management of Burrus Mill moved the daily program to radio station KFJZ, with a band called the Light Crust Doughboys, consisting of Wills,

Arnspiger, and Brown. The Light Crust Doughboys were "ONNN the air!"[1]

Bob Wills, Herman Arnspiger, and Milton Brown met at a house dance on the south side of Fort Worth at Christmastime in 1929. Roy Lee Brown, youngest brother of Milton Brown, told Cary Ginell that Milton had just been laid off from his job as a salesman for Lowe Cigar Company, which was feeling the financial pinch of the Depression. Milton had already been traveling the house-dance circuit in Fort Worth as a singer, with Derwood, the middle Brown brother, as his guitar accompanist. Fiddler Bob Wills and guitarist Herman Arnspiger had been hired to play for this particular house dance, and Milton Brown, probably in response to a request from someone in attendance, sang W. C. Handy's "St. Louis Blues" to accompaniment provided by Wills and Arnspiger. Thus began a musical collaboration that lasted until 1932.

House dances were important social and entertainment occasions for country people—farmers and ranchers—forced by the failing economy of the 1930s to migrate into Texas towns and cities in search of employment. These country folk left their homes and occupations behind but not their attitudes and musical traditions. Cities such as Fort Worth, Dallas, and Houston had ballrooms and elegant dance halls, where people could dance to society orchestras and horn bands, but transplanted rural people were not comfortable in these venues. Rather, they hired fiddlers and guitarists to play for dances at individual homes. Furniture was moved aside and the rugs rolled up so that people could dance to the traditional string band music they had known in the country. There were also out-of-town dance halls and honky-tonks that catered to rural Texans.

It was, no doubt, because Milton Brown had already begun to make a reputation around Fort Worth as a singer that he was invited to perform a number with Wills and Arnspiger at the Christmastime house dance. Milton and his best friend, Roy McBride, had been singing at businesses and meetings of organizations around Fort Worth since graduating from high school in 1925. In 1927, the two friends formed a vocal trio with another musician, Ellis Fagan, and occasionally called themselves the Three Yodeliers. A *Fort Worth Press* announcement for September 26, 1927, gave notice that the vocal trio of Brown, McBride, and Fagan was scheduled to appear at a small Fort Worth park, Arnold Park, located near the county courthouse, on Friday, September 30.[2] Though Milton Brown had built a local reputation with

his two musician friends, he was looking to expand his horizons in a band context; thus, it was propitious that he should meet and perform with Wills and Arnspiger.

Cary Ginell quotes Roy Lee Brown as saying,

> As far as I know, Milton was never hired just to sing for these house dances because the people could never afford to pay more than two musicians. But Milton made money elsewhere by making appearances at schoolhouses and doing special programs, first with his vocal group, and later, with Bob Wills and Herman Arnspiger. When he and Derwood joined up with Bob and Herman, Milton would get jobs for them at a schoolhouse or maybe a church. Although Milton booked the jobs, he wasn't the leader of the group and neither was Bob Wills. There was simply an informal agreement by the members of the band as to where they would play. They never made enough to have a salary; they just split up whatever they made evenly among themselves.[3]

James Robert Wills, son of West Texas cotton farmer and competition breakdown fiddler John Wills, left his job at Ham's Barber Shop in Turkey, Texas, and with fiddle in hand, arrived in Fort Worth sometime in 1929. There Wills continued to practice his trade as a barber, but he also worked as a blackface minstrel in medicine shows. It was as a blackface performer in Fort Worth that Wills came to be known as Bob. Guitarist Herman Arnspiger saw one of Wills' performances and struck up a conversation after the show. The two musicians must have shared similar ideas about music because they immediately formed the Wills' Fiddle Band and began to play for house dances in Fort Worth.[4]

Wills had learned the Texas fiddle style from his father, and from such of his father's friends as award-winning fiddler Eck Robertson. Wills related to Charles Townsend that he added blues, syncopated dance music, and the verbal interjections that spiced his stage presence from the African American field hands with whom he worked in West Texas.[5] Probably Wills' minstrel show experience and his awareness of the city-blues recordings of artists like Bessie Smith and Al Bernard played an equally large role in the creation of the Wills' stage style and repertory. Ginell compared Bob Wills' recordings of "St. Louis Blues" to that made by Al Bernard (using the name John Bennett), who acknowledged a debt to Emmett Miller. Wills' version (Vocalion 03076),

Ginell noted, copied Bernard's patter nearly word for word, indicating that Wills was aware of Bernard's earlier release (Madison 1642).[6] Wills no doubt synthesized the musical elements he derived from African American field hands in West Texas with the recorded blues of Smith, Miller, Bernard, and others.

In the summer of 1930, Wills and Arnspiger entered and won a fiddlers' contest on radio station KFJZ; the prize was fifty dollars, which Wills and Arnspiger immediately spent on much-needed clothes. It was a contest in which the winner was determined by listener response and, according to Roy Lee Brown, Wills and Arnspiger supplied so many penny postcards to friends and acquaintances that they could not lose.[7]

The foursome of Wills, Arnspiger, and Milton and Derwood Brown continued to play house dances and also picked up a regular Saturday night job at Eagles' Lodge Hall on Fifth Street in Fort Worth. Whereas sponsors of house dances normally could afford to pay only two musicians, dance halls, which attracted larger audiences, could support larger bands. On those occasions when the band of Wills, Arnspiger, and the two Browns played a venue such as Eagles' Hall, other local musicians often sat in with them. One of these musicians was guitarist/banjoist Clifton "Sleepy" Johnson, so nicknamed because of his perpetually droopy eyelids and sad expression.

Johnson also played in the Firecracker String Band, made up of firemen from Fire Hall No. 14. One of the musicians with whom Johnson worked in the Firecracker String Band was fiddler John Dunnam. Dunnam convinced the Aladdin Lamp Company to sponsor a band on radio station WBAP, and in May or June of 1930, the Aladdin Laddies, consisting of Dunnam, Milton and Derwood Brown, Bob Wills, Clifton Johnson, and Herman Arnspiger began a brief, three-month existence. Milton Brown devised a theme song for the Aladdin Laddies, "We're the Aladdin Laddies from WBAP," with which they introduced their daily radio program. To create this song Milton invented a new text set to the tune of "Easy Ridin' Papa," recorded in New York City, April 19, 1930, by the Famous Hokum Boys, a black band starring Mississippi rural blues singer Big Bill Broonzy. When the Light Crust Doughboys band was formed early in 1931, the same song was transformed into "We're the Light Crust Doughboys from Burrus Mill."[8]

The Aladdin Laddies regularly listened to recordings and rehearsed at Kemble's Furniture Store, owned by Fort Worth businessman Will Ed Kemble. Kemble stocked and sold recordings of popular songs and

jazz numbers, which helped to reinforce the musical direction that Milton Brown was already taking with the Laddies. Milton Brown had a smooth vocal delivery that set him apart from typical country singers and placed him in a category with other popular vocalists.[9]

On the radio program the band called itself the Aladdin Laddies, but at Eagles' Lodge Hall they used no particular name and employed between four and seven musicians. Milton Brown was the main link between rural and urban audiences. The string bands with which he performed were rural carryovers into the city scene, but Brown's vocal approach and his repertory integrated an urban, popular element into the same context.

> During his appearances at Eagles Hall, [Milton Brown] introduced many of the popular tunes he had performed with his vocal quartet to the other musicians. In turn, Bob Wills incorporated breakdowns and waltzes which he had learned from his father.[10]

Ever the entrepreneur, Milton Brown, in search of a larger dance venue and wider recognition for the band, formed a business relationship with Samuel C. Cunningham, owner and proprietor of Crystal Springs Resort, located some four miles from downtown Fort Worth on White Settlement Road. Cunningham advertised family entertainment at his all-in-one fishing camp, swimming pool, and dance hall complex. Crystal Springs dance hall became the Laddies' headquarters and main job when their radio program went off the air after only three months.[11] In its heyday, Crystal Springs dance hall was

> a ramshackled hangout at best, . . . a favorite watering hole for the nefarious of the Depression. Gangsters, hoodlums, bank robbers, and associated lawless individuals became well known to the Doughboys and later Brown's Brownies. Fred "Papa" Calhoun, pianist for Milton Brown, is fond of relating countless tales of the exploits of various incorrigibles including Raymond Hamilton, Bonnie and Clyde, and Blackie Lawson.[12]

Shortly after they began playing at Crystal Springs, Will Ed Kemble convinced the band to audition for a radio program on KFJZ. Only three band members auditioned for the station: Milton Brown, Bob Wills, and Herman Arnspiger. Al Stricklin, the staff pianist at KFJZ, was sub-

stituting for the program director and, therefore, supervised the audition. (Later, Stricklin gained considerable fame as pianist in Bob Wills' Texas Playboys.) In his autobiography, Stricklin recalled the audition vividly and with great humor.

> I was lolling around the studio that day waiting for my time to go on the air when I heard a small commotion in the small reception room. Opal Copeland, our receptionist, was confronted by three men wanting an audition at the station. Opal talked to Max Shippe, our station manager, and he said, "Sure, we give auditions to anyone."
>
> Since our program director was on vacation, it was my duty to take the three men into the studio and set up for the audition. They looked like bad hombres. All needed shaves and Bob had his fiddle in a flour sack. I later learned that he had hocked it earlier for $5 and had borrowed it out of hock for this audition.
>
> I introduced myself to them and they seemed nice. I learned that Wills would be playing the fiddle, Herman Arnspiger would be seconding on the guitar and Milton Brown would be the main vocalist.
>
> "Boys, what kind of music do you play?" I asked.
>
> "Different," said Wills. "The Wills Fiddle Band plays different."[13]
>
> Was it ever different! I adjusted the mike and turned the switch so we could listen in the outer room. The Wills Fiddle Band went to it.
>
> I'd never heard anything like it. They cut loose on a song called, "Who Broke the Lock on the Henhouse Door?" Milton sang with great gusto and Bob swung his fiddle wildly up and down, and all of the time just playing the hell out of it. Arnspiger was whacking and twirling and plunking his guitar like it was a piece of fire and he wanted to let it go but couldn't.
>
> I thought at first they were making fun of some kind of comedy song. But then they went into "Four or Five Times" and "The Craw Dad Song" and I realized that they were playing with feeling. Straight from the heart.
>
> As I learned later, Bob Wills never made fun of any song and he always put the same feeling into every song he ever did. But that day, I'll admit, those guys had me in stitches.
>
> You must understand that this was really strange music to a

guy like me who had worked so hard for so many years to try to master jazz on the piano. I thought that their type of thing would have been perfect for a Medicine Show. There were hundreds of them in the country during those times.

I later found out that Bob Wills had indeed played in one of the medicine shows.

After the Wills Fiddle Band got through that day, I asked them if they would like to be put on again. "We sure would," said Bob.

I guess we did that for a couple of reasons. One was that they did entertain us. But another was that during those days we didn't have any disc jockeys or turntables and we were looking for talent all of the time. So we gave them a chance. Were we in for a surprise!

They received more fan mail than all the rest of the station's entertainers put together. The post office called and said it had more mail than it could carry and that we would have to send someone down there to pick up the cards and letters. There were several hundred. The Wills Fiddle Band was hired for $15 a week. They played six days a week. To guys who hadn't eaten regularly that was good money.[14]

The chief engineer for the audition, Truett Kimzey, felt that the band might provide successful advertising for some local business and suggested Burrus Mill, which produced Light Crust Flour, as a possible radio sponsor. Kimzey approached Burrus Mill's general manager, W. Lee O'Daniel, with the suggestion.

O'Daniel was a proficient salesman who had earned his position as general manager of Burrus Mill and Elevator Company by increasing the sales of Light Crust Flour by 250 percent. Always on the lookout for improved methods of selling flour, O'Daniel, though not totally convinced of the efficacy of sponsoring a band, was interested in the idea. He distrusted the morality of all band musicians and did not care for the music this particular band performed. Still, O'Daniel agreed to Kimzey's proposal. He designed a protective umbrella for himself and the mill by signing the band to play on KFJZ, which was the weakest and cheapest radio station in the area. The sponsorship fee paid by Burrus Mill for a half-hour program was under $15, as compared with about $125 at KTAT and approximately $250 at powerful WBAP. By sponsoring the band on KFJZ, Burrus Mill was out less in money and embarrassment if it failed.[15]

The Light Crust Doughboys, so named by Truett Kimzey, took to the airways from the studio of KFJZ at 6:00 A.M. sometime in early 1931. On the first broadcast, and those that followed, Kimzey introduced the Light Crust Doughboys, after which they sang and played the first half of their theme song, "We're the Light Crust Doughboys from Burrus Mill."

Now listen everybody from near and far
If you want to know who we are
We're the Light Crust Doughboys
From the Burrus Mill.

If you like the way we play
Listen while we try to say
We're the Light Crust Doughboys
From the Burrus Mill.

And all night long,
We're going to sing this song.
If you get this song,
You can't go wrong (and how!).

We wear a smile and make things bright.
We'll make you happy from morn 'til night.
We're the Light Crust Doughboys
From the Burrus Mill.

Following the theme song, Milton Brown sang songwriter Bob Miller's prison ballad "Twenty-One Years," which was a brilliant move on Milton's part, as this was one of the most frequently recorded songs of the 1930s, well known to the listening audience.[16]

After Milton Brown's song, Wills started the Doughboys in the familiar breakdown "Chicken Reel," followed by Kimzey's welcome to the audience and advertisement for Light Crust Flour. Jimmie Rodgers was a popular singer/songwriter living in Texas at the time, and Milton sang some of his numbers. The program concluded with the rest of the theme song:

Now we never do brag, we never do boast.
We sing our songs from coast to coast.

We're the Light Crust Doughboys
From the Burrus Mill.

If you like our song, think it's fine,
Sit right down and drop a line
To the Light Crust Doughboys
From the Burrus Mill.

And I'll declare, you'll get it there
And if we have some time to spare (somewhere)

Sometime when we're down your way
We'll drop in and spend the day.
We're the Light Crust Doughboys
From the Burrus Mill.

The thousands of affirmative letters that poured into the KFJZ studio within a few days of the initial broadcast proved that the Doughboys were an instant hit. But O'Daniel remained unconvinced and cancelled the band and the radio program after a few weeks. Only after Kimzey showed him the bags of mail and pleaded their case did O'Daniel reinstate the band, on the condition that the band members labor in the mill. Milton Brown was hired to sell flour, Bob Wills drove a delivery truck, and Herman Arnspiger worked in the plant. For all of their labors the men received $15 each per week. Once back on the payroll, the band members soon found that they had no time to work in the mill itself because O'Daniel began requiring them to spend eight hours a day practicing in the new studio he provided at Burrus Mill. O'Daniel also began to contribute poetry and inspirational speeches to the daily program and to book the band at stores, parks, and conventions. O'Daniel also designed a band uniform: bakers' hats, white shirts and pants. An alternate uniform consisted of military-style sweaters and ties.

The Doughboys traveled to Galveston in March 1931 to play for a bankers' convention. They rode in a bus that O'Daniel had chartered and Kimzey had wired for sound. Derwood, by this time an unofficial Doughboy, went along, as did Will Ed Kemble. O'Daniel was impressed by the Doughboys' reception not only in Galveston, but also in the small towns along the way where they stopped to perform.

Back in Fort Worth after the trip to Galveston, O'Daniel decided to

invest in transportation for the band and purchased a seven-passenger, white stretch Packard, on the top of which he attached a sign that said, "EAT MORE BREAD, YOUR BEST AND CHEAPEST FOOD" and "THE DOUGHBOYS, TUNE RADIO STATION KFJZ." Obviously, O'Daniel no longer feared that the Doughboys might prove a costly embarrassment to Burrus Mill. Rather, the band was an advertising asset to the company, and O'Daniel's interest in it grew in direct proportion to increased profits in flour sales. In late 1931, the band was scheduled to make a goodwill tour in company with members of the Fort Worth Chamber of Commerce. When Kimzey could not get away from his job at KFJZ to accompany the band, O'Daniel took over as the announcer.

> In Weatherford, O'Daniel introduced the program for the first time and completed the tour. Immediately he moved the program to WBAP, leaving Truett Kimzey behind.
>
> WBAP was Fort Worth's most powerful station, booming 50,000 watts throughout the Southwest. With this instant explosion of power, O'Daniel assumed the role of Doughboys announcer permanently. He also wrote heartrending lyrics, all of them based on popular melodies. On Shreveport, Louisiana's KWKH, the Shelton Brothers had achieved success with a song called "Just Because." With the help of Milton Brown, O'Daniel slowed the tempo down, changed the time signature to 3/4, and wrote one of Texas's most enduring anthems: "Beautiful Texas." Milton was given no credit for his role in the writing of the song or for any other contribution he made to the band.[17]

In fact, from the time O'Daniel took charge, none of the Doughboys received credit. O'Daniel was a megalomaniac, and his fear of being upstaged even led him to assign epithets and nicknames to band members in order to keep from having to recognize them by name on the broadcasts and live performances.

> Milton Brown was "The Boy with the Golden Voice"; his replacement Leon Huff became "The Texas Songbird." When O'Daniel left to form his own band, the nicknames continued out of habit and soon "Snub," "Junior," "Bashful," "Abner," and "Knocky" became familiar names to Texas audiences.[18]

Though not a musician, O'Daniel had a convincing way with words and began to take up considerable time on broadcasts and in performances with his poetry readings and sermons. He also controlled the music performed by the band, and insisted that the Doughboys include at least one religious song on each radio show. He dictated that they could not perform songs with "bad" titles or suggestive lyrics. For example, "Beer Barrel Polka" could be played but was announced as "Barrel Polka."

Though O'Daniel was a controlling figure, he was also a good businessman who understood the far-reaching power of radio in a commercial market. Thus, he negotiated for a radio network that incorporated WKY in Oklahoma City, KPRC in Houston, and WOAI in San Antonio. Dubbed the Texas Quality Network, this telephone connection system increased the live broadcast power of the Light Crust Doughboys considerably.

Marvin Montgomery, who joined the Doughboys as a banjoist in 1935, remarked that

> You could walk down any street in Texas during the lunch hour and hear our program. In those days we didn't have air conditioning so everyone kept their windows open. And you could hear our program. They'd all listen to it, come in from work and have lunch and listen to the Light Crust Doughboys.[19]

Since O'Daniel refused to pay the band members more than $15 per week, they supplemented their incomes by working in dance halls, especially Crystal Springs, where they could make a great deal more money. When they were playing at Crystal Springs, the Doughboys were free of O'Daniel's domination and could perform a different repertory. They continued adding Tin Pan Alley popular songs and jazz numbers to their playlist, knowing that this was the music that dance audiences expected to hear.

O'Daniel held all dance halls in contempt because of their reputations as scenes of drinking and brawling, and he made it clear to the Doughboys that they should not compromise Burrus Mill's good name by being associated with such venues. It was probably his own loss of control over the band rather than concern for the reputation of Burrus Mill that caused O'Daniel to insist that the Doughboys give up their dance engagements. And it was O'Daniel's refusal to permit the

Doughboys to keep their Burrus Mill jobs and play dances that resulted in the exodus of two of the band's founding members, Milton Brown and Bob Wills.

On February 9, 1932, the Doughboys, consisting of Clifton Johnson (tenor guitar), Derwood Brown (guitar), Bob Wills (fiddle), and Milton Brown (vocal) recorded two sides for the Victrola Recording Company (Victor 23653) at a temporary studio in the Jefferson Hotel in Dallas. The Victrola recording team, under the direction of artist and repertory director Eli Oberstein, had come to Texas primarily to record Jimmie Rodgers but was also interested in other Texas talent. Rodgers recorded eight songs between February 2 and February 6, using local musicians such as Bill Boyd for backup.[20] The two songs the Doughboys recorded were "Sunbonnet Sue" and "Nancy Jane," both attributed to Milton Brown. "Nancy Jane" was recorded first, on April 9, 1930, by the Famous Hokum Boys, but no member of the Hokum Boys, including Bill Broonzy, had filed for a copyright on the song. Being himself an astute businessman, Milton Brown added two verses and copyrighted "Nancy Jane" in his name.[21]

"Nancy Jane" belonged to the category of slightly naughty "red-hot mama" songs that were popular with audiences. Two of the more suggestive stanzas follow:

(stanza 6)
She don't go auto riding.
She don't take no chance.
When you go out with that gal,
You got to wear asbestos pants.

(stanza 7)
We went out walking the other day;
Sit down in the dirt.
My heart got jumpin' and it got so hot,
Burned a hole in my undershirt.

Musically, "Nancy Jane" is an interesting variation on the twelve-bar blues structure. The first stanza-chorus section contains thirteen bars, divided among an instrumental introduction of five and one-half bars, a solo stanza of three and one-half bars (sung by Milton Brown), and a four-bar duet chorus (shared by Bob Wills and Derwood Brown).

At the end of each chorus, Wills begins the repetition of the instrumental introduction in the middle of bar thirteen, thus reducing the length of all subsequent choruses to twelve and one-half bars and shifting the vocal entrances by one beat.

Milton Brown's solo singing demonstrates his characteristic clean, pop style, with only limited use of "blues" inflections. Clifton Johnson and Derwood Brown support Milton with a firm jazz 2/4. Sometimes referred to as the Fort Worth Beat, this was the strong dance rhythm preferred by both Milton Brown and Bob Wills when they had their own bands. Wills' fiddle playing is plain and simple. He does not attempt to improvise on the tune, but he does exert his characteristic rhythmic freedom by extending the first instrumental introduction into the opening stanza, and then cutting early into the vocal choruses.

Advertising for the newly released Doughboy recording printed at the Texas Radio Sales Company on Commerce Street in Dallas featured a photograph of the band, nicely dressed in matching tailored suits. The label on the photograph referred to the band as the Fort Worth Doughboys. Why were the Light Crust Doughboys so identified on the record label and in advertising? Perhaps W. Lee O'Daniel felt that "Nancy Jane" was too risqué to be associated with Burrus Mill and Light Crust Flour. Another possibility is that the band recorded without O'Daniel's knowledge, so that Milton could copyright the two songs. Given O'Daniel's penchant for claiming all proceeds from the band's work, he certainly would have taken any royalties for himself had he known about the session.

By September 1932, Milton Brown had experienced enough personal and professional changes to feel that he had to make a proposal to O'Daniel. In February 1932, his younger brother Derwood had gotten married and needed a regular income of his own. O'Daniel's refusal to allow the Doughboys to play dance halls eliminated a significant source of additional income, and Derwood was not on the payroll as a Doughboy. Furthermore, Milton Brown had a vision as to what his musical future could be if he could break free of O'Daniel and start his own band. Milton Brown went in to see O'Daniel in September 1932. Roy Lee Brown reported on the meeting:

> Now, this wasn't an easy thing to do because none of the Doughboys ever had enough nerve to talk to O'Daniel except Milton. And he said, "Mr. O'Daniel, I have a family to take care

> of and I need more money than what you're paying me." Each member of the Doughboys was getting fifteen dollars a week. Derwood wasn't paid anything. Crystal Springs was his livelihood. Milton had me, Dad, Mama, Derwood, and Derwood's wife, Opal, to support. Plus, Dad didn't even work half the time anymore. I think maybe Opal was pregnant at the time, too.
>
> Well, O'Daniel was adamantly against the Doughboys playing dances. . . . Milton didn't want to quit playing dances because he could see a future there. But Milton decided that for the sake of his family, he'd try and make a deal with O'Daniel. So he went in and asked for a raise. I don't think he specified an amount. He just asked for a raise for himself, not for the band. He also asked O'Daniel to give Derwood a job. In return, he told O'Daniel that the Doughboys would quit playing dances altogether and spend all their time working for him.[22]

After thinking about Milton's proposition for a week, O'Daniel agreed to increase Milton's salary to $25 per week, but refused to hire Derwood. Milton Brown gave O'Daniel a week's notice and quit the Doughboys and Burrus Mill. The last Doughboy broadcast on which Milton Brown sang was Saturday, September 17, and on Monday, September 19, Milton opened with his new band, the Musical Brownies, on a special evening program on KTAT.

Milton Brown's original Brownies band included his brother Derwood playing guitar, Jesse Ashlock playing fiddle, Ocie Stockard from the Hi-Flyers playing tenor banjo, and Wanna Coffman playing slap bass. Slightly later additions were jazz pianist Fred "Papa" Calhoun and, from the Southern Melody Boys, classically trained violinist Cecil Brower. The crowning touch for Milton Brown was the acquisition of jazz guitarist and trombonist Bob Dunn, who was an early exponent of the electric steel guitar. With this group of superb musicians Milton Brown created the first western swing band. He solidified the western swing band instrumentation of two fiddles, standard guitar, banjo, bass, steel guitar, and piano. He focused on take-off, improvised solo choruses. He drew upon blues, pop songs, and jazz for the majority of his repertory. And he completed the Brownies' sound with his melodious pop vocal style and occasional scat singing. Milton Brown originated western swing.[23]

Milton Brown's replacement as vocalist for the Doughboys was

Thomas Elmer Duncan, a fresh young baritone from Whitney, Texas. Duncan's tenure with the Doughboys was short, because in August 1933, eleven months after Milton Brown left the band, Bob Wills did the same, taking Tommy Duncan and steel guitarist Kermit Whalin with him. O'Daniel supposedly fired Wills for his heavy drinking, but, like Milton Brown, Wills was dissatisfied with the restrictions placed on the Doughboys by O'Daniel. Wills also had a musical dream that could not be realized with the Light Crust Doughboys.

From Fort Worth Wills moved his nucleus of a band eighty miles south to Waco, where Everett Stover, station manager of WACO, gave them a 12:30 P.M. broadcast spot. It was in Waco that Wills began calling his band the Playboys. Wills wanted to create a band similar to the Musical Brownies, and so he directed the Playboys toward popular dance music and jazz. The Playboys began to get jobs in and around Waco, and then W. Lee O'Daniel cast his shadow over the Playboys by filing a lawsuit against Wills for using the phrase "formerly of the Light Crust Doughboys" as part of the new band's identification. Though the case against Wills was dismissed, he decided to put greater distance between himself and the vindictive O'Daniel; in January 1934, Wills moved the Playboys to Oklahoma City and radio station WKY.

But the Doughboys were heard by way of transcription every day on WKY, and O'Daniel was able to get the Playboys kicked off of that station. Wills moved the band to station KVOO in Tulsa, where he found a manager willing to stand up to O'Daniel. Although O'Daniel bought time on KVOO, he was unable to get the Playboys fired. It was in Oklahoma that Wills began calling his band the Texas Playboys.

Within a month of their arrival in Tulsa, the Texas Playboys were playing a dance somewhere every night except Sunday. In the fall of 1935, Wills negotiated a contract with Red Star Milling Company, a subsidiary of General Mills, under which the company would sponsor the radio show and produce Playboy Flour. For the next several years Wills steadily improved the quality of his band and developed a hard-driving swing style that made the Texas Playboys one of the most popular and recognized dance bands in the Southwest.

Faced with the loss first of Milton Brown and then Tommy Duncan, O'Daniel was forced to hire another singer, and he selected Leon Huff, one of the score of Texas singers who patterned their style on that of Jimmie Rodgers.[24] As Bob Wills' replacement, O'Daniel hired breakdown fiddler Clifford Gross, who had just left the Hi-Flyers. The Hi-

Flyers, like many other Texas string bands, had decided to imitate Milton Brown and His Musical Brownies and had started adding improvised, take-off choruses to their numbers. Since Clifford Gross could not play take-off choruses, he left the Hi-Flyers, who replaced him with swing fiddler Pat Trotter. Nicknamed "Doc" by O'Daniel, Clifford Gross became a Doughboy in time for the band's trip to Chicago in October 1933, where they attended the World's Fair and recorded on the Brunswick label. The recording sessions "featured instrumentals and sentimental pop ballads, which O'Daniel always preferred to the jazz tunes that Milton Brown favored."[25]

A young steel guitar player, Leon McAuliffe, was also a Doughboy at the time of the Chicago trip. O'Daniel had first hired McAuliffe when he was only fourteen, and then fired him shortly after. He hired him back before the Chicago trip, though McAuliffe never understood why. In 1985 he described his role as a Doughboy to interviewer David Sticklin.

> I had to find a slot to get in and stay out of people's way. . . What do you do on a breakdown with a steel guitar? I experimented. I found that I could use harmonies, and it made a nice background for the fiddle and/or voice. I could play some chords so I would get in another register. I'd either get above or below the other parts in order to stay out of the way. . . . I just played background.[26]

Playing background was exactly what McAuliffe did on two Vocalion recording sessions the Doughboys made, first in San Antonio, April 1934, and then in Fort Worth, October 1934. Other members of the band for these sessions were Clifton Johnson (fiddle, guitar), who had in 1932 replaced guitarist Herman Arnspiger, though Arnspiger was back with the Doughboys playing rhythm guitar for this session; Clifford "Doc" Gross (fiddle); a young and quite handsome Ramon DeArman (bass); and Leon Huff (vocal, guitar). One of the songs released was a sensitive love ballad by Stuart Hamblen entitled "My Mary" (Vocalion 02872). The Doughboys' arrangement began with an introduction played first by harmonizing twin fiddles and finished by spoken text over instrumental background. McAuliffe was correct about his limited role as a Doughboy; his participation on "My Mary" was so minimal that he was not even listed on the session. Probably because O'Daniel would not let him play, Leon McAuliffe left the

Doughboys without giving notice in 1935, when Bob Wills called him to join the Texas Playboys in Tulsa.

In 1935 the Doughboys lost Leon McAuliffe but gained fiddler Kenneth Pitts, whom O'Daniel nicknamed "Abner." Kenneth Pitts was a classically trained violinist, having studied with the same violin teacher in Fort Worth as Cecil Brower. He came to the Doughboys from the Southern Melody Boys. Pitts' daughter, Dr. Janis Stout, writes about her father and his time with the Southern Melody Boys:

> He was already an experienced radio musician, having played on the air, sometimes for pay and sometimes not, with a group of friends from high school calling themselves the Southern Melody Boys. This group—Dad, another fine violinist, Cecil Brower, a bass player named Hubert Barham, and a guitarist, Bob Wren—had played around town at house dances and in the parking lot of a root beer stand, making maybe a dollar a night. Hubert, our next-door neighbor throughout my childhood, left the music business for good when he became a Fort Worth fireman. Cecil, who turns up in the family photo album as a skinny kid with a shock of blond hair and a straw hat, was as good a violinist as Dad, or better. As Southern Melody Boys, the two of them introduced the duet style that became popular with many string bands.[27]

Other changes in Doughboys' personnel occurred in 1935. Hubert Barham also came over from the Southern Melody Boys to play bass, and Clifton Johnson left to join Bob Wills and was replaced at tenor banjo by "Junior" Eastwood. Other members of the Doughboys band for a short time in 1935 were "Curly" Perrin (guitar) and John Bruce Pierce (tenor banjo); Pierce spent only two weeks as a Doughboy before Eddie Dunn, the new announcer/manager replaced him with Marvin Montgomery.

In late 1934 or early 1935, O'Daniel designed and ordered a custom-built bus complete with a neon Light Crust Doughboys sign, an onboard electric generator and public address system, and a stage on the rear from which the band could perform. O'Daniel never made a trip on the new bus because he was fired by mill president Jack Burrus. Band members had complained to Jack Burrus that O'Daniel, on the pretext of meeting expenses, was paying each man $10 for each theater show and pocketing considerably more for himself. O'Daniel was

also accused of using mill employees to work on his ranch during mill time. Neither Burrus Mill nor O'Daniel ever offered an official reason for his leaving the company, but his departure brought an end to the first chapter of the history of the Light Crust Doughboys. O'Daniel went on to establish his own flour company and another string band, the Hillbilly Boys, to advertise his Hillbilly Flour.[28]

Propelled by his Hillbilly Boys, W. Lee "Pappy" O'Daniel won the Texas governor's race in 1938 on a platform of "mother love and the Ten Commandments." He won a second term in 1940 but cut it short to seek and win election to the United States Senate, handing Lyndon Johnson his only political defeat. Though many people thought that the Light Crust Doughboys helped O'Daniel win elections, they never shared the stage with him after he was fired from Burrus Mill in the spring of 1935. In fact, the Doughboys must have felt great relief given O'Daniel's heavy-handed style of management. They developed a unique Texas music sound under the direction of their new manager and announcer, Eddie Dunn. The Light Crust Doughboys were still on the air and primed for their glory years, 1935 to 1941.

CHAPTER THREE

THE GLORY YEARS

1935–1941

Eddie Dunn had been the announcer for the Wanderers band, which played on WFAA in Dallas. Marvin Montgomery was playing banjo with the Wanderers at this time and recalls the series of events that led to the dissolution of the Wanderers and the reorganization of the Doughboys:

> Eddie had been the announcer for us over here at WFAA. We had a band called the Wanderers and Dick Reinhart and Bert Dodson and myself and a couple of other guys. When Eddie moved over to the Doughboys he wanted to upgrade the Doughboys band, and he called Mr. Dodson who managed the band and was the father of the bass player, Bert. Eddie said, "I'd like to have Bert and Dick come over and join the Doughboys." Mr. Dodson said, "If you'll take Marvin, I'll break up the band." So that's why I got with the Doughboys; I was just in the right place at the right time.[1]

Dunn kept Clifford Gross and Kenneth Pitts but fired DeArman, Perrin, Barham, Eastwood, and Pierce. He replaced these five musicians with Dodson (bass), Reinhart (guitar), and Montgomery (banjo, guitar) from the Wanderers and also hired Muryel Campbell, one of

the finest guitarists in western swing history. This Light Crust Doughboys band, a superior group of musicians, first performed on radio and in concert in late 1935.

The practice of assigning nicknames to the Doughboys was applied to all of the new players: Dick Reinhart was "Bashful," Bert Dodson was "Buddy," Marvin Montgomery was "Junior," and Muryel Campbell was "Zeke." This newly constituted Doughboys band of late 1935 revolved around three of its newest members, Reinhart, Montgomery, and Campbell, plus Kenneth Pitts, but all of the Doughboys, with the exception of Clifford Gross, contributed to the jazz direction of the band. Campbell brought a jazz-oriented single-string melodic guitar style to the Doughboys. He played solid rhythm guitar but also could and often did take improvised solo choruses.[2] Bill Malone suggests that Campbell was inspired by the guitar playing of jazz figures such as Charlie Christian and Aaron "T-Bone" Walker. By 1937, Campbell was working his special guitar magic on an electric guitar.[3] Dick Reinhart, heavily indebted to the legendary bluesman Blind Lemon Jefferson, is credited with bringing blues vocals into white string-band music.[4]

Twenty-two-year-old Marvin Montgomery, who traveled extensively before becoming a Light Crust Doughboy, joined the Wanderers after an eighteen-month stint with a tent show that had traversed much of Texas.[5] On tour Marvin found himself homesick for Iowa and left the show in Houston. With the thirty dollars he had saved out of his wages, he bought a train ticket that got him as far as Dallas. Out of money, Montgomery went in search of playing jobs in Dallas.

> I got to Dallas about four o'clock in the morning. I had a little old battery radio, and I knew about WBAP and these fiddle bands because I listened to them all the time—the Wanderers and Blackie Simmons and His Blue Jackets. So I walked down to the Adolphus Hotel from the depot and Blackie Simmons came on about 6:30 A.M., and I waited until they were through.
>
> Blackie said, "Mrs. Davis [manager of KRLD] is looking for a guitar player to go out and play with the piano player tonight for a party, and I'll introduce you to her." And it paid three dollars. I was making eleven bucks a week with the tent show, so three dollars was pretty good. I said, "Mrs. Davis, would you mind paying me in advance? My guitar and banjo are down at the depot

and I don't have the money to get them." She paid me.

I went and got the instruments and got me a little one-dollar-a-night room in a little hotel up on Elm Street. This piano player picked me up down at the hotel and we went out to the Dallas Country Club. It was a stag party, where the gal took off everything she ever had on plus a few more, and I thought, "This Dallas is a wild town."[6]

The piano player with whom Montgomery played the stag party worked for the Wanderers and encouraged Montgomery to audition, which he did the following day. The Wanderers liked what they heard and put Montgomery on their 10:30 A.M. WFAA radio show. Montgomery recalled, "They let me play a chorus on 'Sweet Georgia Brown.'"

The Wanderers never officially hired Montgomery, but continued to use him regularly on radio broadcasts and in live performances until October 1935, when he added his considerable talent to the Light Crust Doughboys. Marvin Montgomery was, and remained to the end of his life, an impressive banjo virtuoso. He brought Dixieland-style banjo playing into western swing and made the banjo the backbone of the Doughboys' rhythm section, eliminating the need for drums.[7] On occasion he also played brilliantly improvised solo choruses.

The Light Crust Doughboys stabilized at six musicians, the number that Janis Stout, daughter of Kenneth Pitts, feels was essential to their sound. She writes, "That number . . . made possible their distinctive sound, a combination of light tonal texture and close harmonies."[8]

The three Doughboys who remained with the band the longest—Kenneth Pitts, Marvin Montgomery, and Muryel Campbell—contributed the most to the band's sound and direction. Pitts and Montgomery not only played but also created most of the arrangements used by the Doughboys. They maintained a distinctive style that remained with them through the 1930s and into the post–World War II period. Stout ventures a guess as to why the Doughboys were perennial favorites with Depression audiences in the Southwest.

Maybe their music, thin, tinny, unsophisticated as to intros, bridges, and endings; music on a shoestring, you might say—caught for listeners the quality of life in the Depression. Music historians say it was a blend of border Mexican, cowboy, and gospel with blues and Louisiana jazz. I suspect Dad [Pitts] would

> have said they just tried things out and kept what worked. Whatever the roots, the crucial elements were their close harmonies, especially between the signature twin fiddles, and the swing rhythms they stitched them to.[9]

The Doughboys band as reconstituted continued as if nothing had changed on the daily radio program and in personal appearances intended to promote Light Crust Flour. Though the Doughboys did not have any recording sessions in late 1935, they would eventually record 158 sides, but it was not their role as recording artists that brought them celebrity. Rather it was through their daily radio broadcasts over WBAP and its affiliates that the Light Crust Doughboys became stars throughout the Southwest. In fact, their incredible success was closely connected to the rise of radio's popularity in the 1930s, when millions of Americans depended on radio for their entertainment.

When radio broadcasting began in earnest in the early 1920s, newspapers often owned and operated fledgling radio stations. WBAP was the creation of Amon G. Carter Sr., owner and publisher of the *Fort Worth Star-Telegram,* and his circulation manager Harold Hough. By the winter of 1921, Carter was beginning to fear that radio might replace the daily newspaper as the primary means through which Texans acquired news and information. Neither Carter nor Hough knew anything about radio, but Carter told Hough, "If this radio thing is going to be a menace to newspapers, maybe we had better own the menace."[10]

A few months later, in early 1922, Hough applied to the Department of Commerce for an operating license for a radio station. Herbert Hoover, future president of the United States, was secretary of commerce at the time and assigned the call letters WBAP to the newly licensed station. He told Hough that the letters stood for "We Bring A Program."[11] Amon Carter's initial investment of $300 purchased a transmitter built by William E. Branch of Dallas and set up a studio in the office of Carter's partner, Louis J. Wortham. WBAP was licensed to broadcast with a power of ten watts on a wavelength of 360 meters. Though he preferred to manage the station, Howard Hough assumed the identity of "Hired Hand" and announced on the air; in this capacity he became a recognized and popular radio figure. Amon Carter himself made speeches on the early WBAP broadcasts. On October 13, 1922, WBAP increased its power from ten to five hundred watts and changed

frequencies from 360 to 400 meters, and 485 meters for weather reports. When on May 12, 1923, WBAP increased its power to fifteen hundred watts on 630 kilocycles, it was well on its way to becoming one of the most powerful stations in the Southwest. By 1928, Wortham's office was no longer large enough to house the WBAP studio, which began to occupy the entire second floor of the *Fort Worth Star-Telegram* building.

From its inception WBAP provided listeners with a variety of programs. By means of temporarily leased telephone lines the station offered scheduled national, state, and local newscasts, reports from livestock, grain, and cotton exchanges, weather forecasts, church services, musical shows featuring local talent and church choirs, and even bedtime stories for children. WBAP had the distinction of being the first radio station in Texas to broadcast a play-by-play sporting event, the Texas Baseball League game between the Fort Worth Panthers and the Wichita Falls Spudders, on August 30, 1922. This was accomplished by an on-the-spot reporter describing the game via telephone to announcers at the studio.[12]

When W. Lee O'Daniel moved the Light Crust Doughboys from radio station KFJZ to WBAP in late 1931 or early 1932 in order to increase their radio exposure, and thus the sales of Light Crust Flour, the Doughboys' 12:30 P.M. show quickly became popular and was one of the programs broadcast on a temporary network consisting of WBAP, WOAI in San Antonio, and KPRC in Houston. O'Daniel began to push for a permanent radio network, as did other businesses that saw its possible advantages in selling their products or services. On September 5, 1934, Martin Campbell, manager of WFAA in Dallas, announced the formation of the Texas Quality Group, which was to begin operations with permanent telephone-line hookups on September 10. The original group of stations consisted of WFAA, WBAP, WOAI in San Antonio, and KPRC in Houston, but special networks could be created to include many other stations at even greater distances.[13]

Marvin Montgomery joined the Doughboys after the Texas Quality Network was formed and explained that the daily broadcasts took place in a studio atop the Blackstone Hotel. After the show, the Doughboys would return to Burrus Mill, and to the renovated office of the fired O'Daniel, which had been redesigned as a recording studio where they could make transcriptions.

> We were on the Texas Quality Network. We were also on WKY (Oklahoma City), KVOO (Tulsa), and KWKH (Shreveport). We did these by transcriptions. When we were in those towns, we would go up and do a live program on that station. When we went off the air in 1951, we were on 170 stations. We would do our program at the Blackstone Hotel at noon, and then we would go back to the mill and do three or four transcriptions there—same show with different commercials.[14]

The practice of making electrical transcriptions began in the 1920s and was the only means of preserving radio programs. Most radio stations subscribed to transcription service companies, but some large companies such as Burrus Mill that sponsored musical groups installed their own studios and acquired the equipment (turntables) that "cut" and played electrical transcriptions. Each transcription was made on a sixteen-inch vinyl disc that could hold five or six songs on each side.[15] Marvin Montgomery described how the transcription process worked for the Doughboys.

> Burrus Mill had its own transcription making equipment, and we had our own recording and sound engineer, Jerry Stewart. He went with us on all our trips on the bus, controlled the sound; he controlled the sound on the radio broadcast, also on the transcriptions. The first transcription studio was set up at the old mill, in the old office [formerly occupied by W. Lee O'Daniel] down there, and then in 1936 they moved it all out to the new studio, out at the new Burrus Mill location in Saginaw.
>
> Those discs cost about three or four dollars each, and when we made mistakes we kept right on going, unless the announcer told us it was so bad that we had to stop. We just let the mistakes go by on the transcriptions.[16]

Hundreds of thousands of listeners in the areas served by the Texas Quality Network and by transcriptions tuned into the Doughboys' noontime radio show each day, and then packed their live performances. In the late 1930s and early 1940s, the Doughboys became such a popular band that their public appearances had to be booked as much as two years in advance. Montgomery remembered, "We would ride into Hillsboro in the morning and have 6,000 people watching us

that night. They'd come in from all the little towns. For a time there, we were as popular as the Beatles were in the early 1960s."[17] In order to fill all of the requests for public appearances, the Doughboys sometimes split into two bands and hired additional musicians to fill out each group.

Since it was as radio performers that the Doughboys made their greatest impact, the content and format of their radio show deserve attention. Montgomery responded to a series of questions about the making of the radio show:

Question: How did you select the numbers to be performed on the show? Did you know the histories of these songs?

Montgomery: The songs were picked mostly by Kenneth Pitts, and sometimes by the announcer. The general format was to do one hymn a day, followed by a breakdown after the commercial. And then some up-tempo tunes, maybe one Western type tune like "Tumblin' Tumbleweed." And we knew the histories of some of the songs although that didn't make any difference on the air, because we never did give the histories of the songs on the air.

Question: Who arranged the numbers you performed on the air?

Montgomery: Kenneth Pitts did some and I did some. I had copies of the arrangements, but they are all down in the library at the University of Texas at Austin.

Question: How much influence did Burrus Mill exert on what you performed on the show?

Montgomery: Well, this is a little tidbit here. Lesley Pritchett was the sales manager and he used to come up to our program everyday and listen to it. One day he came up and we were rehearsing and we did "Old Fashioned Love and the Heart," and he said, "That is a bad number. You ought to take it off of the program." And I said, "Mr. Pritchett, why don't you go down and sell flour and let us do the songs." He went down and sold flour and never did come back to our program, so they didn't have much influence on what we picked. It's a wonder I didn't get fired.

Question: Did you ever have guests on the show?

Montgomery: Yes, we did. Tex Ritter, Gene Autry, any movie star, Western, cowboy movie star that happened to come along plus others. We've had Gary Cooper, Bob Hope, people such as that

> when they happened to be in town. All they did was say a few words to let people know they were there.[18]

In 1990, Jambalaya Records released an album containing three radio broadcast transcriptions from 1936. Each show began and ended with the Doughboys' theme song. After the opening theme, the programs proceeded like fifteen-minute variety shows. The broadcast for April 30, 1936, did not include a hymn or a breakdown, but it had an interesting mix of up-tempo and comedy numbers. "Dinah" was arranged to feature Dick "Bashful" Reinhart on lead vocal, Muryel "Zeke" Campbell on hot, take-off guitar chorus, and Kenneth "Abner" Pitts matching Reinhart's last vocal chorus with an intricate fiddle countermelody. On this last chorus of "Dinah," Reinhart interjected some scat singing. Reinhart had a clear, clean high tenor voice and a legato delivery. On "Limehouse Blues," fiddler Pitts, guitarist Campbell, and banjoist Montgomery each took improvised solo choruses.

After two selections that focused on the musicianship of band members, the Doughboys entertained their listening audience with two comedy songs, "Preacher and the Bear" and "Leave the Pretty Girls Alone." Interspersed among the musical numbers were "homey" advertisements for Light Crust Flour, delivered by announcer Eddie Dunn, who also carried on an easy banter with the band members.

The show for the next day was equally varied. It began with a traditional fiddle tune, "Para Sought's Horn Pipe," performed by Pitts. The tune's two strains were played and repeated without significant variation. The second selection on this afternoon's show was Fred Howard and Nat Vincent's "My Pretty Quadroon," featuring Bert Dodson singing lead and Reinhart providing a high harmony line. Montgomery played every virtuoso banjo lick possible and improvised one hot chorus after another on "Yes, Sir, That's My Baby." The fourth song of the show, "Yellow Rose of Texas," featured Dodson singing on the verses, and Dodson and Reinhart in duet on the chorus. The program for May 1, 1936, closed with an up-tempo gospel number, "Open Up Them Pearly Gates," with Gross singing baritone vocal lead in the verses and participating in a vocal trio for the chorus.

The broadcast for May 16, 1936, was the normal mixture of varied songs, advertisements, and dialogue, but included the announcement that the Doughboys would be off the air for three weeks as they were traveling to Hollywood to make a movie with Gene Autry. The show

began with an energetic comedy duet entitled "Hand Me Down My Walking Cane," for which Reinhart and Dodson faked their best "little girl" voices. The second song of the show, "When It's Moonlight in the Ozarks," was written and submitted by a devoted radio fan. Though it was not the best song of the show, the fact that the Doughboys included it demonstrated their appreciation of their fans. The midpoint of this show was Montgomery's incredible virtuoso banjo improvisation on the Tin Pan Alley song "Five Foot Two." The May 16 radio show closed with a sacred number and a fiddle tune. The sacred song, "When I Take My Vacation in Heaven," featured Dodson (lead), Reinhart (tenor), and Pitts (baritone) in close vocal harmony set off by fiddle interludes. Kenneth Pitts revealed his skill as a breakdown fiddler on "Miss Baker's Hornpipe."

After the May 16 radio broadcast, the Doughboys boarded their new bus and headed for California and the movies. In the twenty years between 1930 and 1950, Hollywood churned out a plethora of B-westerns and movie musicals that relied heavily on music and dance. Willie Smyth, a student of American popular music in American movies, reports that during the years 1933 to 1953, there were some 700 motion pictures released, each including four or five country and/or western songs on average, for a grand total of about 3,000 songs. In his article "Country Music in Commercial Motion Pictures (1933–53)," Smyth seeks to dispel misconceptions about musicians and their movie roles. He first notes that the musicians who performed in films usually played themselves, or musicians just like themselves: "It is . . . common to find scenes in which the singing protagonists are portrayed as local radio stars, dance hall singers or square dance bands and thus perform in styles replicating their off-screen professional manner."[19]

Smyth explains that many of the songs and instrumental numbers performed on screen were not traditional folk songs or cowboy ballads: "In fact, one more often finds a combination of traditional songs, material written by western composers such as Bob Nolan, Jimmy Wakely, Ray Whitley, or Jack Elliott, and cowboy tunes by pop song writers."[20] Texas songwriter Cindy Walker should be included in this short list of composers who contributed music to movies.

Smyth also notes:

> A final misconception is that the only kind of country music in films of this twenty-year period consists of cowboy songs. While

> this was the predominant musical genre, there are also a great many hillbilly, western swing, and novelty songs in feature films, shorts, and soundies [machines that showed short films and played synchronized music].[21]

Country music historian Douglas Green observed that the newly composed songs that were created for the western movies

> were concerned not with the life of the cowboy, but with the romance of the West as an entity in and of itself. Entirely apart from the life or even existence of the cowboy except by implication, they dealt with the beauty of its haunting scenery and in spiritual rather than earthly terms.[22]

The Light Crust Doughboys was the first string band to appear in a motion picture, and many of the observations made by Smyth and Green are verified by their participation in the two films that they made with Gene Autry. Although they were lip-synching to prerecorded sound tracks, it was they who had recorded the tracks, and they were performing in both films the same varied repertory that characterized their radio programs and live concerts. And certainly they helped to create the western romance that was the context for the story lines of both films.

The movie contract had come to the Doughboys through Art Satherley, artist and repertory man for Columbia Records, who had been producing the band's recordings for a number of years. In May 1936, Republic Pictures contacted Satherley and asked him to recommend a western band to make two movies with star Gene Autry. Satherley immediately thought of the Doughboys, and Republic hired them. Reinhart, Dodson, Gross, Pitts, Campbell, and Montgomery took off for Hollywood. Montgomery recalls that the bus trip to California was uneventful, except for their passage through Arizona, where state troopers pulled them over and demanded proof of ownership of the fancy big bus. Fortunately, manager Eddie Dunn was about an hour behind the bus in his personal vehicle. When he caught up with the band, he went in search of a town from which he could wire Burrus Mill to send proper verification. The state troopers had to let the Doughboys proceed.

They were greeted at Republic Studios by Smiley Burnette and Lynn

Roberts, who were also scheduled to costar in the picture. The Doughboys carried with them a proclamation from the governor of Texas inviting the people of California to participate in the Texas Centennial celebration. The band was taken for an audition with director Harry Kane, and Montgomery remembered with a chuckle, "They had us play about ten songs, and they just stood there. We thought we were going to get sent back to Fort Worth without making a movie. Then we played 'Tiger Rag,' and they finally got into the music. They were just trying to scare us."[23]

Oh, Susanna! was the name of the first of two pictures the Doughboys made with Autry. In the film Autry plays himself, a recording artist and radio entertainer, who has been attacked and rendered unconscious by an escaped killer. The killer trades identities with Autry, so that when Autry arrives at his destination he is immediately arrested, while the killer goes on to join up with his coconspirators at the dude ranch where Autry was to perform. In the end, of course, Autry exposes the conspiracy and the crooks, wins the beautiful girl, and sings his way into everybody's heart. The Doughboys performed in the film as the house band at the dude ranch. The musical numbers for which they were responsible included the title song, "Oh! Susanna," as well as "As Our Pals Ride By," "I'll Go Ridin' Down that Old Texas Trail," "That Old Texas Trail Is Calling Me," "Ride On Vaquero," and their showstopping rendition of "Tiger Rag." "Oh! Susanna" (1848) was one of Stephen Foster's comic minstrel songs, and the other songs were westernlike songs created for the movie. For the most part the Doughboys played and sang as background to action, or to other acts on the dude ranch show, but they took center stage with "Tiger Rag," during which nearly all of the band members took improvised solo choruses that demonstrated their prowess as western swing musicians. Dodson slapped out a brilliant solo chorus on bass, followed by equally exciting solo work from Pitts (fiddle), Campbell (guitar), and Montgomery (banjo). And they proved to be equally remarkable popular vocalists, with their close vocal harmonies on this up-tempo number.

When they were not making music, the Doughboys were on horseback supposedly tending cattle. Montgomery said,

> I had never been on a horse before, and I started to get on by putting the wrong foot in the stirrup. I realized about half way up

> that I was going to be facing backward. And the guy tending the horse said, "Look at this kid from Texas who doesn't know how to ride a horse!" I didn't tell him I was from Iowa where we didn't have horses to ride, just to pull plows.[24]

While they were in California making *Oh, Susanna!* the Doughboys filmed their scene and taped most of their music for their second movie with Autry, *The Big Show. The Big Show* revolved around the Texas Centennial, and most of the scenes were shot at Fair Park in Dallas. Other artists who participated in *The Big Show* along with Gene Autry and the Light Crust Doughboys were Smiley Burnette, the Jones Brothers, Sons of the Pioneers, and the Beverly Hillbillies.

The Doughboys' three-week stay in California resulted in their participating on two movie projects and two Columbia recording sessions that produced ten record sides, but the band members realized no extra money from their activities in California. Republic Pictures had a contract with Burrus Mill, not with the Doughboys. Thus, Republic Pictures paid Burrus Mill for the Doughboys' time in California, and the Doughboys continued to draw their salaries of $25 per week. Record sales worked the same way, with profits going to the mill. But the Doughboys did return from California movie stars, with the result that their radio broadcasts and public appearances played to larger and more enthusiastic audiences.

At the height of their popularity from 1935 to 1941, the Doughboys spent nearly every weekend traveling in their big bus from one live performance to another. They performed at rodeos, fairs, and state celebrations in Texas, Oklahoma, Arkansas, Louisiana, and New Mexico. Montgomery explains that during this period they did not play for grocery stores or other retail outlets that sold Burrus Mill products. Their well-rehearsed stage routine included comedy skits and music. According to Montgomery, the only control that Burrus Mill exerted over their stage act involved the location of performances. After World War II, the mill made deals with owners of grocery and feed stores whereby those retailers who sold a certain amount of Light Crust Flour or feed products could book the Doughboys to entertain their customers. The Doughboys did not receive extra pay for out-of-town engagements, but rather collected their normal weekly salaries.

Radio and live performances occupied most of the Doughboys' time, making their recording activity less important, but it is through their

recordings that present-day scholars can study the Doughboys' pre–World War II sound. My concern here is to address issues of band personnel for recording sessions, as well as the decision-making process as to what songs would be recorded and released. Regarding the latter, Montgomery explained:

> Kenneth Pitts, Parker Willson, and I picked out the numbers we were going to do ahead of time, and we rehearsed them. Then Art Satherley had the final say. The jukeboxes were just coming in and he wanted songs the jukebox trade would use. Therefore, that's the reason why I got so many of my songs recorded. Most of the songs we recorded we couldn't do on the radio. We recorded a lot of songs we did do on the radio, but they never did release them.[25]

While they were in Los Angeles to make the movies, the Doughboys had two Columbia recording sessions, May 26 and 29, 1936. Twelve songs were cut in those two sessions, and all but two were released. Most of the songs released belonged to the comedy, honky-tonk, and pop music categories, and four were written by Marvin Montgomery. "Little Hillbilly Heart Throb" (LA-1121) was a honky-tonk song by Montgomery that the Doughboys first recorded in Fort Worth on April 5, 1935, but it was not issued then. They rerecorded it in Los Angeles on May 26, with twin fiddles featuring Gross and Pitts, a guitar solo by Campbell, and vocals by Reinhart in a key abnormally low for him because he had a sore throat at the time of the recording session. Other songs by Montgomery that were released from these sessions were the honky-tonk number "I Have Found A Honey" (LA-1130), featuring Dodson's vocals and Pitts' fiddle, and the comic "Cross-Eyed Cowboy from Abilene" (LA-1132), which Montgomery sang himself because the rest of the band thought the song too bad to record.

Band members demonstrated their versatility on these recording sessions. Though it was not an outrageous move for either performer, Montgomery exchanged his banjo for tenor guitar and Reinhart his guitar for mandolin on the vintage World War I song "My Buddy" (LA-1122). The best solo improvisers—Pitts, Campbell, Reinhart, and Montgomery—played choruses on several of the numbers, and Dodson (lead), Reinhart (tenor), and Pitts (baritone) singing as a trio provided much of the vocal work. "When the Moon Shines on the Mississippi

Valley" (LA-1129A) was composed by Gene Autry and Smiley Burnette and recorded by the Doughboys with twin fiddles and Reinhart's vocal. A recent reissue of "When the Moon Shines on the Mississippi Valley" (Bronco Buster Mono CD 9019) facilitates analysis of the 1936 classic Doughboy sound—spare, unsophisticated, and highly rhythmic. Reinhart's high tenor voice was clean and clear, and he sang with little vibrato and much legato on this pretty verse-chorus song. Gross and Pitts played the melody straight, with little variation, using harmonizing twin fiddles. Montgomery (banjo) and Campbell (guitar) strummed the simple chords without elaboration, while Dodson's bass sounded on beats one and three, in an um-pah fashion, in the 4/4 meter. The total effect was music stripped to its most basic and simple, music as metaphor for life during the Great Depression.

When they returned from California, the Doughboys resumed their normal schedule of radio broadcasts and live performances. Their next recording session, September 10, 1936, took place in Fort Worth under the guidance of Art Satherley and his coproducer, Don Law. Montgomery remembers that it was at this point that Satherley required him to switch his banjo playing from 2/4 to 4/4 meter, thus placing the Doughboys' rhythm in the mainstream of the swing jazz style that had become nationally popular by 1936. But the songs released from this session indicate that Satherley was not interested in recording a jazz band; rather he wanted to capitalize on the Doughboys as Hollywood cowboy stars. The two songs that were released were "Happy Cowboy" (FW-1263), a number by the Sons of the Pioneers that the Doughboys learned during their California stay, and "Oh! Susanna," the Stephen Foster song they performed in the movie. In a style similar to that of the Sons of the Pioneers, the Doughboys used a vocal trio (Dodson, Reinhart, Pitts) for "Happy Cowboy" and a vocal quartet (Dodson, Reinhart, Pitts, Gross) for "Oh! Susanna." An extra added touch to "Oh! Susanna" was Pitts' rhythmic accordion playing.

The years 1936 and 1937 were meaningful for the Doughboys in many ways, especially in terms of equipment and personnel changes, and the near demise of their popular radio program. Campbell traded his acoustic guitar for an electric one in the fall of 1936, after returning from making the movies. He first used electric guitar in a recording session on June 12, 1937. Montgomery says that Campbell was hesitant to use an electric guitar; none of the band members really liked the sound. But amplified guitars were becoming quite popular in jazz and western swing

bands. More importantly, with its heightened volume the electric guitar could be heard as a lead instrument in the band. Montgomery and Pitts began writing arrangements that gave the lead to Campbell playing electric guitar and harmony parts to the fiddle players.

Sometime in the first half of 1937 Eddie Dunn resigned as manager and announcer for the Doughboys in order to take a better-paying job with the Columbia Broadcasting System. When auditions for a new announcer proved fruitless, Burrus Mill contacted the J. Walter Thompson Agency in Chicago, which sent Larry Rowell down to Fort Worth to take the job.

Rowell turned the Doughboys' daily broadcast into a soap opera, with band members delivering spoken dialogue and creating sound effects rather than making music. The weak plot of the show revolved around "a bunch of western musicians playing for barn dances."[26] Audiences disliked the new programming intensely and stopped listening, which affected the sale of Light Crust Flour and caused Burrus Mill's president to rethink the hiring of Larry Rowell.

Jack Burrus replaced Rowell with the handsome, debonair Parker O. Willson, who had started his broadcasting career as a baritone singer on WBAP radio. From WBAP Willson moved to Chicago and launched a successful career on several radio soap operas. He played the role of Robert Marshall in *Today's Children,* and Major Patterson in *Junior Nurse Corps.* He also appeared in radio shows with famous stars, including Constance Bennett and Robert Montgomery.

When asked by reporters why he would want to leave all of that, accept Jack Burrus' offer, and return to Texas, Willson responded, "'because I like it better. Texas, after all, is my home, and I understand the sons and daughters of the Lone Star State.'"[27] Willson transformed the Doughboys once again into a band, and restored music as the main element of the daily broadcast. The listening audience quickly returned, stronger than before.

Another personnel change of 1937 brought Ramon DeArman back to the Doughboys to replace Bert Dodson, who left to join a band called the Cass County Kids. The Cass County Kids returned to California, changed their name to the Cass County Boys, and worked with Gene Autry at rodeos and on radio shows for many years.[28] DeArman played the slap bass as Dodson had done, sang, and interjected yells that rivaled those of Bob Wills.

The Doughboys also acquired a mascot in late 1937 or early 1938,

an eleven-year-old boy named Charles Burton Wilson, who sang on the radio show several times a week and accompanied the band on some of its road trips. In order to avoid the false impression that the boy might be Parker Willson's son, young Charles used his middle name as his last name and was known to audiences as Charles Burton.

From a musical standpoint, the most important step taken by the Doughboys was the addition of John "Knocky" Parker as pianist. With "Knocky" Parker as a driving force in the rhythm section and a highly competent and interesting solo improviser, the Doughboys were poised to assume a position as a notable western swing band among the many western swing bands modeled after the example of Milton Brown and His Musical Brownies and Bob Wills and His Texas Playboys.

Parker's presence on the band must have affected Satherley's decisions regarding the June 12, 1937, recording session in Dallas, because he allowed the band to record and release several jazz numbers that focused on band members, especially Parker, creating take-off improvised choruses. "Emaline" (DAL-268) featured Campbell on electric guitar, and "Blue Guitars" (DAL-271) highlighted Parker's piano and Campbell's electric guitar playing. Parker improvised an impressive chorus on "Dusky Stevedore," which has been reissued by Texas Rose Records (TXR-2704). He played piano and accordion again on the instrumental "Avalon" (DAL-278), which had been recorded by major horn bands. The Doughboys' rendition illustrated how string bands rearranged horn parts. The tune was played first by Gross and Pitts with twin fiddles, replacing the trumpet section of a horn band. The second chorus was scored for piano, four hands, with Pitts playing bass and Parker playing treble. After a virtuoso banjo chorus by Montgomery, and a guitar chorus by Campbell, Parker took the ensemble-out chorus with accordion. "Avalon" has also been reissued by Texas Rose Records (TXR-2704), and all these years later the Doughboys' aggressive swing is still exciting to hear.

On June 20, 1937, the same musicians returned to the Dallas recording studio of Columbia Records, where under the direction of Satherley and Don Law, they produced a preponderance of instrumental numbers, mostly blues, ragtime, and jazz. Montgomery's "Gig-A-Wig-Blues" (DAL-385) was also recorded and released at this time.

The new announcer, Parker Willson, and mascot Charles Burton participated in their first recording session as Doughboys on May 14, 1938. Montgomery recalls that this was the longest and most produc-

tive recording session the Doughboys ever had, as they cut twenty-one numbers in one day, most of which were released. Five of the twenty-one were purely instrumental, and of the vocals, three were blues. Popular and western songs accounted for the rest.[29] This session was the work of the Doughboys at their jazzy best. The addition of ragtime-jazz pianist Parker solidified the Light Crust Doughboys into a western swing band complete with energized improvised choruses on nearly all of the arrangements they played and sang. Parker was not the only performer capable of hot choruses; Campbell, Montgomery, Pitts, and Reinhart were equally up to the challenge both technically and in terms of their musical imaginations. Parker's own composition "Knocky, Knocky" (DAL-543) featured Parker on three outstanding choruses but also gave solo time to Pitts and Campbell.

On separate records mascot Charles Burton sang "Beautiful Ohio" (DAL-538) and "Hills of Old Wyomin'" (DAL-540); he was assisted by Parker Willson on the second. Two of Montgomery's compositions were recorded and released. "Tom Cat Rag" (DAL-541) incorporated the vocal trio of DeArman, Reinhart, and Pitts. Montgomery's "Gig-A-Wig Blues" (DAL-542) was rerecorded in this session, and Montgomery felt that it was this version rather than the previous one that was released. On "Stumbling" (DAL-548), Montgomery exchanged his banjo for a four-string tenor guitar in order to participate in a guitar trio with Campbell and Pitts. Guitar trios would become more common in the 1940s and 1950s with bands like that of Bob Wills and His Texas Playboys and the Spade Cooley band, but in 1938, such guitar trios offered something of a fresh new sound. The horn jazz number "Clarinet Marmalade" (DAL-549) took on a new flavor when played by strings. The clarinet chorus was shared by a harmonizing trio of Campbell playing electric guitar, Parker playing piano, and Pitts playing fiddle. Each member of the trio also took featured solos.

By the time of the November 30, 1938, recording session, personnel changes had again occurred. Clifford Gross had been replaced on fiddle by Robert "Buck" Buchanan, and Jim Boyd had taken Dick Reinhart's place as guitarist, sometime bass player, and vocalist.

Gross left the Doughboys before being fired over an incident that Montgomery recounted:

> We were doing a show up in Wichita Falls for probably about 5,000 people . . . an Arbor Day show like they used to have in the

fall. We had an act where we had a jug . . . we played ocarinas and jugs and did an old funny song, and Gross played the jug. He would make like he was going to take a drink out of it. Somebody, I think it was probably DeArman, but he thought it was Parker Willson—of course, Gross had been drinking—put some black acetate in that jug with some liquid and caused it to make a black goo. When Gross pretended to drink out of that jug, that stuff ran down the front of his white shirt. Of course, the people thought it was part of the act and everybody laughed.

Gross kept getting madder and on the way home on the bus, Parker and Dick were sitting in the front seat, and I was sitting on the other side, and the mascot Charles was sitting next to me. Gross came up behind Parker Willson and grabbed him around the neck and put a knife to his throat. Gross was really drunk then. Course, Dick Reinhart just kept talking and I kept telling Charles, "Ah, they're just kidding." Finally, Dick got Gross settled down. Then the next morning we got to the mill at nine and Gross had cleaned out his locker. He knew his days were over.[30]

Dick Reinhart, too, left the band on less than friendly terms. He had auditioned to be the Doughboys' announcer when Larry Rowell was fired, but Burrus Mill had hired Parker Willson. Although Reinhart stayed with the band for a time, his resentment grew, so that when Gross left, Reinhart also resigned. Gross and Reinhart formed a new band, the Universal Cowboys.

The replacement band members, Buck Buchanan and Jim Boyd, melded nicely with the remaining Doughboys to form what Montgomery described as "our best swinging group."[31] Jim Boyd already had a long list of credits before joining the Doughboys. Jim and his older brother Bill had formed a pioneer western swing band, Bill Boyd and His Cowboy Ramblers, which signed a recording contract with RCA Victor in 1934. Jim had also played in the Wanderers band and had formed his own dance band, the Rhythm Aces. By 1934, Jim was working on radio and playing dances with the Wanderers and his own Rhythm Aces and recording with Bill Boyd and His Cowboy Ramblers. His experience was so impressive that radio station WRR signed him on as staff musician, playing guitar, bass, banjo, and mandolin "with anybody, anywhere, anytime."[32] One of the guest vocalists Jim accompanied on WRR was Kathryn Starling, later known to the public as Kay Starr.

Jim had all the work he could possibly want, but he could not resist an invitation in August 1938 to join the Doughboys at a salary of $35 a week, plus all road expenses paid and uniforms furnished and laundered. He did not hesitate to accept the job as guitarist, bass player, and vocalist, not only because of the money, but also because, as Jim put it, "the Doughboys were the most famous group in the country at the time."[33]

On the next few recording sessions Boyd and DeArman switched off between bass and rhythm guitar. DeArman's bass playing can be distinguished from Boyd's by his more incessant slapping of the bass and by his tendency to play chords backward. For example, a C-major chord would normally be played by the bass player with the root of the chord (C) played first and followed by the fifth (G). But DeArman routinely reversed this order and played the fifth before the root. Montgomery notes that DeArman's backward bass playing irritated the other band members, especially Parker. Jim Boyd provided most of the vocals on the November 30, 1938, recording session. The steel guitar used on a few numbers was played by Jim Boyd's younger brother, John, who was killed in a motorcycle accident shortly after the recording session. The twin-fiddle sections featured Pitts playing lead and Buchanan providing the harmony part. Buchanan played most of the hot improvised fiddle solos for this session.

The recording session for November 30 took place in Dallas and produced mostly popular songs and blues, with a few boogie-woogie and comedy numbers as well. Montgomery and Campbell both had songs recorded and released from this session. Montgomery's "Baby, Give Me Some of That" (DAL-644) featured Boyd's singing and the hot solo fiddle work of Buchanan. His comedy number "Pussy, Pussy, Pussy" (DAL-655) featured Montgomery faking a little-girl voice and DeArman purring like a cat. Montgomery said that "Pussy, Pussy, Pussy" made it onto more jukeboxes than any of his other songs, probably because of the sexual suggestiveness of the title. Campbell's "Dirty Dishrag Blues" (DAL-645) included two guitar choruses played by Campbell and one chorus each for Pitts (fiddle) and Parker (piano).

The sound changes between the Doughboys of November 30, 1938, and the earlier band of May 14, 1938, were subtle but significant. Dick Reinhart and Jim Boyd were both tenors and both equally comfortable singing blues, though Reinhart's range was slightly higher than Boyd's and the timbre of his voice somewhat more brilliant. Boyd's lower

vocal range and mellower tone added greater warmth to his blues singing. Buchanan and Pitts were more complementary in their twin-fiddle work than Gross and Pitts. In his solo playing, classically trained Pitts created complex fiddle melodies with great finesse and subtlety. Buchanan had also studied classical violin, with the same teacher, Wylbert Brown, who taught Kenneth Pitts and Cecil Brower, but he attacked fiddle solos with more aggressive abandon than Pitts. Campbell could create intricate electric guitar improvisations on any type of song and at any tempo, and Parker played blues piano, ragtime, stride, or boogie-woogie with equal skill.

Another significant personnel change to the Doughboys occurred in 1939, when Cecil Brower replaced Buchanan. Buchanan left the Doughboys to play with the Hi-Flyers, and then he moved out to Amarillo and worked with bands there. After the war he returned to Fort Worth and played in the house band of a local honky-tonk. Montgomery lamented the direction that Buchanan took with his life and music, describing him as a great wasted talent, one of the Doughboys' best violinists. But his self-destructive behavior, involving drugs, led to his early death.

Buchanan's worthy replacement with the Doughboys, Cecil Brower was the first jazz violinist to play in a Texas string band, having worked for Milton Brown and His Musical Brownies, the band that invented western swing. When Milton Brown died as the result of a car accident in 1936, the Brownies gradually disintegrated and Brower played and recorded in other bands, including Roy Newman and His Boys and Bob Wills and His Texas Playboys. Brower became a Doughboy sometime during the first half of 1939. In twin-fiddle sections Brower took the lead and Pitts provided the harmony line. Montgomery commented about Brower's seeming wanderlust:

> Cecil always thought it was better on the other side of the road, and he was always going for another job. He went up north, worked on some radio station with some group up there for over a year; then when he came back to Texas, . . . he started with the Doughboys. He played with the Doughboys for about a year and a half before we went off the air.[34]

Cecil Brower's first recording session with the Doughboys took place in June 1939, in the old Brunswick Warehouse in Dallas. The ware-

house was hot, and Montgomery recalls, "We played with our shirts off and I suspect the bottle was passed around a few times."[35] The Doughboys cut twenty-five tunes in two days, eleven of which were written by Montgomery, who says, "In hindsight I think that if I'd been serious about my song writing, instead of doing off-beat stuff, I might have come up with something worth listening to."[36] Despite Montgomery's doubts about the quality of his own songs, he declared this two-day recording session (June 14 and 15, 1939) "musically the best we ever did."[37]

Jim Boyd played bass on most of the tunes, and DeArman switched to rhythm guitar. Boyd was also the featured vocalist. Brower and Pitts played occasional solos, but most of the fiddle work was duet playing. For the ballad "Thinking of You" (DAL-804), Parker switched from piano to accordion, and Pitts backed him by playing rhythm on the piano. Cecil Brower made his violin solo debut as a Doughboy on Montgomery's comic song "She Gave Me the Bird" (DAL-808), for which Montgomery, Boyd, DeArman, Pitts, and Willson provided sound effects and comic voices. As a sequel to Montgomery's previous comedy song "Pussy, Pussy, Pussy," recorded on November 30, 1938, the Doughboys released his "We Found Her Little Pussy Cat" (DAL-813). This was another comic song with sound effects and a violin solo by Brower.

The Doughboys' output for June 15, 1939, was similar to that of the previous day, with popular tunes and comedy numbers in the majority. Several of the band members had their own compositions recorded and released from this session. Campbell, Parker, and Montgomery cowrote the up-tempo instrumental number "Mama Won't Let Me" (DAL-828). Montgomery played a banjo solo on his tune "Beer Drinkin' Mama" (DAL-836) and switched to kazoo for his "Jazzbo Joe" (DAL-836). Parker's song entitled "Mama Gets What She Wants" (DAL-832) featured Cecil Brower playing a violin chorus and Jim Boyd singing. Parker so enjoyed Boyd's vocal rendition of his song that, on the recording, he yelled for pure joy.

The high points of these recording sessions were in the ensemble work. The fact that both Brower and Pitts were trained violinists was reflected in their smooth bowing and even phrasing. They were well matched and perfectly balanced in their twin fiddling. Equally well matched were guitarist Campbell and pianist Parker. Both were virtuosos who approached rhythm and phrasing so similarly that each could anticipate the next move of the other.

In early September 1939, Art Satherley sent the Doughboys a popular ballad that he wanted them to cover. They recorded the ballad, "I'll Keep On Loving You" (FW-25317), and the up-tempo "Little Rubber Dolly" (FW-25318) without pianist Parker, who was too involved with his studies at Texas Christian University in Fort Worth to attend the session. Parker was back at the piano the following month, when the Doughboys covered another song, "Truck Driver Blues" (FW-25526), at Satherley's request. The Doughboys ended the year 1939 by producing their own recording session, without Satherley's guidance. Montgomery admits that they did a poor job of selecting commercially marketable songs.

In 1940, after two years with the Doughboys, bassist-guitarist-vocalist Jim Boyd left to work for W. Lee O'Daniel. As he told the story,

> The phone rang a little after one o'clock in the afternoon, and a voice said, "Just a moment for Governor W. Lee O'Daniel." He got on the phone and said, "Jim Boyd, I've been listening to you for a long time singing with those Light Crust Doughboys. The politicians stole my songbird, and I want you to take his place." I said, "Yes, Sir." So I went down to Austin the next day and went to the Governor's Mansion. I really did have some reservations about joining up with the Hillbilly Boys because to me their music was real down-to-earth hillbilly, corny, off the cob, and wasn't anything like western swing that the Doughboys were playing. I said, "How much money are we talking about?" He said, "I'll pay you $250 a month, and I'll furnish you a place to live with all bills paid." I said, "Well, I'll take that, Governor."[38]

The departure of Jim Boyd forced the Doughboys to look for another instrumentalist-vocalist, and they hired Joe Frank Ferguson, the only individual ever to go from Bob Wills' Texas Playboys to the Light Crust Doughboys. Joe Frank had first come to Bob Wills' attention in 1935, when Wills heard him sing on Tulsa radio station KVOO. Ferguson explains,

> I wandered into radio station KVOO. A lady named Lydia White, who was playing organ and church songs, saw me outside with my ear up against the glass and motioned me to come in. I went in and sang a few hymns with her, and she said, "You know, we

> have a staff frolic here in the afternoon. I believe I can get you a spot on there if you want to do it." "Man alive, get on the radio! You bet!" So I did a couple of numbers on the radio, and in about twenty minutes the phone rang in the control room. It was Bob Wills. He was going to Missouri to play a dance. He called back wanting them to keep me there until the next day, so he could talk to me.[39]

With his crystal-clear, lyrical tenor voice, Ferguson was the perfect vocalist for pop ballads. At first he had no other job on Wills' band, so when he was not singing he was left standing on the bandstand with nothing to do. But soon he began substituting for the bass player. Since Wills did not allow breaks or intermissions during four- to five-hour dance jobs, players had to sneak off the bandstand at opportune moments when nature called; Ferguson began standing in for the bass player at such moments. He described his introduction to the bass as "on-the-job training." He explained, "Leon McAuliffe would tell me what strings to pull and where to put my noting finger."[40]

Joe Frank adapted to the bass quickly, and when Playboy bassist Son Lansford went out on his own in 1936, Ferguson became the regular bass player. Joe Frank sang the popular ballads and played bass on the Wills' band until Lansford returned and resumed his bass-playing duties. At that point Ferguson moved over to the saxophone section because he had played clarinet briefly in his high school band. Once again he received on-the-job training. "I didn't know what I was playing, but they told me what finger on the left hand made what note on the horn. Some of it didn't sound very good for a while, but it worked out all right. I practiced a lot. I got to where I could sight-read anything they put in front of me."[41]

Ferguson continued with Wills as a singer and saxophonist until 1940, when he had the opportunity to join the Doughboys.

> Bob got me the job himself; that is, he told me about it. He said, "I know you don't like to play that sax," and the Doughboys' bass player, Jim Boyd, was leaving to go with W. Lee O'Daniel. They needed a bass player and singer to take his place. "I'll let you go down there and audition for the job," Bob said. "You get it, no strings attached, no hard feelings. You just need to be there, because that's the type of thing you need to do." . . . The Doughboys

> told me if I could sing a tune that had a yodel in it and not crack that yodel, I had the job. "South of the Border" was the name of the tune and I didn't crack the yodel, so I got the job.[42]

Ferguson's life with the Doughboys was quite a bit different from what it had been with the Playboys. The Doughboys played a daily radio show and concerts, but no dances. For all of this each man collected his weekly salary, no more and no less. Wills' Playboys band was a commonwealth band, which meant that the band members shared in the gate receipts from dances and royalties from recordings. In the case of the Doughboys, Burrus Mill collected royalties and any additional fees due the band. Each Doughboy radio program was recorded a week in advance, and the pressed discs (transcriptions) sent to radio stations all over the Southwest to be simulcast with the band's live broadcasts. The band members traveled from concert to concert in a large bus with a platform on the back and a built-in sound system. Ferguson recalled, "We could set up in the middle of a pasture in that bus, at a rodeo or goat roping or picnic or anything. We set up our own power system and everything and broadcast, and you could hear us ten miles away."[43]

There were also musical differences between the Playboys and the Doughboys, most noticeably for Ferguson, as a bass player, the lack of drums. In the Playboys' rhythm section Ferguson had developed a close working relationship with drummer Smokey Dacus and pianist Al Stricklin. But since they did not play for dances, the Doughboys had no need of a drummer—banjo, bass, guitar, and piano provided sufficient rhythm. The Doughboys also emphasized three- and four-part harmony singing, as opposed to a soloist, perhaps with vocal backup, the arrangement that characterized the Wills band. But despite the subtle musical differences between the two bands, they performed a similar repertory, which mixed folk songs, popular songs, big band swing arrangements, blues, and even hymns. The Doughboys also performed numbers made famous by the Texas Playboys. One unique feature of the Doughboys' playlist was the inclusion of the suggestive comedy songs, most of which came from the imagination of Marvin Montgomery. These they recorded for the jukebox trade and sometimes performed in live concerts.

Ferguson's timing in joining the Doughboys was perfect in light of events that soon affected recording sessions for all bands. During the

year 1940 the American Federation of Musicians signed contracts with the major recording companies whereby only union musicians would be allowed to participate in recording sessions. Montgomery remembered that Fort Worth Local 72 was not interested in recruiting musicians whom they classified as "hillbilly" musicians, that is, string-band musicians, although, said Montgomery, "Kenneth Pitts, 'Knocky' Parker and I were attending Texas Christian University at the time as part-time students studying every music course available and probably knew more about music history, etc. than a good percentage of the union members."[44] A few of the Doughboys were union members.

> [Cecil] Brower, having traveled with Ted Fio Rito's Orchestra, belonged to the L.A. Local. Joe Ferguson . . . came off the Bob Wills band and was a member of the Tulsa Local. I [Montgomery] had belonged to the A F of M local in Newton, Iowa, before I came to Texas, but was not a member at the time of this session. Uncle Art [Satherley] decided to let me play on the session anyhow as there was not a union banjo player available. . . . I suppose that if the A F of M had found out that Uncle Art had done such a dastardly deed as to let a non-union banjo player play with union musicians on a recording session they would have taken him out and hung him by his thumbs.[45]

For the recording session at the Doughboys' studio April 24, 1940, nonunion member Campbell relinquished the guitar player's spot to Leroy Millican; Parker turned over the piano duties to Babe Wright; and DeArman left the bass and rhythm guitar playing to Paul Waggoner. Since the union's control did not extend to singers and arrangers, Pitts, DeArman, Willson, and Campbell could sing and Pitts wrote all of the lead parts for the electric guitar so as to preserve the Doughboys' sound. The union replacement musicians earned union scale wages for the session; Ferguson, Brower, and Montgomery split their earnings with Pitts, Campbell, Parker, and DeArman. So concerned were the Doughboys that their audience not be aware of the personnel changes on the two recording sessions in April 1940 that they did not list the individual musicians on the label and swore each other to secrecy.

The recording sessions on April 24 and 26, 1940, produced twelve cuts. Since Pitts could sing and arrange, but not play fiddle, there was none of the twin-fiddle work typical of most Doughboy recordings.

Instead, Pitts arranged fiddle-guitar duets for Brower and Millican, and Brower got more than his normal share of solo choruses. The usual Doughboy vocal trio and quartet performed on several numbers. Four of Montgomery's tunes were recorded on these two days: "I Want a Feller" (DAL-1055), "Little Honky-Tonk Headache" (DAL-1074), "Good Gracious, Gracie" (DAL-1075), and "If You'll Come Back" (DAL-1076). Pitts, Campbell, and Parker sang two songs they had cowritten: "She's Too Young to Play with the Boys" (DAL-1070) and "Mean, Mean Mama from Meana" (DAL-1072). The April 26 session produced the Doughboys' hit instrumental "South" (DAL-1070). This was a Benny Moten arrangement originally recorded by Moten's band in Kansas City. Art Satherley sent the Doughboys the Moten recording and requested that they cover it. Since it was entirely instrumental, the Doughboys did not expect it to be a great success. But "South" was their biggest selling instrumental recording, and was copied by all of the other string bands in the Southwest and California.

Although not entirely a Doughboy band, the Doughboy sound was not compromised by the substitute musicians. However, Leroy Millican was noticeably less of a guitarist than Campbell. Millican played tentatively and sometimes behind the beat, perhaps because he was reading what Campbell wrote for him rather than improvising his own parts. Brower was fully up to the challenge of being the lone fiddler, and he sometimes used double stops to fill in the harmony normally provided by Pitts. Babe Wright was an excellent jazz pianist who could easily have been mistaken for Parker, though he was not as flamboyant.

Tragedy struck early in the year 1941 and necessitated another change in the Doughboys' personnel. Ramon DeArman burned to death in a freak accidental fire that started while he was working underneath his car in his garage. His replacement as rhythm guitarist and sometime singer was J. B. Brinkley.

A second personnel change was less traumatic. Parker left the Doughboys to further his college education and was replaced briefly by Ted Druer. Druer was not a Doughboy long enough to record with the band; by the time of the next recording session Druer had left and been replaced by Frank Reneau. Reneau joined the band before its recording session on February 27, 1941, and remained until the band broke up in 1942. Reneau, a native of Oklahoma, had been working in a band on radio station WKY in Oklahoma City that included Jimmy Wakely and Johnny Bond. Most nights of the week he moonlighted as

a honky-tonk pianist, playing with all kinds of bands. Reneau talks about working with Wakely and Bond:

> I worked with Wakely, and he had a trio. Wakely, Johnny Bond, Scotty Harrell, and me, and a bass player. And every day I would play a solo . . . WKY had a pipe organ, and a Novachord . . . a bunch of different instruments, and even a chromatic harmonica. I would play a solo on something every day to break up the monotony of just the three singing. We worked up there for a year, and when Gene Autry offered them a job in California, they took off. The trio took off, and me and the bass player stayed in Oklahoma.[46]

Reneau brought a very different style of piano playing to the Doughboys. He was influenced by pianists like Eddie Duchin, Frankie Carle, and Ferde Wilson, but he ultimately developed a uniquely personal style based on his physical limitations.

> Most piano players can reach tenths—ten notes. I can't reach but nine. So I've got a style . . . I use my right-hand thumb with my left hand, and I make tenths all the way through, and I play melody with these other four right-hand fingers. When I am playing background, I can play the full, five-finger chords and use tenths in my bass all the way through.[47]

Reneau's playing was more chordal and thicker in the bass in comparison to Parker's linear, contrapuntal style. Montgomery felt that Reneau's approach had negative effects on the Doughboys' rhythm section.

> [O]n some of the songs the banjo is almost out of the picture and we missed the 2/4 beat of Parker's piano. Reneau's piano . . . seems overbalanced, I think because Parker Willson wanted to get the many, many, many bass runs Reneau added (and there goes the rhythm). J. B. Brinkley played good rhythm but again most of it was lost due to the poor balance of the instruments.[48]

Reneau was a talented jazz pianist, though different from Parker. Perhaps the problems noted by Montgomery related more to the failure of the recording engineer to achieve a balance than to Reneau's style of playing.

The band that gathered at the old WBAP radio studio atop the Blackstone Hotel in Fort Worth on February 27, 1941, consisted of J. B. Brinkley (rhythm guitar, vocal), Frank Reneau (piano), Campbell (electric guitar), Pitts (fiddle), Brower (fiddle), Ferguson (bass, vocal), and Montgomery (banjo). On two songs the Doughboys' lineup also included singer-songwriter Ted Daffan, who had been pestering Parker Willson and Art Satherley to let him record with the Doughboys. Daffan provided steel guitar fills on "Too Late" (DAL-1184), backing a vocal duet sung by Brinkley and Ferguson.

Many of the songs on this February 27 recording session were composed by members of the band. Montgomery contributed five songs. The first, "The Little Bar Fly" (DAL-1185), was sung by Brinkley and included a chorus in which Montgomery experimented with a trio consisting of fiddles and piano. The text for another Montgomery song recorded during this session came to Montgomery as the result of overhearing a lovers' quarrel. "I got the idea for this song ['It's Your Worry Now' (DAL-1186)] while we were playing a personal appearance in Pine Bluff, Arkansas. . . . I overheard a young couple having an argument. As she walked away she heatedly said, 'It's your worry now!' I've often wondered what he had to worry about."[49]

Though Brinkley and Reneau were new to the band, the Doughboys recorded two of their arrangements. Brinkley's "Five Long Years" (DAL-1191) featured Campbell's electric guitar, Daffan providing steel-guitar fills, and Brinkley's own vocal. Reneau's "Slufoot on the Levee" (DAL-1193) was an instrumental number that included a variety of sounds: guitar and fiddle chorus, guitar alone, fiddle alone, piano alone.

The songwriting team of Campbell, Pitts, and Parker had created their arrangement of "Sweet Sally" (DAL-1192) before Parker had left the band. Parker's piano chorus was played by Reneau on this recording.

The following month, March 1941, the Doughboys returned to the WBAP studio in the Blackstone Hotel for their last recording sessions before the war. Bob Wills and His Texas Playboys were also recording at the same location on March 3, and they asked Ferguson to go home and get his saxophone; the Playboys were recording several big-band swing arrangements and needed an additional horn. March 3 was also a day for technical difficulties, as Campbell's guitar amplifier kept picking up police calls. Most of the tunes issued from the March 3, 1941, recording session were either arrangements or original compositions by Montgomery. With the threat of impending world war weighing on

everyone's mind, Montgomery gave voice to the worst fear of every serviceman separated from his sweetheart in his song "Won't You Wait Another Year?" (DAL-1211). Another Montgomery song issued on March 3, "After You Said You Were Leaving" (DAL-1214), featured a vocal solo by Dolores Jo Clancy, the Little Light Crust Sweetheart who replaced Charles Burton as mascot sometime in 1940.

During the recording session of March 6, 1941, the Doughboys turned out more sacred numbers than usual. Since they were devoting two radio broadcasts a week to religious music, Parker Willson felt that the band should issue some sacred recordings. Montgomery had misgivings about the commercial wisdom of releasing the religious numbers.

> The quartet was made up of Joe "Bashful" Ferguson (tenor), J. B. Brinkley (lead), Kenneth "Abner" Pitts (baritone), and Parker Willson (bass). Frank Reneau played the piano. Campbell and I went home. These songs would never get on the juke boxes (our biggest market at the time); hence, Uncle Art was reluctant to release them. Besides, the Chuck Wagon Gang and the Stamps-Baxter Quartet had that market sewed up.[50]

As Montgomery had predicted, of the four sacred songs recorded on March 6, two were not issued, and the two that were are now unavailable.

The Light Crust Doughboys' final pre–World War II recording session in Fort Worth on March 16, 1941, produced only two songs, "This Life Is Hard to Understand" (DAL-1323) and "In the Morning" (DAL-1324). By this time, the Doughboys had experienced significant personnel changes, but these had not radically altered their sound, which was carefully maintained by Campbell, Pitts, and Montgomery through their arranging. It is true that at times Reneau's rather heavy left-hand piano playing drowned out both banjo and rhythm guitar and obscured the beat, but it did not alter the Doughboys' sound significantly. Kenneth Pitts, in a letter to Montgomery written in the summer of 1989, criticized that Doughboy sound, and the material the band recorded.

> Mr. Satherley should have really taken us to task as to repertoire and style on the recordings. Possibly he was trying to let our natural inclinations lead us to some sound that would have been distinctive. As it was, the only distinctive sounds we had were

> Zeke (Campbell), you, Knocky (Parker), and the twin fiddle sound. But none of these four ever seemed to get together and really jell. However, I don't want these acid criticisms to be interpreted to mean the entire effort was a complete loss.[51]

As to the repertory issue, Montgomery explained,

> Most of the songs not issued were cowboy songs and barber-shop quartet type songs. . . . Uncle Art Satherley was looking for danceable, juke box type of songs. . . . I think the reason Uncle Art took so many of my songs was because I was writing trash that we could never play on the air, but which the jukebox operators liked, such as "Pussy, Pussy, Pussy," "You Got What I Want," "Baby, Give Me Some of That," "She Gave Me the Bird," etc.[52]

Avid fans of the Light Crust Doughboys never critiqued their recordings. They came to know the Doughboys and to think of them as personal friends through their radio broadcasts and personal appearances. Whereas their recordings provide present-day music historians with material to analyze and criticize, at the time they were made, they constituted a very small part of the musical activity that made the Doughboys a highly visible and popular Texas band. Their sound, good or bad, was recognized all over the Southwest during their glory years, 1935 to 1941.

After the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, December 7, 1941, and the subsequent congressional declaration of war on Japan and Germany, the Doughboys' days were numbered. One by one, individual band members left to serve in the war effort. Frank Reneau quit first to join the Army. He saw duty in the bloody battles for Italy. Fiddler Cecil Brower joined the Coast Guard, as did singer-bassist Joe Frank Ferguson. Those who could not fight worked in war-related industries. Fiddler Kenneth Pitts became an inspector at American Manufacturing Company, which produced shells. Likewise, banjoist Marvin Montgomery got a job as a swing shift supervisor for Crown Machine and Tool, which made six-inch shells for the navy. Electric guitarist Muryel Campbell went to work as a bookkeeper at Vital Food Company.

The Light Crust Doughboys went off the air early in 1942. Though a new Doughboys' band would be organized and resume broadcasting for Burrus Mill in 1945, 1942 marked the end of an era.

CHAPTER FOUR

KEY BAND MEMBERS DURING THE GLORY YEARS

During the years 1935 through 1941, the Light Crust Doughboys' band was among the most recognizable and popular in the Southwest. Despite major personnel changes, the Doughboy sound remained essentially unchanged because of the efforts of key members to conserve it. Who were those key members and what were they like? Did the various band members work well together? Were they all equally talented musicians? During the devastating years of the Depression, did the job of being a Light Crust Doughboy pay an adequate salary? Why did the Doughboys not attempt to achieve a national reputation, as Bob Wills and His Texas Playboys did, and as Milton Brown and His Musical Brownies no doubt would have, had Brown lived long enough?

To these questions Montgomery responded simply,

> All of the guys were well talented. Each of them had a different personality. Yes, we did get along well together. It was like a happy family. We had parties at various houses, and the whole bunch would come, with their wives. As to whether we earned enough money, the Doughboys' band was supposed to be a full-time job, but some of us moonlighted a little bit when we got a chance. Three of us almost got fired one time for playing for a beer company, but that's another story.[1]

In a later interview, Montgomery admitted that at times tensions flared among the band members, and that they often split into factions, based on drinkers versus nondrinkers. In other words, like any other group of musicians forced to work closely, the Doughboys agreed on musical matters but agreed to disagree in matters of personal lifestyle and philosophy.[2]

Fiddler Kenneth Pitts had a slightly different perspective on the Doughboys as musicians. His daughter, Janis Stout, remembers hearing her father say that he regretted his role in helping to create many of those arrangements because, he said, "we didn't know how to end something. It was like chopping off a sausage in a string of sausages, whack, and that was the end of it."[3] Pitts also insinuated at various times that he did not consider all of the band members to be equally talented.

> I think he had the sense that some of the people in the band were very good and could have done more significant things musically. Maybe not everybody in the band, but some could have. Certainly he had great admiration for Cecil Brower, I mean that he was really a fine player. Marvin Montgomery, he said more than once, was the best banjo player he ever heard. Zeke Campbell—he certainly had great respect for his playing. But I think he felt that they [the Doughboys] were very limited economically . . . that they were just always having to struggle to keep going and that he wished they could have been true artists. As it was, they did some pretty good things, but at least some of them could have been real artists.[4]

Kenneth Pitts, of course, developed his serious interest in music early on, as a teenage boy studying classical violin. Pitts was well aware of the new band called the Light Crust Doughboys in the early 1930s, and even knew one of its members, Clifton Johnson, on both personal and professional terms. Johnson had dated Pitts' sister-in-law for a time, and Johnson and Pitts had worked together in a dance band that included wind instruments and played for fun rather than for money. In his unpublished memoir of his days with the Doughboys Pitts described his friendship with Cecil Brower and his own early career as a Doughboy.

> In those days fiddle bands had begun to use two fiddlers in order that they might play in harmony. This was set in motion largely by

a fiddle band Cecil Brower, my longtime friend, and I had belonged to, doing some radio work (practically all free) for a couple of years after I graduated. We had the knack of playing duet harmony quite well, and we both produced a very good tone even young as we were and had become quite well known for our harmonizing, particularly on our theme song "La Golondrina," arranged in waltz rhythm. Our little band was called the Southern Melody Boys.

Cecil went to work with a dance fiddle band called the Musical Brownies. They made more money than any other group in this part of Texas, sometimes as high as 35 or 40 dollars a night. In those days I worked for a salary of $13 per week. [Pitts was working as a janitor in a Fort Worth church, seven days a week, at a salary of $13 per week.] When "Sleepy" Johnson heard Mr. O'Daniel talking about getting an additional fiddle, he persuaded O'Daniel to have me down for an audition, and I got the job. My starting salary with the Doughboys was $15.00 a week.

Of course, life to me seemed like a "basket picnic" because the job I had come from (janitor) was hard, the most menial labor. I had little time for playing and development in music, no lessons of course. So being daily and full-time occupied with music, even though it was only country style music, seemed like the Garden of Eden.

Of course, I did not know all the selections this new group knew, and it was at this time that I began to write down melodies so that I might keep going properly when we were on the air. Also, if I did not readily conceive of a proper duet harmony, after one of the other fellows had played or sung a melody to me so that I might write it down, I would also write out the duet harmony. This then [led] to writing out trios, and even sometimes quartets for vocal performance. From this continual experience my ability to arrange for all sorts of groups began to develop.

One big fringe benefit . . . was that Burrus Mill furnished us high grade navy blue slacks, tailor-made, shirts (white) with the lettering "Light Crust Doughboys" across the back and a music lyre on the front of the shirt, nice ties, a big sweater-style jacket with lettering and a very dressy blue sweater with lettering—all this real quality clothing. Not only that, the company furnished all the cleaning, pressing and laundering of these uniforms. Oh, yes, there was a military style cap that topped out the uniform.

This all seemed quite luxurious considering the fact that our apartment rent was $3.50 per week (bills paid) and our grocery budget $3.50 per week. Helean [Pitts' wife] made $8.00 per week. We felt quite prosperous.

Of course, we were all being exploited. But in those days one did not raise his voice or complain, since it was quite the privilege to even have a job at all, much less one on which you were doing what you enjoyed and did not have to work like a horse. Our duties . . . were to prepare the numbers for our program, which went on the air at 12:30 noon. In addition to that we prepared a program that we also played on station KTAT at around 6:30 in the evening. Our studio at the time was quite the thing. We were rather at the vanguard of recording progress at that time in that we were the first in this area to have the facilities for recording an entire fifteen-minute program on acetate disc, which was of good enough quality to be sent to a radio station . . .

O'Daniel and Burrus Mill were getting a great deal from us in terms of musical service. Even at times that we had nothing at all to do, O'Daniel made us stay around all day, for no other reason than that he was the type to "squeeze the last drop of blood." . . . In those days our audience would send us little gifts like cakes, boxes of cookies and that sort of thing, but practically all these Mr. O'Daniel took for himself, and they ended up at his home for his family to enjoy.

Columbia records would come to our studio and record the band from time to time and would while here record other groups from this part of Texas. Particularly I remember rhythm and blues recordings by a number of black performers. We had to do this commercial recording without receiving any extra pay whatsoever. The royalty checks . . . were paid to Burrus Mill, but we all felt quite sure Mr. O'Daniel managed to take all this for himself. Much of my memory of this time is hazy, but I was still enamored with not having to do physical labor, seven days a week, and felt quite fortunate.[5]

As a Doughboy, Pitts was able to pursue the musical education that was obviously so important to him; he, Montgomery, and Parker all took music courses at Texas Christian University in Fort Worth. After World War II, Pitts earned a bachelor of music education degree from

TCU and then a master of music education from the same institution. As soon as Pitts finished his bachelor's degree he began teaching music in the Fort Worth public schools. At the same time he had as many as forty-five private music pupils because public school teacher pay was low. He also had his own dance band, which played at the Blackstone Hotel in Fort Worth, and he spent some thirty years playing in the Fort Worth Opera orchestra. He played viola with the Fort Worth Symphony for a brief time, but when all of his varied musical activities became too much, he gave up the symphony job and stayed with the Fort Worth Opera. Dr. Stout remembers that occasionally her father would earn extra money by making arrangements for people who had created new songs but had no idea how to notate them.

Dr. Stout has the sense that her father conceived of his varied musical activities as employment rather than artistic opportunities. She remembers,

> It was very much a job to Dad. He and Mother didn't have a record collection; they didn't play records at home. As far as I know he didn't listen to music on the radio. I would conjecture that he may have had a bit of a double life, that at home it was so puritanical. Mother was quite clear that she didn't like music; I would hear her say over and over, "I am so tired of music, music," in this aggrieved tone of voice. Partly it was symphony music, because he was certainly getting into that more and more as time went on. But then at the same time he would be playing the western music, as he labeled it; at least by the time I was ten I heard him identify it by that term.[6]

Stout's mother's misgivings about bands and those who worked in them may have prevented the Pitts family from enjoying the social life of which Montgomery spoke. Stout remembers one occasion when they were at a party, possibly at Montgomery's home, during which some of the band members combined practicing and visiting and drinking beer. The Pitts family left the party when someone went after more beer because Mrs. Pitts was adamantly opposed to the consumption of any alcoholic beverages.

Stout believes that the family connections, which necessitated earning steady incomes, may have had some bearing on the Doughboys' failure to seek a more national reputation.

> None of them were making much money at it [being Doughboys]. If they had done whatever was needed to work nationally, surely they would have made more money; but to do so there was a risk. I don't think they could do that and continue their regular radio work at the same time. So my guess is that the band members would have felt reluctant to give up the secure, modest economic base on the chance of a bigger base that might pay off or might not. And then, of course, Dad was a family man.[7]

Indeed, most of the Doughboys had families, which surely tied them down to a home base and prevented them from the extensive travel that might have earned them a national reputation. Generally, if they played live appearances during the week, they remained close enough to Fort Worth to be able to return for the noon radio broadcast. On weekends, the band could go further and stay out longer, but most band members still hurried home to families.

Montgomery and Campbell joined the Doughboys band about the same time, 1935. Born in Reinard, Iowa, as Marvin Wetter, Montgomery began his musical career there when he was ten years old and started teaching himself to play the banjo. He took to the banjo quickly and was soon playing duets with his pianist mother. Eventually Marvin's mother formed a small dance band, which she named the Iowa Orioles. Marvin built a drum case to fit on the back of the family's gray Chrysler, and the little band of four (pianist, banjoist, drummer, saxophonist) would take off and play their own small dance territory. Marvin participated in this little band all the way through high school.

When he graduated from high school, Marvin attended Iowa State College at Ames, where he studied industrial arts in preparation to teach school. During his sophomore year at Iowa State, Marvin participated in an amateur contest sponsored by a traveling tent show from Texas. He won second place but so impressed the tent show manager with his banjo playing that two weeks after the tent show pulled out of Ames, the manager telegraphed Marvin offering him a job.

Marvin accepted the job with the tent show and went to work earning eleven dollars per week. Besides playing in the orchestra, he helped to raise the large tents and occasionally functioned as an electrician. The year was 1934, and Marvin felt lucky to have a job. During his first year with the tent show, they toured West Texas towns like Odessa

and Wink, which were beginning to experience the oil boom. In the summer they returned north to Iowa and Illinois, but the following winter toured East and South Texas. It was during the course of this second tour in Texas that Marvin decided he was homesick and left the tent show, intending to return to Iowa. He got as far as Dallas, where he began working for the Wanderers on WFAA radio, and for their dance jobs. In 1935 Marvin, along with Bert Dodson and Dick Reinhart, became a Light Crust Doughboy.

Montgomery was one of the nuclear members of the Doughboys' band during the glory years of 1935 to 1941. His banjo playing strengthened the Doughboys' rhythm section, and the arrangements he wrote helped to maintain the Doughboys' sound, even during times of personnel change. Many of his original compositions were recorded by the Doughboys, as well as by other artists. Though he has never been given the official title, Marvin Montgomery worked unofficially as the manager and historian of the Light Crust Doughboys for many years. He helped reorganize the band after World War II, and kept it going until his death.

Montgomery was involved in many aspects of the music business. Until the mid-1970s he worked as an arranger for a Christian music company, Rainbow Records. He also did the arrangements for five contemporary Christian albums released by Lulu Roman, formerly of the *Hee Haw* television show. Montgomery stopped doing this kind of work when he reached age sixty-five and could no longer tolerate the pressure of deadlines and the restrictions imposed by commercial recording companies. When he arranged and composed in the years prior to his death, it was usually for the Dallas Banjo Band, which he directed, or for two jazz combos with which he performed—a trio called Smokey and the Bearkats and a band called the Dallas Hot Five. Until his death in 2001, he also played banjo and arranged for the current Light Crust Doughboys.

Marvin became involved in the publishing and producing end of music in 1957, when he and partner Artie Glenn formed Glendale Music. They never owned a monster hit, but they made good money. In 1963, Marvin took the money from the Levee Club of Dallas, a club he helped operate for about eleven years, and put it into a recording studio with partner Ed Bernet. Sumet-Bernet Recording Sound is still a busy studio.

Marvin Montgomery worked every angle of the music business, from

playing to producing, and received numerous awards, including induction into several western swing halls of fame and selection to participate in the World's All-Star Dixieland Jazz Band, an ensemble consisting of players from the United States and Europe, which concertized widely in the mid-1980s. In 1998, he and the other Light Crust Doughboys were nominated for a Grammy Award in the gospel category for a recording they did with James Blackwood. Marvin Montgomery was still an active, virtuoso banjo player just weeks before his death.[8]

Though Janis Stout was very young at the time, she remembers her father, Kenneth Pitts, talking about what a phenomenal banjoist Marvin Montgomery was. She also remembers that he was something of a clown, "manic lively."[9] Having spent many hours conversing with Marvin Montgomery, I concur with Dr. Stout's assessment of his personality. He always had a twinkle in his eye, a repertory of interesting band stories to tell, and a wonderful sense of humor.

Muryel "Zeke" Campbell, another nuclear member of the Doughboys band from 1935 to 1941, was a self-taught guitarist, and a natural musical talent. He was also a genuinely nice man. He married a young Native American woman, at a time when the other band members did not know that he even had a girlfriend. Montgomery noted that Campbell never cheated on his wife, despite numerous opportunities to do so. The Campbells had a son and two daughters; the son became a minister. Campbell helped his son to establish a small Methodist church in Hurst, Texas. The congregation started meeting in a washateria and grew to be one of the largest Methodist churches in the area. After World War II, Campbell continued to work in this church and also became a programmer for WBAP television, a job he kept until his retirement. He played with various bands in the area, including Pitts' society band, but never again worked as a Doughboy.[10]

John "Knocky" Parker was the best known of the pianists who worked for the Doughboys during their glory years, and he was also a key component in the jazz orientation of the band at that time. Parker was born to a cotton farmer and his wife in Palmer, Texas, about thirty miles from Dallas. The family recognized young John's musical gift and made provisions for him to have musical experiences, but he had no formal piano lessons. He learned to play the piano by imitating piano rolls, especially ragtime and early jazz numbers played by Jelly Roll Morton and Clarence Williams. When John began purchasing

phonograph records, they were usually by black artists, especially "Cow Cow" Davenport and Roosevelt Sykes.

On those occasions when John's father would go to Dallas to sell cotton or hire laborers, he would take John along. After business was done, father and son would drop in at Dallas clubs like the Lone Star Saloon in the Deep Ellum section of town. John remembers that even as a child of four he was allowed to play the piano at these clubs, and black blues musicians would frequently sit in. John would play bass while a black musician played treble, and sometimes the two pianists would cross hands and exchange parts. John explained that between 1922 and 1925 he participated in duet playing with such famous blues artists as Lemon Jefferson and Will Ezell, and he claimed Lemon Jefferson as a major influence on his own keyboard style.

By the time he was eight years old, John was taking the interurban from Palmer to Dallas regularly to play for money in the black juke joints on Elm Street. The dancing would end around 3:00 A.M., and John would go home with a black family and stay the rest of the night. He received fifteen or twenty dollars per dance and, more important, instruction in and approval for playing the African American music that he loved.

Referring to his idol, Lemon Jefferson, John said, "He'd play guitar and I'd play the same thing on piano; my piano playing is very much like a stringed instrument."[11] John learned to play in sharp keys because he was sitting in with guitarists and fiddlers who tuned often in the keys of A or E to play blues. Guitarists would use objects such as bottlenecks, knives, or other pieces of metal as slides on the necks of their instruments, causing them to whine. Basses were often homemade with washtub resonators and rope strings. The drummers' trap sets included everything from suitcases to tin cans, pots and pans, and porcelain sinks.

Parker credits much of his piano technique and most of his musical ideas to the African American musicians who mentored him.

> I was their student in every essence of the word—an apprentice. I'd sit down and they saw I was doing everything and working very hard. Now if you can imagine this ten-year-old just admiring them. I would pour out my heart to them and play, play up a storm. We would cry when we'd play because it would be so very good, so intense and so emotional.

> The blacks taught me seriousness and dedication and the hardest working hours you could even imagine and the hardest keys, too. This is all I know. It means nothing to me to play until I can't play anymore. That's routine—the story of my life.
>
> Always, in playing with other pianists . . . I'd want to feature them. The blacks have brought me up right. Whatever there is that is good in my personality or that projects to the students [Parker was a college professor] goes right on back to those blacks who taught me; absolutely, I am theirs.[12]

Parker was still attending high school in Palmer when he joined WBAP radio in 1935 as staff pianist and also began working with a string band mentioned earlier, Blackie Simmons' Blue Jackets. When the Frontier Centennial opened in Fort Worth in 1936, the Blue Jackets were hired to play on the midway. The Doughboys were there as well, and they decided they needed a pianist; so Parker auditioned.[13] Montgomery was a Doughboy by this time and remembers the audition.

> The Brownies had a good piano player by the name of "Papa" Calhoun because of "Fatha" Earl Hines out of Chicago. Everybody was trying to imitate "Fatha" Hines, so the Brownies called their piano player "Papa" Calhoun. When Knocky Parker sat down and started playing like "Papa" Calhoun, I said, "Knocky, play your own stuff, don't play like that: anybody can play that way." And so Knocky started playing. Of course, we hired him. His first day he came down with the measles, and his parents took his shoes and clothes away; but he wanted to come to the radio program anyway. Barefooted, he started walking to Fort Worth from his home in Palmer, Texas. He was a genius. He became known as "the wildman of the piano."[14]

Others with whom Parker worked confirmed his legendary abandon at the keyboard. His longtime friend Eubie Blake proclaimed, "Never play a piano after Parker gets through with it. First you can call a carpenter and then a tuner. I never saw a man beat a piano to death like him."[15]

Parker spent the next five years traveling and performing with the Doughboys. During that time Montgomery and Pitts convinced him to enroll at Texas Christian University, where he studied English literature and music. According to Montgomery, Parker never learned to

read music, despite his advanced training. When it came time for his senior piano recital, he played the selections on his program by memory while a fellow student turned pages to make it appear that Parker was reading.[16]

After his time with the Doughboys, Parker spent a brief period working for Bill Boyd's Cowboy Ramblers—but then, so did most of the players in the Dallas–Fort Worth area. It was common for the same sidemen to play in various bands. In 1942, Parker enlisted in the army and served in the Eighth Army Air Corps. After the war he attended the University of Southern California, and then in 1946 he began teaching English at the University of Nevada. Between 1947 and 1949 he studied toward a master's degree and taught at Columbia University in New York. He also absorbed more of the American jazz scene in the clubs of New York. From Columbia, Parker moved to Kentucky Wesleyan College as chairman of the department of English, and then to George Peabody College for his doctoral work. Parker's dissertation focused on American popular music and film and hypothesized that these represent the great artistic achievement of American culture. In 1964 Parker joined the faculty of the University of South Florida in Tampa as associate professor of English. Parker claimed that he was drawn to the University of South Florida because "jazz was respectable, something that wasn't necessarily true at other universities where I worked. At one place I was denied the use of the school's best piano because the person who donated it . . . had stipulated that it never be used for anything so vulgar as ragtime."[17]

At the University of South Florida, as in every institution he ever worked, whether playing the piano or teaching, Parker lobbied for the acceptance of blues, ragtime, and jazz as worthwhile artistic expressions. He once said,

> Ragtime and blues are America's greatest contributions to world music and have been the greatest influence on world music since the European sonata form. The rags of Scott Joplin, James Scott, Fats Waller, and the blues of W. C. Handy, Jelly Roll Morton, Tampa Red, and Cow Cow Davenport are the same genre as the gigues, ländler, dances and waltzes by Beethoven, Mozart, Strauss, Schubert, Albéniz, and Granados. There is the same rhythmic local color and infectious melodic line in all.[18]

Parker did his part to promote America's indigenous music with his recordings of the complete works of jazz piano greats Scott Joplin, James Scott, Jelly Roll Morton, Fats Waller, and Joseph Lamb. *Downbeat* magazine once called him the "King of the ragtime piano players," and other jazz critics have recognized Parker as one of the best jazz pianists of his time. Parker certainly brought all of this abundant energy, reckless abandon, and considerable technique to his five years with the Doughboys, whom he once called "the best musicians of the South."[19]

Stout remembers her father describing Parker as "wondrously good, a natural player." She also remembers others characterizing him as "a clown, he was funny, he was kind of wild with his humor and so forth. He was the kid. He was very young when he came to them. He was quite a musician, quite an innovator, interesting person."[20]

With so much obvious talent, why were the Doughboys content to remain regional celebrities? Montgomery's answer as to why the Doughboys did not seek national fame was, as usual, simple and direct.

> Burrus Mill just used us where they sold flour, and they sold Light Crust Flour in Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, New Mexico, and Texas. There was no use in advertising all over the country when they didn't have any flour to sell in those states. Later on, after World War II, we went on the Dixie network so we were in Florida and all the eastern states.[21]

They were all so young, and all so uniquely gifted—the Light Crust Doughboys of the glory years, 1935 through 1941. They survived the Depression by working for Burrus Mill and Elevator Company of Fort Worth, and while they were surviving they were bringing joy to hundreds of thousands of similarly disadvantaged inhabitants of the Southwest. The Light Crust Doughboys provided a great variety of types of music—traditional fiddle tunes, blues, ragtime, country music, jazz arrangements, popular songs, western numbers, comedy routines, and hymns. They performed daily on their radio program, made public appearances, and turned out a large number of recordings, most of which were intended for the jukebox market. In the process, they merged many of the musical influences that constitute the music of Texas. Their twin-fiddle sound achieved something of the parallel polyphony of harmonizing trumpets in a mariachi band. When they used accordion, they introduced the flavor of conjunto bands and of Ger-

man polka bands. From African Americans they gleaned a wealth of ragtime, blues, and gospel songs. They derived fiddle tunes (breakdowns) and country songs from the British folk tradition, popular ballads from Tin Pan Alley, and jazz arrangements from the nation's leading swing bands. They composed their own blues, ragtime, honky-tonk, and comedy songs.

They were driven by economic and commercial concerns. As employees of Burrus Mill, they had an image to maintain on their radio programs, and to a certain extent in their public appearances. They exerted more stylistic and repertory freedom in their recording sessions because most of their records were sold to jukebox operators. The Light Crust Doughboys did not achieve national attention, probably because they needed the stability of their employment with Burrus Mill to support their families. Although they did not play for dances as the Light Crust Doughboys, the various members of the band often supplemented their incomes by playing in local dance bands. The fact that they were not nationally known did not prevent them from being celebrities in the Southwest, where they were the primary musical ambassadors of the state of Texas.

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CHAPTER FIVE

STARTING OVER AFTER WORLD WAR II

In 1945, after a three-year hiatus because of World War II, the Light Crust Doughboys were back on the air and back on the road representing Light Crust Flour and Burrus Mill. With the exception of Marvin Montgomery, this was a new Doughboy band with a new announcer, Mel Cox. Previous to becoming a Doughboy, Cox had led a trio made up of himself (fiddle), Hal Harris (vocal, rhythm guitar), and J. R. Kidwell (bass, vocal) that broadcast on Dallas radio station WFAA. With the addition of several more sidemen, the newly constituted Light Crust Doughboys band stabilized at seven musicians, approximately the same size as the pre–World War II band. On the personnel roster were Cox (announcer, fiddle), Harris (vocal, rhythm guitar), Kidwell (bass, vocal), Wilson Perkins (guitar), Charles Godwin (vocal, piano, accordion), Carroll Hubbard (fiddle), and Montgomery (banjo). In keeping with past Doughboy tradition, the members of the new band assumed nicknames. In honor of Jack Perry Burrus, founder of Burrus Mill, Cox took the name Jack Perry, and from that time until the late 1950s all Doughboy announcers were called Jack Perry. Harris became "Curly"; Perkins, who played guitar left-handed, was dubbed "Lefty"; Godwin assumed the identity "Knocky"; Kidwell was "Sleepy"; Hubbard became "Ezra"; and Montgomery retained his old nickname, "Junior."

The Doughboys band was as busy as it had been before the war, keeping up with the daily radio show, making transcriptions, and playing personal appearances to enthusiastic audiences. In 1948, the musicians' union called for another ban prohibiting nonunion musicians from participating in recording sessions. For the purpose of making transcriptions and recordings, Burrus Mill had no choice but to hire a substitute band made up entirely of union members. For three months, the Light Crust Doughboys band that recorded consisted of Al "Sleepy" Wesar (bass), Jake "Curly" Wright (guitar), Jim "Jack Perry" Jeffreys (announcer), Fred "Ezra" Casares (fiddle), Red "Knocky" Gillam (piano, accordion), Dick "Junior" Dyson (banjo), and Paul "Bashful" Blount (electric guitar, steel guitar).[1]

While the stand-in Doughboys were making recordings, the authentic Doughboys were making public appearances either as the Light Crust Doughboys, promoting Light Crust Flour, or as the Texo Hired Hands, selling Texo Feed, also a Burrus Mill product. Montgomery notes that as the Texo Hired Hands the band built quite a following. "A lot of old-timers would come up to us and say, 'Didn't you used to be with the Doughboys?'"[2] In fact, the band members never stopped being Doughboys. Montgomery explained, "We'd go out and play at a feed store as the Texo Hired Hands, then we'd go to the next town and play a grocery store where Light Crust Flour was sold, put on different uniforms, and be the Doughboys."[3]

In 1951, Burrus Mill hired Ted Gouldy to be the announcer for the Texo Hired Hands. Gouldy was known to Texas cattlemen through his articles for the *Fort Worth Star-Telegram* and a show called *Roundup Time* that he had hosted briefly on WBAP radio. At the time that the Doughboys/Texo Hired Hands joined forces with Gouldy, he was secretary and general manager of the Fort Worth Live Stock Market Institute. Early in 1951 Burrus Mill and Gouldy signed a contract with WBAP radio that put the Texo Hired Hands and Gouldy on the air every weekday from 12:00 to 12:45. *Roundup Time* with the addition of the Texo Hired Hands broadcast on WBAP-820 from a studio in the Livestock Exchange Building in Fort Worth.

The *Live Stock Weekly Reporter* for February 22, 1951, was enthusiastic about the return of *Roundup Time* with the addition of an outstanding western band.

Roundup Time offers 45 minutes of complete market reports and

fine music and will make your trip to Fort Worth a thrilling experience since names of visitors, names, weights and prices of livestock sold that day, etc., will be put on the air.[4]

Excited to be back in the radio spotlight, Gouldy outlined the benefits of his show to potential cattle producers.

There is only one kind of broadcast that gives the livestock producer the information he wants. He wants facts, while they are still news. He wants to know where the stock was from, who owned it, what it weighed, and what it brought.

He likes to hear details of what his neighbors' livestock did on the market and he likes to get this information at a time of day that it does him some good. By that I mean that he can get trucks and get loaded the afternoon after he hears the market if he wants to.

We know that most folks are near their radios, or can plan to be near them around the noon hour. We have rejected other times of day because they were not convenient for our livestock folks.

When the market is breaking you will know it immediately. When it is rising, you'll know it in time to take advantage of it.[5]

Another Texas newspaper of the time provided readers with personal information about Ted Gouldy and the Texo Hired Hands.

"Texo" Ted Gouldy is the popular master of ceremonies of the Texo Hired Hands' Program. Gouldy is well known to southwestern farmers and ranchers as livestock and market reporter for the *Fort Worth Star-Telegram* and WBAP. For a number of years, he has been identified with radio programs for Burrus Feed Mill. His wide and practical knowledge of livestock and poultry makes his suggestions on feeding and management of real value to livestock and poultry raisers.

If you have never seen "Texo Ted," the idea you have formed of his appearance is probably not far from reality; he is big, jolly, blue-eyed, has brown hair that curls a little, and wears a ten-gallon hat.

Another article of his "wearing apparel" is a cigar; one is always thrust into the corner of his mouth; he uses from six to a dozen cigars a day.

He likes to ride; in fact, he owns two horses: "Shorty," a little

> red animal, which was one of the best rodeo horses in the country, and was owned by the late Bob Crosby; and "Chief," a bulldogging horse.
>
> Ted and his wife, the former Rose Mary Gray of Young County, Texas, live in the edge of Fort Worth on a two-acre place that he calls "The Bar Nothing."
>
> Paul Parker [Paul Blount], personable young ballad singer, takes the vocal spotlight and he has captured the interest and affection of his listeners. Parker's singing of such numbers as "Please, Don't Let Me Love You," and popular new ballads brings him fan mail from every section where the show is heard.
>
> Every member of the Texo Hired Hands band is a top-flight musician, a star on his particular instrument. Marvin Montgomery, leader and manager, is considered one of the best banjo players in the Southwest; Hub Hubbard has all the skill of a championship fiddler; Judge Kidwell makes the big bass fiddle walk and talk and Lefty Perkins, master of the electric guitar, always attracts unusual attention with his left-handed playing of the instrument.[6]

The newspaper article quoted above also listed the stations on the Burrus TEXO Network that carried the Texo Hired Hands' daily radio show: WOAI in San Antonio, KPRC in Houston, KRGV in Weslaco, and KWKH in Shreveport. It also included a picture of the band members with their instruments. The Texo Hired Hands included most of the personnel of the Doughboys plus Paul Blount, one of the substitute union musicians during the 1948 musicians' union ban; Blount was the principal vocalist for the group. Although the Texo Hired Hands dressed like cowboys and represented the Texas cattle industry, their most requested songs were the popular ballads sung by Blount; these had no connection with the western image of the band.

In 1948, the Light Crust Doughboys/Texo Hired Hands assumed a third identity when they appeared on newly established WBAP-TV, September 22, 1948, as Mel Cox and the Flying X Ranch Hands. It is noteworthy that the band which was closely connected to the growth of WBAP radio and the first string band to perform in a movie was also the first musical group to appear on the first public television broadcast in Texas.

WBAP television began much as WBAP radio had, when Amon Carter

Sr., owner of Carter Publications, the *Fort Worth Star-Telegram*, and WBAP radio, began to fear that television might replace radio and the newspapers. In 1946, Harold Hough, manager of WBAP, and Abe Herman, attorney for Carter Publications, went to Princeton University for a meeting of the National Broadcasting Company's affiliates. There they heard David Sarnoff, chairman of the Radio Corporation of America, give a lecture in which he stated his belief that television was destined to become more important to the American people than either radio or newspapers. Hough and Herman rushed back to Fort Worth to confer with Carter. The thrust of Hough's argument was that if Carter would invest the money to build a television station, he would realize an incredible return. Carter had trusted Hough's hunch when radio was new and decided to do the same with television.

Carter Publications was not the first Texas business to apply for a permit to construct a television station—that distinction belonging to Interstate Circuit, Inc., of Dallas—but it was the first to have a television station up and running. After Carter Publications received a building permit on June 21, 1946, Hough and his associates began the lengthy task of selecting the site for the studio and transmitter, procuring the land, and building and equipping the studio. On June 20, 1948, two years after the permit was issued, WBAP-TV (Channel 5) provided a preview of television by means of a closed-circuit feed from its mobile unit to television sets in the Keystone Room of the Hotel Texas. While invited guests sat in the Keystone Room, the camera crew was set up in the Centennial Room of the hotel, with the mobile unit outside on the street. In Hough's introduction he described the night's entertainment as a "glimpse of the type of telecast that might be expected."[7] The musical entertainment for this first television broadcast was the Flying X Ranch Hands. On September 27, 1948, two days before the official opening of the station, WBAP-TV telecast by way of its remote unit the speech of President Harry S. Truman, who had stopped in Fort Worth as part of his reelection campaign. Some four hundred television receivers in the Dallas–Fort Worth area, many of them belonging to furniture dealers or made from kits, picked up Truman's address live from the Texas and Pacific Railway Terminal Building in Fort Worth. Montgomery played his banjo for that special telecast.[8]

The big event, the official beginning of regular broadcasting by WBAP-TV, took place on the evening of September 29, 1948. This first broad-

cast was not a technical victory; in fact, it was a technical nightmare. Witnesses to this first public broadcast reported:

> The building was 80 percent completed. Hallways were muddy pathways where workmen put planks so people could walk. There was a large opening at the top of the studio. Studio doors had not arrived. No linoleum or tile was on the floor. Concrete dust from unfinished floors rose and fell whenever someone walked. Dust settled on equipment and stung eyes and throats. Windows in the control room had no glass, and a large section of silver-painted cardboard served as a door. Weeks before, during a rainstorm, the staff had rushed to the station and thrown tarps over equipment standing under the unfinished roof. People walked through mud because parking lots were not finished.
>
> News people worked diligently off packing boxes and wooden planks in the prop room. Engineers had difficulty keeping equipment working. It overheated because the air conditioning was not working properly. The transmitter was over on the west side of the hall, and all cables running from the control room went through the basement, which was crowded with stacks of tin, tin covers, and vending machines. Only the remote cameras had arrived, so they were used in the studio. The RCA studio camera had not been built. One camera from the remote truck sat on a sawhorse in the west side of the studio because men were plastering on the east side. The staff built flats for sets in the garage or strung lights in the finished part of the studio, even though only enough lighting equipment had arrived for one side and the end of the studio.
>
> Nevertheless, it was September 29, 1948, and WBAP-TV, the first television station in the Southwest, was going on the air. At one minute before 7:00 P.M., Harold Hough seated himself at a desk. Amon Carter took off his Shady Oaks hat . . . and Frank Mills took his place before the microphone. "This is WBAP-TV, Fort Worth," Mills announced.
>
> A group of reporters from the Associated Press, United Press, International News Service, and the local newspapers, as well as correspondents from *Variety, Broadcasting,* and *Time* magazines watched from the Presidential Suite in the Worth Hotel. Local restaurants took reservations for television parties, and home set owners invited friends and neighbors over for the evening. De-

partment stores stayed open, serving refreshments to customers who came to watch.[9]

More than thirty years later, columnist Jack Gordon could still remember the excitement of that first night of television.

It was a very special night in Fort Worth. The city's first television station, then WBAP-TV, went on the air, bringing both entertainment and a rich new culture into homes.

Thousands of citizens were ready for the sensational new picture show, home-delivered. They had bought television sets weeks before in anticipation of what was to come.

And now that television had arrived, one excited housewife exclaimed: "I love it! There hasn't been such excitement at our house since we put in the door bell."

What was the first musical group to appear on Fort Worth television?

The first group of entertainers to appear on Fort Worth television was a western combo, the Flying X Ranch Hands.

On that special evening when Fort Worth's first TV screens came to life, the first person to appear on the tube was the late Amon Carter Sr., who, in an impressive speech, introduced the new medium.

And then, to demonstrate what this new concept of entertainment was all about, the Flying X Ranch Hands came on.[10]

The band that performed as the Flying X Ranch Hands on television in 1948 consisted of five of the new Light Crust Doughboys put together in 1945—Perkins, Cox, Montgomery, Kidwell, Hubbard—and a former Doughboy brought back to perform comedy routines with the Flying X Ranch Hands, John Bruce Pierce. Montgomery acquired a new nickname out of the television experience. Announcer Mel Cox was in the habit of pointing out to audiences that "Junior" could really "smoke" on the banjo. On that first television broadcast, Montgomery's fast-moving right hand was little more than a blur on the screen, and Cox inadvertently referred to him as "Smokey." The nickname has been with Montgomery ever since. Montgomery had little recollection of the band's first television performance, other than the mess that the studio was in and the seventeen-minute blackout

that occurred in the middle of the show. He did remember that he played a banjo solo on "The Bells of Saint Mary's."[11]

By December 1949, WBAP-TV was airing eighteen regular studio programs, one of which was the Flying X Ranch Hands, described as western music and comedy. Montgomery explained that the Ranch Hands were on the air three times a week and that their television show was formatted much like the Doughboys' radio show, with music, humorous banter among band members, and comedy skits.[12] Theirs was not the only musical show broadcast on a regular basis. Other programs included the *Melody Shop,* a program of musical comedy excerpts; *Rhythm and Romance,* with music performed by selected guests; *Vespers Hour,* with music by Fort Worth–area churches; *William Barclay Presents,* featuring staff organist Barclay and his musical guests; and *Your Song and Mine,* during which viewers telephoned in musical requests.[13]

In addition to their television work, the Flying X Ranch Hands also had a regular 11:45 A.M. radio show, Monday through Friday, on WBAP-570. Because the same group of musicians worked many jobs under different names it was impossible for them to maintain an identity as recording artists, radio personalities, and a stage act. They couldn't be two places at once, so it became necessary for other bands occasionally to substitute specifically to make transcriptions that were played on various radio stations. For example, in October 1949, country singer Slim Whitman performed with a band calling itself the Light Crust Doughboys during the making of transcriptions in Nashville. For these sessions, J. B. Brinkley returned to the band to play guitar. The other temporary Doughboys in Nashville were Jack Gibson (bass), Johnny Hicks (Jack Perry, announcer), Harold Bradley (guitar), and the Willis Brothers. Sometime Doughboy Red Gillam played accordion. This Doughboy band was strictly a recording band and made no personal appearances.

A similar situation occurred in 1952, when honky-tonk sensation Hank Thompson and members of his band temporarily became Doughboys in order to record transcriptions for Burrus Mill, which by this time had been bought out by the mega-agriculture conglomerate Cargill. Parker Willson, who owned an advertising agency in Fort Worth at the time, resumed his earlier role as announcer and flew from Fort Worth to Oklahoma City every two weeks for the recording sessions. For a brief time, sidemen from Thompson's band—Amos Headrick and

Bob White (fiddles), Pee Wee Whitewing (steel), Billy Gray (guitar), Gil Bock (piano), Paul McGee (drums), and Billy Stewart (bass)—were Light Crust Doughboys.

While stand-in bands were making transcriptions and recordings, the authentic Doughboys were maintaining a busy schedule of traveling and public appearances. Whether calling themselves the Light Crust Doughboys, the Texo Hired Hands, or the Flying X Ranch Hands, this was the nuclear group, consisting of Hubbard, Blount, Montgomery, Perkins, Kidwell, and newly hired announcer, Walter Hailey, who assumed the name Jack Perry, as customary. These are the players Montgomery discussed when asked about the post–World War II band. Montgomery had an endless supply of band stories about this group of musicians, which he still identified as his "drinking band." One of Montgomery's favorite stories described breaking in the new announcer, Walter Hailey, who joined the Doughboys in 1950.

> The first day he was on the program, I walked to him and said, "Walter, your fly is unzipped." Of course, he ran backstage and, sure enough, it wasn't. And so about three months later, we were doing a show down at Big Town Mall for a thousand people and it really was unzipped. I said, "Walter, your fly is unzipped," and he didn't pay much attention. Finally these women were in the front row giggling and looking at him and pointing, and he looked down and saw it was and he left that stage and didn't come back for the rest of the show, and I had to take over as announcer.
>
> Another time, we had an act where Carroll Hubbard pretended to be a chicken and lay an egg. We had a hard-boiled egg . . . and Walter would take it and throw it out to the audience. We slipped an egg in there that wasn't boiled and Walter threw it out and hit a girl wearing a fur coat, and it just spattered all over her. Walter said, "Oh, we'll pay for the cleaning," and that's the way we broke him in.[14]

Antics like these provided the comic relief that made it possible for a group of individuals to travel and work together closely for months and years at a time.

The rare occasions when hard feelings persisted among the band members occurred when someone broke the cardinal rule and tattled to Burrus Mill about the offstage behavior of band members. As the

announcer for the Texo Hired Hands, Ted Gouldy broke that rule, and the band members never forgave or forgot.

> It was on a trip for Burrus Feed . . . and the owner of the feed store took the band out to dinner after the show, and Gouldy kept laying the Jack Daniels up for those guys. They got real drunk and boisterous, and Lefty Perkins started dancing with the owner's wife and hitting on her. So when we got back to Fort Worth, Gouldy wrote a letter to the head of Burrus Mill saying the Hired Hands had been drinking too much. He was afraid he was going to get some repercussions from that owner. He was trying to save his own neck. He wrote this letter and the guys found out about it, and they really didn't care for him anymore. He was the main drinker, and he was furnishing the whiskey.[15]

Beginning in 1949, the Doughboys/Texo Hired Hands/Flying X Ranch Hands took on another regular job when they became the house band for *The Big "D" Jamboree.* Montgomery called this a "side job" and said, "When we weren't down in Kentucky or some place, Saturday night, we played the Big "D" Jamboree, for ten years or so, starting in 1949."[16] As the Big "D" Jamboree band, the ensemble assumed another new identity, the Country Gentlemen.

In 1952, Jim Boyd returned to the ranks of the Doughboys (Hired Hands, Flying X Ranch Hands, Country Gentlemen). Since leaving O'Daniel's Hillbilly Boys in 1942, Jim had been working in Dallas with his brother Bill Boyd's Cowboy Ramblers and with his own band, Men of the West. Jim referred to his band as "the finest musicians money could buy."[17] They played a regular Saturday night program, the *Saturday Night Shindig,* on station WFAA and were seen three times a week on WFAA's Channel 8 television. Men of the West was a versatile band that entertained with western swing standards, Sons of the Pioneers songs, popular tunes, and novelty skits. In their repertory and style, they were much like the Light Crust Doughboys. In addition, Jim worked as a network disc jockey and sold radio time. "If I had a pocket without any money in it, I would cut it off," he said. "I had pockets full of money all the time, new cars."[18]

Boyd's affiliation with WFAA ended bitterly in 1952, when he refused to relocate the Saturday night radio show to Fair Park Music Hall. He and the producer had other points of contention as well; they

could not agree on a format for the show, and the audience enthusiasm for it was declining, thanks to television. WFAA fired Jim Boyd, and suddenly his pockets were empty.

Always the entrepreneur, Boyd contacted Montgomery and negotiated a deal to combine their two bands. Actually, several of Jim's Men of the West were already playing in various of the Montgomery-led bands: fiddler Fred Casares, guitarist Jake Wright, accordionist Red Gillam, steel player and singer Paul Blount. Boyd slipped easily back into the Doughboy routine and added his considerable skills as guitarist, bassist, and vocalist. He continued to work with the Doughboys until his death in 1993.

In 1955, the *Coral and Brunswick D J Bulletin* announced: "Jamboree Artists Made Disc Debuts!"

> Recording director Bob Thiele has reached into the C&W market and come up with four acts that have a great chance of becoming top recording names. The four are: Helen Hall, a honey-blond songstress; Douglas Bragg, whose vocal and strumming talents make him a show-stopper; The Belew Twins, a sensational fifteen-year-old comedy and vocal duo; and a great C&W band, The Texas Stompers.
>
> All of these new Coral contractees are members of one of the most popular western music shows of the day—*The Big "D" Jamboree. The Big "D" Jamboree* is popular both as a radio and a road show. It is broadcast every Saturday night from 8:30 P.M. to midnight over station KRLD in Dallas, Texas. The first hour and a half of the show is also picked up by CBS for network airing.
>
> When on the road, *The Big "D" Jamboree* travels all over the Southwest. The radio and road shows both have the same cast. The man who emcees the proceedings is popular KRLD disc jockey Johnny Hicks, who with Ed McLemore, also owns *The Big "D" Jamboree.*
>
> The four acts that just signed with Coral all have their first discs out now. Helen Hall debuts with "Wasted Life" and "Honky Tonk Husband," Doug Bragg is heard on "Daydreamin'" and "The Texas Special," The Belew Twins add the comic note with "Beware of Speedy Gonzales" and "She Waded in the Water," and The Texas Stompers swing into "Double Eagle Stomp" and "Pine Apple Push."[19]

The recording band that called itself the Texas Stompers combined the bands of Montgomery's Country Gentlemen and Boyd's Men of the West.

Considering the number of jobs the Doughboys worked under various names and the continuing demand for their presence in public appearances, it makes sense that there were often two traveling bands, both called the Light Crust Doughboys. A picture of a Doughboy band that toured several southern states in 1954 includes musicians who were not regulars, along with two who were: Paul Bushkirk (banjo), Perkins (electric guitar), Buddy Brady (fiddle), Jimmy Collie (guitar, vocal), Hailey (announcer). The personnel of the Doughboys continued to fluctuate throughout the 1950s and 1960s, and included at various times Artie Glenn (bassist and composer of the popular ballad "Crying in the Chapel"), fiddler Jimmy Brown (who substituted briefly for Hubbard), Ken Cobb (bass), Ronnie Dawson (guitar), Johnny Strawn (fiddle), Gary Xavier (piano), Burny Annett (piano), and Bill Simmons (piano).

Television brought an end to America's love affair with radio, and in 1952 the Doughboys went off the air. By this time their program was carried on the 170-station Dixie Network, which reached almost every location south of the Mason-Dixon Line. Personnel added to the band for the radio programs included Ray Plegans playing electric organ, Leon Payne singing, and radio disc jockey Dan Valentine (Jack Perry) as announcer. Montgomery remembered those last shows.

> We did that show five days a week, and the mill sponsored us three days . . . The other two days it was just electric organ [Plegans], me on guitar, Paul Blount on steel, and we had Leon, the blind mug, Leon Payne doing the singing. He'd come up from San Antonio and I'd pick him up at the airport and he'd do the singing on these transcriptions.[20]

So busy were the members of the Doughboy band that their radio show was carried on by transcriptions rather than live.

When the radio show was canceled, the Doughboys continued to represent Burrus Mill on a part-time basis in public appearances at shopping centers, rodeos, and the State Fair of Texas, on occasional television shows, and on several recording projects. By the late 1960s the band stabilized around a nucleus of players that included Jim Boyd (bass, guitar, vocal), John Strawn (fiddle), Marvin Montgomery (banjo),

Burny Annett (piano), and Jerry Elliott (electric guitar). In 1975, the *Dallas Times Herald* announced, "The Doughboys Ride Again."

> The Doughboys disbanded a few years back and the surviving members went their separate ways. But a few weeks back Dallas' Smokey Montgomery, who joined the band in 1935, decided to get the Doughboys back together again at about the same time Parker Willson, Jr., whose dad was also a Light Crust Doughboy emcee, organized the new Cowtown Jamboree in Fort Worth.
>
> "Why not get the Doughboys as regulars on the Jamboree," said Willson, who contacted Montgomery and asked him if the band would be interested in appearing on the Friday night shows.
>
> Montgomery, who is also with Ed Bernet and Sumet-Bernet Recording Sound of Dallas, had been planning to reorganize the band for some time and had contacted remaining members of the group to see if they were willing to go back to work.
>
> "The idea came up when Burrus Mill approached me about doing a series of TV and radio spots for them using the Doughboys," says Montgomery. "This was a few weeks before the jamboree plan came up. Everything seemed to point in the same direction, so I agreed."
>
> The veteran musician says that there will be five members instead of the usual six in the band, all of whom have played with the Doughboys at one time or another. "Most of the original Doughboys are gone now and so we asked people who had subbed with the group or who had played with us in later years."
>
> In addition to playing at the Friday night shows in Fort Worth, which will be held at the Will Rogers Auditorium, the band will also be taking on special dates, like an upcoming three-day road tour with Buck Owens and his group.
>
> "We won't be playing supermarket openings or taking many club dates like we used to," he said. "Our music will be the old tunes, like 'Under the Double Eagle.' We'll leave the new stuff to the kids."[21]

Of course, the Doughboys had reorganized shortly after World War II, not in the last few weeks as the newspaper article claimed, but the band had been less visible as the Light Crust Doughboys because of the variety of jobs and names they had assumed since the end of World War II.

Ironically, the one Doughboy who had been somewhat disassoci-

ated from the band for much of the 1960s was Montgomery, who in 1961 began working steadily at the Levee Club in Dallas with the Levee Singers and Orchestra, for which he wrote arrangements. The Levee Club was owned and operated by Ed Bernet, who started it after he left the Air Force in 1959 and returned to his Dallas home. Bernet spoke about his club and Montgomery's part in it in an interview:

> I had played banjo with a Dixieland band, The Cell Block Seven, as a student at SMU. I began a small nightclub on Mockingbird Lane in Dallas . . . and featured Dixieland on Friday and Saturday nights. We decided to have banjos on weeknights, patterned after The Red Garter in San Francisco. Smokey had been my idol since high school days, when my family watched him with the Flying X Ranch Hands on the first TV broadcasts in Texas, on WBAP-TV. Happily for me, someone invited him to come to Dallas from Fort Worth and join us on a particular night. He liked it, we loved him, so it turned into a forty-year friendship.
>
> The Levee evolved into the most popular small music club in Dallas during the 1960s, with its banjos, country and western, old-time sing-a-long, rock-a-billy, and audience participation. Our group became the Levee Singers, and appeared on several network TV shows and many dates across the country for conventions, etc. Smokey was always our music-person. He did arrangements, was spectacular on banjo solos, and was always such a popular member of our Levee Singers.
>
> The club held about 180 persons at long, red-table-clothed tables. We drew over one million people to that small place during the 1960s, many of whom came time after time, for many years. It was always known as THE place to take friends who were visiting Dallas, because the music was great and exciting, the prices were reasonable, the people were friendly, and it was a "happy" place to spend an evening.
>
> When liquor by the drink laws were passed, many more restaurants and clubs were then able to support live entertainment, so the situation changed pretty abruptly. We were all ready to decide to do something else by that time, after ten years, so it was a happy ending to a wonderful Dallas institution, and many great memories for many people.
>
> Smokey and I had started a recording studio several years before,

> so our close association continued until I sold the studio in 1997. After that, until the time of his death, I talked with him and saw him each week several times, booking one of his several bands for various engagements. He worked literally up to the last few days of his life. I've never known of a man that worked harder at doing what he loved doing than Smokey. The best part is that the last ten years of his life were his happiest and most productive.[22]

While he was heavily involved in the club and its operations, Montgomery relinquished the management of the Doughboys and participated only as an occasional sideman.

In 1977 Montgomery and the other then-current Light Crust Doughboys were summoned to Austin to receive Senate Resolution No. 463, recognizing all the Doughboys, past and present, as significant contributors to Texas history and Texas music. In 1981, Burrus Mill commissioned a Doughboys' religious memories album and a fiftieth-anniversary album, both of which were recorded at Sumet Sound Studio, of which Montgomery was co-owner.

The Light Crust Doughboys, 50 Years of Texas Style Music, 1931–1981 (DR-1003-LPS) was a sampler of music performed by the Doughboys and other western bands, primarily during the 1930s and 1940s. Several of the numbers were first recorded by Bob Wills and His Texas Playboys: "San Antonio Rose," "Sugar Moon," "Faded Love," and the instrumental "Big Beaver." Doughboy favorites like "Beautiful Texas" and Stuart Hamblen's 1934 song "My Mary" were performed on the album, which also included an up-tempo rag, "Lone Star Rag," and traditional songs like "Red River Valley." Commercial country songs, "Hang Your Head in Shame," "Fraulein," "Home in San Antone," and "Bandera Waltz" rounded out the album. Additional musicians hired for this recording effort were Maurice Anderson (steel), Jim Belkins (fiddle), Steve Bayless (bass, electric bass), and Dale Cook (drums).[23]

In February 1983, Montgomery was interviewed for an Amarillo newspaper and reported,

> "Today, we make about 50 to 60 appearances annually and are selling 250 Golden Anniversary and religious music albums a week through a coupon offer on the back of the white, light blue, and red Light Crust packages. They sold more Light Crust Flour than ever before and they think it's partly because of the albums."[24]

In conjunction with the Texas Sesquicentennial in 1986, Burrus Mill commissioned another album from the Doughboys, 150 *Years of Texas Country Music* (DR-1004). The album was laid out along chronological lines and included songs that represented important chapters in Texas history—the war for independence from Mexico, cattle drives and cowboys, house dances and dance halls. The liner notes described Texas music in terms of the immigrant groups who came to Texas—Mexicans, the British, Cajuns, Germans and Slavs, African Americans—and their musical contributions.

This album was also recorded at Sumet Sound Studios in Dallas, and produced by Montgomery. The new regular Doughboy pianist was Bill Simmons, who continues to work with the band today. Additional musicians hired for the recording sessions, August 6, 7, 17, and 21, 1985, were Elden Graham (acoustic bass), Marc Jaco (electric bass), Maurice Anderson (steel), Dale Cook (drums), Phil Strawn (five-string banjo), and Gary Murray (announcer).

The album began like an old Doughboys' radio broadcast, with the theme song. Side one included older material, for example, "The Yellow Rose of Texas" and "Old Joe Clark." The Doughboys treated "Old Joe Clark" as a breakdown, featuring Johnny Strawn on fiddle and his son, Phil, playing five-string banjo. Side one also featured the Doughboys vocal trio and quartet performing several western numbers: "When the Bloom Is on the Sage," by composers Fred Howard and Nat Vincent from 1930; "Texas in My Soul," composed in 1947 by Ernest Tubb and Zeb Turner; "Tumbling Tumble Weed," written in 1934 by Bob Nolan; and from Texas songwriter Cindy Walker, "You're From Texas." Side one also included Jimmie Rodgers' "Waiting for a Train," with his famous blue yodel sung by Jim Boyd.

Side two of the Sesquicentennial album was devoted to more contemporaneous, commercial country songs that had been hits for Nashville recording artists: "If You're Gonna Play in Texas, You Gotta Have a Fiddle in the Band," "Amarillo by Morning," "Does Fort Worth Ever Cross Your Mind?" and "Texas When I Die." For these pop-country numbers the Doughboys replaced the acoustic with electric bass and added steel guitar and drums. The Doughboys revisited their own jazz roots in their rendition of "In the Mood," an instrumental made nationally and internationally popular by Glenn Miller's orchestra. For many years, Montgomery had written songs that the Doughboys recorded and performed live, so it was only fitting that the band record

one of his songs on the Sesquicentennial album. "Sure 'Nuf Texas" was Iowa-native Montgomery's pledge of allegiance to his adopted state. Finally, the euphoria of post–World War II America and the style of western swing were revisited in "Across the Alley from the Alamo."[25]

It is amazing that despite the passage of time and changes in personnel, the Doughboys' sound in these two albums is much as it had been in their glory years—spare, uncomplicated, and usually in a pronounced 2/4 meter. The addition of drums did not obscure Montgomery's banjo playing, still the backbone of the Doughboys' rhythm section. Nor did the steel guitar thicken the harmony, because Anderson chorded lightly in the background or played single-string melodies as fills. And both Burny Annett and Bill Simmons approached playing the piano melodically, without overbalancing the bass and obliterating the rhythm. For the fiftieth-anniversary album, the Doughboys re-created many aspects of their 1930s and 1940s recordings, including harmonizing twin fiddles and vocal trios and quartets. The Sesquicentennial album leaned more toward the post–World War II Doughboys band, which more often featured a single fiddle player.

The outstanding cuts from both albums are those that allowed for improvised solo choruses and solid swing rhythm. Deserving special recognition in this regard are two instrumental numbers from the 50 *Years of Texas Music* album, "Big Beaver" and "Lone Star Rag," and the most interesting cut from the 150 *Years of Texas Country Music* album, "In the Mood." The Doughboys' sound remained distinctive and recognizable through the 1980s, due in large part to the arranging skills of Montgomery.

Another chapter in the history of the Light Crust Doughboys came to an end in 1988, when the Martha White company bought out the Light Crust name and took Light Crust Flour off the market. Up to that time, Burrus Mill had continued to sponsor the Doughboys. Montgomery said, "They bought our uniforms and stuff. Maybe they'd only use us two or three times a year and pay us. They'd buy our new coats, blazers, and pants and shirts."[26]

From the time Martha White absorbed and then canceled Light Crust Flour, the Doughboys have had no official sponsor; still they continue to perform. They are today a piece of living Texas music history, but not a museum piece. The Light Crust Doughboys continue to grow and change, and are now, at the turn of the century, experiencing a renaissance.

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CHAPTER SIX

The New Golden Age

A band organized in 1931 and still performing today is of great historical interest, but can it be commercially successful? Can it still sell recordings and draw audiences? Apparently so, for the Light Crust Doughboys have entered a new glory period, and an audience for their music exists despite the ages of most of the musicians. In 2000, octogenarian banjoist and coproducer Smokey Montgomery insisted that the Doughboys had never been busier.

The nucleus of the present group is its five-piece string ensemble, led until his death by the tireless and still-virtuoso Montgomery. Speaking of Montgomery in 1998, coproducer Art Greenhaw commented on his achievements and talents with a hint of awe:

> He's probably noted throughout the world as the person who introduced Dixieland jazz banjo into western swing. He has a lot of plaques and awards that say that, and he's certainly so much more than a banjo player. He attacks our music from a real aggressive rhythm standpoint. A lot of people who hear the recordings ask who the drummer is and we have no drummer on a lot of them. It's Smokey, and he does those wonderful progressive chords where he walks up the fret board.

> I can't imagine anybody fitting in with the Doughboys and being as important as he is. He doesn't play bluegrass and he doesn't play five-string banjo with a drone. It's just a real neat four-string rhythmic jazz kind of banjo. I equate him to the great Freddie Green, who was guitarist for Count Basie for many years.[1]

Concerning pianist Bill Simmons, who joined the Doughboys before the 1986 150 *Years of Texas Country Music* recording sessions, Greenhaw said,

> Bill Simmons plays jazz-oriented piano and is also steeped in pop and rock 'n' roll. So he's got a great style with all these complex chords. One reason why we don't incorporate a lot of steel guitar with our band for recording purposes is because Bill is so proficient doing those inverted, augmented chords that can occasionally conflict with a steel guitarist. Bill is phenomenal, not only as a rhythm player, but also as a lead player, and we count on him for a lot of leads in our music.[2]

Guitarist Jerry Elliott has been with the Doughboys since the 1970s and brings a unique style of guitar playing to the group. Greenhaw calls Elliott's approach "a real percussive, staccato style. He plays with a different attack than I've ever heard any electric guitarist play. He has been playing electric guitar since the 1940s, and he is so versatile in the ad-lib head type arrangements of western swing music."[3]

The current violinist, John Walden, continues the Doughboy tradition of hot fiddle players. According to Greenhaw,

> Everything has its place, but we have a more aggressive approach . . . music that has a lot of interesting things going, a little bit more aggressive vocals, more notes, more variety of sounds, more excitement. Our violin player, a fantastic instrumentalist, plays very aggressively.
>
> In rock 'n' roll music they talk about power players. But maybe our western swing musicians were the first power players in the history of country and folk music where you get up there and really play. You play the power chords, the more aggressive style. Our fiddler plays very aggressive rhythm on his leads with a lot of notes, and he's a little bit more concerned with technique than with a real sweet sound.[4]

Greenhaw himself has been playing bass with the Doughboys since Jim Boyd's death in 1993. His musical perspective is clear from his statements above: he prefers heavy, emphatic rhythm and complicated harmonies. Since he also coproduces the Doughboys, it is reasonable to assume that his musical tastes have affected the Doughboys' sound.

As the son of a public school music teacher, Art Greenhaw grew up in a musical family. He received formal instruction in piano but as a teenager picked up the guitar and began to focus on rock, acquiring his first band experience in the rock bands he organized and played in. Greenhaw understands that, in Texas, western swing was one of the important musical influences for rock musicians, and thus he has always felt a natural affinity for the western swing band, which the Doughboys can be if the occasion demands.

Greenhaw first made contact with the Doughboys in 1983 when he was one of the organizers of the Texas Music Festival in Mesquite. Since Greenhaw had grown up knowing about the Doughboys, he thought it natural to book them for the festival's western swing night.

> I had always looked upon the Doughboys as folk heroes. My grandmother's best friend was the mother of a famous Light Crust Doughboy announcer, Walter Hailey. He was announcer for the Doughboys from maybe 1949 through the early fifties, and still works with us to this day.[5]

On the night the Doughboys performed at the Mesquite festival, Greenhaw was amazed by the enthusiasm with which the crowd greeted these older professionals and their swinging music. He recalls, "A little lightbulb went off in my mind that this is not only a historic group, but this group can stand up with any current group and be as with it and as cool."[6]

During the 1980s Greenhaw earned his living as a music producer, and he began booking the Doughboys for various jobs he thought worthy of them. Montgomery and Greenhaw combined their two bands in January 1993 to provide entertainment for a hardware convention in Arlington, Texas. Again, a lightbulb started to go on in Greenhaw's mind. He decided,

> I really need to pursue this connection with the Light Crust Doughboys in earnest. So I wrote Smokey a letter outlining some

possibilities of us recording together. And they agreed to my proposal and we did this recording, *Texas Swing the Light Crust Doughboys' Way,* which we're still using cuts from, and redoing the cuts and things like that.

In the meantime, between January and when we started recording, Jim Boyd went down rapidly and passed away in March or April, so that left the opening for a bass player. They [the Doughboys] did some performances without bass, and then when I got real comfortable with them, I just slid in on bass.[7]

Greenhaw's experience as a rock guitarist has affected his bass playing. He usually plays with a pick, a feature more common to rock bassists than to jazz, country, or western swing players, though Jim Boyd sometimes used a pick as well. Greenhaw brings great variety to the Doughboys' bass position: "I just have that rock 'n' roll approach with a lot of extra notes and a lot of syncopation. I do a lot of different things and even solos on the bass."[8] His approach changed the bass sound of the Doughboys rhythm section; the bass, before always supportive, now is more melodic and noticeable, as in rock music. Although half the age of the other Doughboys, Greenhaw admits he has to work hard to keep up with them.

Greenhaw not only wanted to be a Doughboy, he wanted to propel the band into another glory period, something he felt he could best accomplish by experimenting with different sound possibilities in the band arrangements. To this end he incorporated a horn section with the Doughboys' strings. The idea of combining horns with strings in a western swing band is not new—around 1940 Bob Wills had a complete horn section, and other groups have used one or two horns on a regular basis—but the Light Crust Doughboys had always used string instruments only.

For those who have followed the Doughboys for years, the presence of horns poses a substantial problem, which Greenhaw acknowledges.

It seems like a lot of the clients just want that Doughboy sound, that string-band swing sound, and therefore, we haven't been able to use the horns as much as I would like to. But we definitely use them every time we play the Pocket Sandwich Theater [a dinner theater in Dallas]. . . . We did a performance at the J J Blues Bar in Fort Worth, and they wanted a strictly blues show. . . . We did

the first set Doughboys, and the second set Doughboys with horns.[9]

Most of the four jazz-seasoned players in the Doughboys' horn section are musicians Montgomery worked with on Dixieland jazz jobs. Trumpet player John Anderson played in Stan Kenton's orchestra. Clarinet-saxophone wizard Bob Krenkel corresponded at length with the legendary John "Knocky" Parker and is steeped in the earlier Dixieland jazz tradition. Bud Dresser, who plays trombone and a hybrid instrument called the flugabone, has had less professional jazz experience than the rest but is, nonetheless, an excellent musician who works well in the band. The sweet-sounding euphonium is played by Greenhaw's father, Frank Wesley Greenhaw.

Greenhaw explains how the horns interact with the strings on those occasions when they are incorporated into the band:

> We have some full arrangements we've worked out for our recording sessions that integrate the horn musicians completely in the whole piece. A lot of our new material seems to be working well. We'll let the horns take a chorus or two. If we're doing something like "Miss Molly," then the string players all take a hot chorus. So it just gives that extra texture in there, and they approach it like lead instruments.
>
> They might do one Dixieland chorus or something on the end, or we'll write parts for them. All the Doughboys will be playing our standard hit arrangements like on "Faded Love," and it'll be all string band, but we'll leave one or two openings for choruses where we'll have written parts for horns. A lot of times it will be parts for four horns so that it sounds contemporary, a lot of sixth and ninth chords and things like that so it's pretty funky sounding.
>
> Then again, we'll take a relatively new tune like "High Road" or "Texas Women" or "Hangin' Around Deep Ellum," and we'll adapt those to our four horn players, which means that they basically play from start to finish, and they're doing little fills and different things like that. Occasionally, just to make the string fans happy, we'll do some interesting things like clarinet and muted trumpet just so people won't hear the blaring horn sound and might even think it's strings.[10]

The addition of horns does alter the Doughboys' sound considerably. Those accustomed to the Doughboys as a string band will be shocked by their cassettes and compact discs released since 1993. On the other hand, listeners looking for something new and different will find the Doughboys with horn section delightful.

In 1993 the expanded Doughboys' band plus a few additional musicians recorded and released the two-volume cassette set titled *Texas Swing the Light Crust Doughboy Way.*[11] The players for these recording sessions were Bill Simmons (piano), Jerry Elliott (electric guitar), John Strawn (electric mandolin, fiddle), Jim Baker (fiddle), John Walden (fiddle), Marvin Montgomery (banjo), Art Greenhaw (electric bass), Thomas Miller (bass), Bob Venable (drums), Bob Krenkel (tenor saxophone, clarinet), Bud Dresser (trombone, flugabone), and John Anderson (trumpet). Art Greenhaw, Jamie Shipman, and Janet McBride handled the vocals. The rather large aggregate of players made possible intricate arrangements and some unusual combinations of fiddle lead with horns and solo trumpet or clarinet lead with strings. It also facilitated a diverse repertory of materials, including western swing standards, popular ballads, commercial country songs, honky-tonk numbers, cowboy tunes, big-band swing arrangements, and hymns and spirituals.

Bob Wills had a deep appreciation for horn jazz and would have approved the Doughboys' arrangement of his "San Antonio Rose," which features the four harmonizing horns on the introduction and later in a Dixieland-style accompaniment to the last sung verse. In fact, Wills himself released a recording of "San Antonio Rose" that was heavily arranged for horns. For "Secret Love" the Doughboys came up with a big-band swing arrangement that contrasted the string and wind sections, much as big horn bands had contrasted reed and brass sections.

In the honky-tonk heartbreaker "Your Cheating Heart," Krenkel devised a solo clarinet countermelody that perfectly matched the singer. The arrangement also features solo trumpet and the four horns together in a Dixieland-style chorus, followed by a solo piano chorus supported by intricate electric guitar fills. The main spiritual number on volume one, "Just a Closer Walk," revolves around the solo clarinet playing of Krenkel, whose approach was reminiscent of the great New Orleans clarinetists, from Johnny Dodds and Jimmy Noone to Pete Fountain.

Volume two of the cassette set offers even more Doughboy sur-

prises. The long-popular "Pine Top Boogie" still centers on boogie-woogie piano but includes a chorus arranged as a dialogue between horn and string sections. "Crying in the Chapel" receives new color treatment with the clarinet taking the lead over string background. The arrangement of "Betcha My Heart" gives everybody a solo chorus but also introduces several interesting color combinations, such as solo fiddle behind the singer, piano backing a vocal yodel, harmonizing fiddles, and harmonizing horns. "Time Changes Everything" includes two horn ensemble choruses, the first with a mariachi flavor and the second in a Dixieland style. "No Vacancy" experiments with the singer accompanied by a variety of instruments: harmonizing strings, harmonizing horns, solo guitar, solo horn, strings and horns.

"The World Is Waiting for the Sunrise" reveals how tightly the ensemble worked through tempo and key changes. This song is also Montgomery's virtuoso banjo vehicle. "When It's Roundup Time in Heaven" again focuses on the clarinet, which plays the introduction, a solo chorus, and joins the other horns in backing the vocalist. The bass also has a solo on the bridge of this song. Finally, the Roy Rogers and Dale Evans television theme song, "Happy Trails," acquires a completely new sound in the Doughboy rendition, with horns playing the introduction and backing the singers and solo choruses featuring piano and guitar and fiddle and clarinet duets.

When Greenhaw joined the Doughboys as bass player, singer, and coproducer in 1993, he set into motion a plan through which the Doughboys would receive much deserved recognition and create for themselves a new golden age. That plan has resulted in the Doughboys' making frequent appearances in theaters throughout Texas and Oklahoma. Greenhaw explained, "We're not a club act. We're not a stadium act, but we do fill nice theaters, 1,000- to 2,000-seat theaters in Victoria, Gilmer, all these small and medium market cities. We perform in El Paso for several thousand people in folk festivals and things like that."[12]

Greenhaw has also organized some unusual performance and recording opportunities for the Doughboys, one of which led to a Grammy nomination. *James Blackwood and the Light Crust Doughboys, Keep Lookin' Up,* produced by Greenhaw, Montgomery, and James Blackwood, was nominated in the gospel category in 1998. Greenhaw first worked with James Blackwood in 1983, when he booked Blackwood and his quartet for a gospel night during the same Mesquite Folk Festival at which he also scheduled the Doughboys. In Greenhaw's opinion, the

recording project that married gospel-great Blackwood to the western swing pioneer Doughboys was inevitable. In his liner notes for the compact disc, Greenhaw enumerates the similarities that made Blackwood and the Doughboys natural recording partners.

> Both the Light Crust Doughboys and Mr. Blackwood enjoyed early success in radio's golden age, and both got their start during the Great Depression—the Blackwood Brothers in rural Choctaw County, Mississippi, the Doughboys in Fort Worth, Texas. The Light Crust Doughboys' popular daily radio program created a demand for a network of radio stations throughout Texas and Oklahoma, among them WBAP and KTAT, Fort Worth; WOAI, San Antonio; KPRC, Houston; and KOMA, Oklahoma City. The show became one of the most listened-to radio programs in the Southwest, and by the 1940s, the Light Crust Doughboys broadcast over 170 stations. The Blackwood Brothers Quartet broadcast daily from KMA Radio in Shenandoah, Iowa, during the 1940s, eventually reaching 27 states and three Canadian provinces. Then, an offer by WMPS radio in Memphis to James and the Quartet brought the Boys back home to their Southland roots in the summer of 1950. Ultimately, the Blackwoods' music was heard twice daily on station WMPS (live) and transcribed to over 110 stations throughout the South.[13]

Other similarities existed between the Blackwood Brothers and the Doughboys. For example, they shared a flour connection. The sponsor for the Blackwood Brothers' 1950s television program was Dixie Lily Flour, and, of course, the Doughboys advertised for Light Crust Flour from 1930 to 1988. For a brief period both groups were based in Texas. The Blackwood Brothers traveled as the Blackwood Brothers Stamps Quartet, under the guidance of V. O. and Frank Stamps' organization in Dallas. The two groups even shared a repertory. Though not a gospel ensemble, the Doughboys often performed sacred songs, including Stamps-Baxter gospel songs, on their radio programs, and for many years they hosted a completely religious music broadcast once a week. Marvin Montgomery's sheet music collection, which he donated to the Barker American History Center at the University of Texas in Austin, contains Stamps-Baxter gospel music publications dating from 1937 to 1947 from which the Doughboys worked. Clearly, there were

many reasons for James Blackwood and the Doughboys to combine their efforts, for as Greenhaw concluded, "the musicians on this album share much of the same roots and repertoire."[14]

The musicians who worked on the recording project were James Blackwood (vocal), Montgomery (banjo, guitar), Simmons (piano), Elliott (electric guitar), Walden and Baker (fiddles), and Greenhaw (bass). Additional vocal work was provided by Greenhaw, Elliott, and the East Gate Mass Choir from Dallas. This band was for the most part the basic Doughboy string band backing the legendary gospel singer James Blackwood. Age robbed Blackwood of his breath support and added an extra bit of vibrato to his voice, but it did not diminish his ability to deliver lyrics powerfully and expressively.

Keep Lookin' Up is a collection of old and new gospel songs. Blackwood and the Doughboys swing on older numbers like "The Unclouded Day," "This World Is Not My Home," "Life's Railway to Heaven," and "Washed in the Blood." Simmons plays impressive gospel piano on the album, which is not surprising given his personal connection with the Blackwood Brothers. Before becoming a Doughboy, Simmons led a big band in Memphis and was staff pianist for Eddie Hill's *High Noon Roundup,* which, in the 1950s, sometimes featured the Blackwood Brothers Quartet.[15]

Several of the songs on this album were written by members of the band. Greenhaw contributed the title song, "Keep Lookin' Up," and one other, "The Chair that Never Got Mended." Montgomery and his songwriting wife, Barbara Cohen, arranged "That's the Way It Used to Be," a medley of revival songs, and "When All God's Children Go Marching In," built on "When the Saints Go Marching In." They also composed "Six Days," a speech-song about the creation, and "Lord, Take All of Me," a contemporary Christian ballad that is the best of their collaborations on this album.

Greenhaw referred to *Keep Lookin' Up* as the "pioneering gospel swing" album and noted that it competed with several "real heavy hitters" for the 1998 Grammy award. The album that won, *Amazing Grace: A Tribute to Country Gospel,* Volume 2, involved Nashville artists like Billy Ray Cyrus and was the sequel to the album that had won the gospel category in 1997. Though they did not win the Grammy, Blackwood and the Doughboys were delighted with the nomination and were encouraged to attempt other gospel collaborations.

During 1997, the Doughboys participated in another cooperative re-

cording effort, entitled *The High Road on the Hilltop,* this time joining up with the youthful, exuberant Southern Methodist University Mustang Band. In order to complete the recording sessions and create quality music, the participants had to move beyond age and musical style differences, and even city and school conflicts. Montgomery had attended Texas Christian University in Fort Worth and remembered that

> TCU and SMU were very competitive. As a matter of fact, if you even mentioned SMU on the TCU campus you had to immediately wash your mouth out with soap. Football was in [during the late 1930s and early 40s]—Sammy Baugh, Doak Walker, Ed Bernet, to mention a few [of the players]. Never in my wildest imagination did I dream that almost 60 years later the SMU Mustang Band and the Light Crust Doughboys would be recording some of my music that I wrote in the 30s and 40s for the Light Crust Doughboys radio programs. But now the dream that I never had has come true.[16]

The collaboration between the Doughboys and Southern Methodist University came through Greenhaw, who had studied in Southern Methodist University's piano preparatory division as a child and later earned a bachelor's degree in political science from that institution. Greenhaw's father, Frank, also earned a degree from SMU and from 1941 to 1945 was student director of the Mustang Band. Given this two-generation connection to Southern Methodist University, it was a simple matter for Greenhaw to arrange the recording sessions that brought together two disparate entities, the Doughboys and the Mustang Band, in an experimental creative endeavor. The sessions did have their tense moments, as Montgomery related in his liner notes for the album.

> On Tuesday night, April 15, 1997, I walked into Studio A at Sumet Sound to find the Mustang Band and the Light Crust Doughboys all set up to do the first recording session for this album. Tommy Tucker, the band arranger, took a big stack of music from his beat-up brief case and passed it around to the musicians. Then Dave Kehler, the conductor, stepped up to the podium and, with an iron fist, rehearsed "Doughboy Parade." Then we recorded the first cut.
>
> As this was the first recording session for many of the student musicians, they did not realize the sensitivity of the microphones, and on playback we heard a little bit of chit-chat in the

> background. Chuck Ebert, the recording engineer, explained about the "hot mikes" and the second cut was okay, but I had Chuck save the talking cut for me. I plan to use it as blackmail income in my later years, if ever I find out which of the French horn players was doing the talking. I must say that, from then on, the students handled themselves very professionally.[17]

The Mustang Band and the Light Crust Doughboys created a professional, and in many respects, exciting album despite their differences in age and musical style. The entire Doughboy band, with horns, played on this recording. Tommy Tucker, assistant director of the Mustang Band, wrote arrangements that both integrated strings and horns and featured each group of instruments in exciting displays of sound and virtuosity.

Several of the numbers on the album were composed by Montgomery in the 1930s and 1940s: the instrumental march "Doughboy Parade," the virtuoso banjo piece "Smokey's Smoke," the comic vocal "Pussy, Pussy, Pussy," and the combination instrumental-and-spoken number "That's All Brother, Sit Down." Greenhaw wrote three of the songs recorded: "High Road," "Texas Women," and "Hangin' 'Round Deep Ellum."

The album revisited the past through a selection of traditional numbers: "Bonaparte's Retreat," with words added by Jerry Elliott; "You Are My Sunshine," which featured the Doughboys' vocal trio; "Sugar Blues," which highlighted the trumpet work of John Anderson; "The World Is Waiting for the Sunrise," a vehicle for Montgomery's banjo playing; and Ernest Tubb's "Texas in My Soul," here sung by Elliott.

Pianist Bill Simmons put on a jazz piano display in "Spaghetti Rag" and "M-I-S-S-I-P-P-I." The Mustang Band played a medley of themes from movie and television westerns, including *The Magnificent Seven, The Big Valley, Davey Crockett, The Life and Legend of Wyatt Earp, Gunsmoke,* and *Bonanza,* then finished with "Varsity," the Southern Methodist University school song.

The High Road on the Hilltop is a time capsule, a piece of Texas music history, and also a laboratory experiment in music education. Greenhaw described the value of this project primarily in terms of educating present-day musicians to a musical past that is still alive. He also hoped that it would help create a younger audience for the Doughboys and their style of music.

During 1998 the Doughboys received more invitations for public performances and acquired two new large-scale projects. Mel Bay Publications contracted with the Doughboys to publish a collection of their best-known songs, a kind of do-it-yourself Doughboy primer. Both Montgomery and Greenhaw viewed the book as a significant move toward preserving and spreading the Doughboys' musical heritage. It also signaled recognition for the contributions of the Doughboys to Texas music.

The second major project of 1998 again combined two unlikely artistic partners—the Lone Star Ballet Company of Amarillo and the Light Crust Doughboys—on a collaborative effort resulting in live performances and a compact disc, *God Bless Amarillo (And All the Cowboys, Too).* A press release issued by the ballet company stated:

> The Lone Star Ballet has a history of community service and innovative programming. Not only does this company present major works of their own, but they bring a wide array of "live" talent to the high plains area.
>
> Committed to the concept that the arts enrich life and develop imagination, taste, and judgment in those who are involved in their development, the Lone Star Ballet undertakes programs in the state of Texas. Performing for schools, churches, nursing homes, civic organizations, merchandisers, community presenters, and other art groups, the company has done much to add substance and texture to thousands of lives.
>
> Residing in a Texas community where cowboy influences are a reality and respect for ranch life is legend, the ballet performs many western theme dance pieces and is known for their expertise in presenting such works.
>
> When Neil Hess, Director of the Lone Star Ballet, heard through the Texas Commission on the Arts that the Light Crust Doughboys, renowned for western swing music, was on the Cultural Connection roster, he immediately called Art Greenhaw, composer, artist, and manager of the band, to explore the possibility of a joint performance.
>
> *God Bless Amarillo (And All the Cowboys, Too)* is the result of this artistic partnership. Sponsors of arts events now have the opportunity of presenting the Light Crust Doughboys and the Lone Star Ballet in a joint performance, and lovers of western mu-

sic can include *God Bless Amarillo (And All the Cowboys, Too)* in their personal music collections. The Lone Star Ballet has performed these musical selections for various arts groups throughout Texas and includes several Light Crust Doughboys' selections in their Gala performances celebrating the 90th Anniversary of the Neiman Marcus specialty store chain. "The music is wonderful to dance to, a joy to music lovers, plus the fact that it instills a pride in Western Culture and history," according to the director of the Lone Star Ballet, Mr. Neil Hess.[18]

The newly commissioned work, *God Bless Amarillo Suite,* is a medley of songs created by Montgomery, Barbara Cohen Montgomery, Art Greenhaw, and Linda Wetter, Montgomery's daughter-in-law. The suite demonstrates several traditional Texas musical styles. The opening section, "God Bless Amarillo (And All the Cowboys, Too)," is a tender ballad in moderate 4/4 meter that pays homage to Amarillo, cowboys, and their sweethearts. Rapid key and tempo changes carry the suite into a quick 3/4 meter waltz entitled "Amarillo, You're Home Sweet Home to Me." This section includes a twin fiddle chorus. The third section, "Amarillo, Where the Wind Blows Free," has a distinct Latin flavor, with its sharply accented, syncopated rhythm, mariachi-sounding twin fiddles, and solo fiddle and guitar choruses. Section four, "Amarillo, You're My Town," is a fast, 4/4 meter fiddle tune with text that dissolves into the instrumental "Amarillo Quickstep," a demonstration of Texas-style breakdown fiddling. The suite is rounded out by the "God Bless Amarillo" reprise, sung at a slightly faster tempo and with military-style drumming added for dramatic effect.

This original composition created for the Lone Star Ballet is re-created on the compact disc, along with other older and some more recent Doughboy favorites. Essentially the *God Bless Amarillo* compact disc is a compilation of cuts from other Doughboy records, cassettes, and compact discs, including the 1993 *Texas Swing the Light Crust Doughboy Way* and the 1997 *High Road on the Hilltop.*

What is in store for the Doughboys? Their live concerts continue to be well attended and greatly appreciated. They seek out new and challenging creative projects at a time in their lives when most people are already enjoying retirement. But the Doughboys insist that they have more growing and changing to do. What is their goal? Greenhaw answers that question honestly:

> We've got the Doughboys in the second golden age, but I'm just really hoping for a hit record, or some major media that would propel us into the stellar category of musical accomplishment instead of being in history books. We're in demand all over the world, and that's great, but we still need the international media exposure in terms of *Tonight Show* appearances, Conan O'Brien appearances. So we're working hard on that.[19]

In other words, the Doughboys are now looking for the national reputation that did not matter to them earlier in their history.

The Light Crust Doughboys are not content to rest on past triumphs, or even on previous contributions to Texas music history. They are reaching for new heights of success and trying to add new chapters to the ongoing chronicle of Texas music. Although they are the elder statesmen of Texas music, they are eager and willing to re-create themselves for the next millennium.

AFTERWORD

The preface posed a number of questions, which have been answered in the course of this oral history of the Light Crust Doughboys. Here I summarize these answers, which address the issues of the Doughboys' longevity, their continuing regional status, their contribution to western swing and Texas music and recognition of that contribution, and, finally, the future of the band.

During the depression years of the 1930s, the Light Crust Doughboys maintained an identifiable sound—spare, simple, and direct—that spoke to Texans in economic crisis, and they performed a repertory of songs and instrumental numbers on their daily radio program and in public appearances that provided comic relief and simple musical escape from hard times. Even their recordings, which were intended for the jukebox market, avoided any mention of the brutal economic situation.

When they reorganized after World War II, the Doughboys, using various names and playing in different settings, expanded their repertory to include more current popular and commercial country songs. For older audiences, they often returned to their pre–World War II numbers and western swing standards. The addition of Art Greenhaw to the band in 1993 brought, at times, a new rock orientation to their

sound, and greater complexity to their arrangements. Thus, the Doughboys have changed to stay with the musical and social times and reach a younger audience, but they have also maintained some of their standards in order to entertain older listeners.

Based on statements made by various informants, it is clear that the pre–World War II Doughboys settled for regional recognition because of the job stability offered by Burrus Mill and Elevator Company and the program that the company sponsored on WBAP radio. They also had families they did not wish to leave for the long periods of time required to tour nationally. After World War II, the reorganized Doughboys faced competition from jazz bands, rock bands, and commercial country performers, making anything but regional celebrity extremely difficult to attain. They were connected once again to Burrus Mill, as well as to local country shows staged in Dallas or Fort Worth—and they still had families to consider. Since joining the Doughboys in 1993, Art Greenhaw has directed the band into larger circles in hopes of establishing a national and even international reputation.

From the ranks of the Light Crust Doughboys came the pioneers who created western swing, notably Milton Brown and Bob Wills. The Doughboys themselves took on more of a western swing jazz identity in the middle to late 1930s, but they have never confined themselves solely to western swing. In fact, their contribution to Texas music resides in their exploration of all the ethnic musical strands that contribute to Texas music—Mexican, British, Cajun, German and Slavic, African American. They have also performed all of the types of music that have held meaning for Texans, including folk and fiddle tunes, cowboy songs, gospel songs and hymns, commercial country songs and popular ballads, honky-tonk numbers, ragtime and blues, western swing standards and jazz arrangements, minstrel songs, movie hits, and rock 'n' roll numbers. In addition, members of the band have created original compositions that now belong to the body of the music of Texas.

The Light Crust Doughboys, the quintessential Texas band, has let it be known that they are not ready to lay down their instruments and quit. Under the direction of Art Greenhaw, they intend to keep making music, with no end in sight. They understand that today's market requires new sounds and fresh musical approaches, and they stand ready to reinvent themselves in order to stay current. Nothing lasts forever, and the present Doughboys are growing older. But perhaps a

new, young band will emerge to pick up where they leave off, when they leave off, and carry their music well into the future.

Since I completed the research for and writing of this book, important events have occurred in the life of the Light Crust Doughboys band. Art Greenhaw has taken the band into areas they never before ventured. Working with the Texas Commission on the Arts, he has produced programs and recordings with symphony orchestras and more classical ballet. Under his direction, the Doughboys continued their gospel recordings, winning additional Grammy nominations in this field. They have also been extremely active in the recording studio, turning out a variety of music.

Because he was sick and weak the last few years of his life, Marvin Montgomery left much of the managing and production work to Art Greenhaw, who has shown a dogged determination to keep the Doughboys going and growing. But Marvin Montgomery continued to play with the Doughboys, and to be the centerpiece of their sound, right up to a few days before his death.

The Doughboys are so important to Texas music history, that no one book can hope to tell their entire story. It is my hope that other scholars will do their own research and continue to add to the bank of knowledge concerning this important band.

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APPENDIX

TUNES RECORDED BY THE LIGHT CRUST DOUGHBOYS, 1936–1941

The following alphabetical listing includes brief histories of some of the songs. All Doughboys recordings were made on the Columbia label.

"A Mug of Ale" (Fort Worth-1265). Recorded September 10, 1936, but not released.

"After You Said You Were Leaving" (Dallas-1214 [actually recorded in Fort Worth]). Composer: Marvin Montgomery. Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in the old WBAP radio studio on the top floor of the Blackstone Hotel, Fort Worth, March 3, 1941. Featured personnel: Muryel Campbell—guitar; Frank Reneau—piano; Cecil Brower and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; Marvin Montgomery—tenor guitar; Dolores Jo Clancy (Little Light Crust Sweetheart)—vocal.

"Alice Blue Gown" (Dallas-1057 [actually recorded in Fort Worth]). Words by Joseph McCarthy, music by Harry Tierney, 1919. Doughboys' recording produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Arranger: Kenneth Pitts. Recorded in the Burrus Mill studio of the Light Crust Doughboys, Saginaw, Texas, April 24, 1940. Featured personnel: Cecil Brower—fiddle; Leroy Millican—guitar; "Babe" Wright—piano; Joe Frank Ferguson—vocal.

"All Because of Lovin' You" (Dallas-829). Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in the Brunswick Warehouse, Dallas, June 15, 1939. Featured personnel: Muryel Campbell—guitar; Cecil Brower and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; Raymond DeArman—vocal.

"All My Life" (Los Angeles-1127). Words by Sidney Mitchell, music by Sammy Stept. Published by the Sam Fox Publishing Co., Inc., 1936. Introduced by Phil Regan in the film *Laughing Irish Eyes.* The Doughboys' recording session was produced by a Mr. Gray, first name unknown. Recorded in Los Angeles, May 29, 1936. Featured personnel: Clifford Gross and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; Marvin Montgomery—tenor guitar fills; Bert Dodson—vocal.

"Anna Lou" (Dallas 277). Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, June 12, 1937, but not released.

"Avalon" (Dallas-278). Words and music by Al Jolson and Vincent Rose. Published by Warner Brothers and Seven Arts Music, 1920. Melody adapted from "E Lucevan le Stelle," tenor aria from Puccini's opera *Tosca*, and interpolated by Jolson into the musical *Sinbad* (1919), though not copyrighted until 1920. Sung by Jeanette MacDonald and Robert Young in the film *Cairo* (1942). Performed by Harry James and His Orchestra in the film *Young Man With a Horn* (1950). Sung by the De Castro sisters in the film *The Helen Morgan Story* (1957). The Doughboys version was produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, June 12, 1937. Featured personnel: Kenneth Pitts and John "Knocky" Parker—piano (four hands); Clifford Gross and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; Marvin Montgomery—banjo; Muryel Campbell—guitar; Parker—accordion.

"Baby, Give Me Some of That" (Dallas-644). Composer: Marvin Montgomery. Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, November 30, 1938. Featured personnel: Kenneth Pitts and "Buck" Buchanan—twin fiddles; John "Knocky" Parker—piano; Muryel Campbell—electric guitar; Jim Boyd—vocal; Raymond DeArman—slap bass.

"Be Honest with Me" (Dallas—1207 [actually recorded in Fort Worth]). Words and music by Gene Autry and Fred Rose. Published by Western Music Publishing Co. and Milane Music Co., 1940. Introduced by Gene Autry in the film *Ridin' on a Rainbow* (1941); nominated for an Academy Award, 1941. Doughboys recording produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in the WBAP radio studios on the top floor of the Blackstone Hotel, Fort Worth, March 3, 1941. Featured personnel: Cecil Brower and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; Muryel Campbell—guitar; J. B. Brinkley—vocal.

"Bear Creek Hop" (Dallas-1208 [actually recorded in Fort Worth]). Arranged by Marvin Montgomery, based on the "Bear Creek Hop" breakdown. Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in the WBAP studios on the top floor of the Blackstone Hotel, Fort Worth, March 3, 1941. Featured personnel: Parker Willson (Doughboys emcee)—speaking voice; J. B. Brinkley—solo vocal; Joe Frank Ferguson (tenor), J. B. Brinkley

(lead), Kenneth Pitts (baritone), Parker Willson (bass)—vocal quartet; Cecil Brower—fiddle.

"Beaumont Rag" (Dallas 387). Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, June 20, 1937. Featured personnel: Clifford Gross—fiddle; Muryel Campbell—guitar; Marvin Montgomery—banjo; Dick Reinhart—rhythm guitar; Kenneth Pitts—rhythm accordion; Raymond DeArman—slap bass and yells.

"Beautiful Ohio" (Dallas-538). Words by Ballard MacDonald, music by Mary Earl [Robert A. King], 1918. Doughboys recording produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, May 14, 1938. Featured personnel: Clifford Gross and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; Muryel Campbell—electric guitar; Charles Burton (mascot)—vocal.

"Beer Drinkin' Mama" (Dallas-831). Composer: Marvin Montgomery. Recorded in Dallas, June 15, 1939. Featured personnel: Muryel Campbell—guitar; John "Knocky" Parker—piano; Cecil Brower and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; Marvin Montgomery—banjo; Raymond DeArman—bass; Jim Boyd—vocal and rhythm guitar.

"Beyond the Clouds" (Dallas—1237 [actually recorded in Fort Worth]). Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in the WBAP studios on the top floor of the Blackstone Hotel, Fort Worth, March 6, 1941. Status: unavailable.

"Big House Blues" (Dallas-1229 [actually recorded in Fort Worth]). Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in the WBAP studios on the top floor of the Blackstone Hotel, Fort Worth, March 6, 1941, but not released.

"Blue Guitar" (Fort Worth-1264). Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Fort Worth, September 10, 1936, but not released.

"Blue Guitar" (Dallas-271). Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, June 12, 1937. Featured personnel: John "Knocky" Parker—piano; Muryel Campbell—electric guitar; Kenneth Pitts—fiddle.

"Blue Hours" (Dallas-534). Words by Roy Turk, music by Wayne King and Jerry Castillo. Published by Leo Feist, Inc., and Cromwell Music, Inc., 1933. Introduced by Wayne King and His Orchestra. Doughboys recording produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, May 14, 1938. Featured personnel: Clifford Gross and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; Dick Reinhart—steel guitar; John "Knocky" Parker—piano and accordion; Raymond DeArman—bowed bass; Marvin Montgomery—tenor guitar.

"Blue-Eyed Sally" (Dallas-642). Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, November 30, 1938. Featured personnel: Kenneth Pitts and "Buck" Buchanan—twin fiddles; Muryel Campbell—electric guitar; John "Knocky" Parker—piano; Jim Boyd—vocal.

"Can't Ease My Evil Mind" (Dallas-1213 [actually recorded in Fort

Worth]). Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in the WBAP studios on the top floor of the Blackstone Hotel, Fort Worth, March 3, 1941. Featured personnel: Muryel Campbell—guitar; Cecil Brower and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; J. B. Brinkley—vocal.

"Careless" (Fort Worth-25596). Words and music by Lew Quadling, Eddy Howard, and Dick Jurgens. Published by Bourne Co., 1939. Introduced by Dick Jurgens and His Orchestra; vocal by Eddy Howard. Doughboys recording produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in the Doughboys' studio at Burrus Mill, Saginaw, Texas, in early December 1939. Featured personnel: Muryel Campbell—guitar and steel guitar; John "Knocky" Parker—piano; Cecil Brower and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; Jim Boyd—vocal.

"Clarinet Marmalade" (Dallas-549). Words and music by Edwin B. Edwards, D. James La Rocca, Anthony Sbarbaro, and Larry Sheilds (The Original Dixieland Jazz Band), 1918. Doughboys recording produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, May 14, 1938. Featured personnel: Kenneth Pitts—fiddle; Muryel Campbell—electric guitar; John "Knocky" Parker—piano.

"Cripple Creek" (Dallas-1073 [actually recorded in Fort Worth]). Arrangement and words for this breakdown written by Kenneth Pitts. Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in the Doughboys' studio at Burrus Mill, Saginaw, Texas, April 26, 1940. Featured personnel: Cecil Brower—fiddle; speaking voice—Parker Willson (emcee); Raymond DeArman—vocal solo; Joe Frank Ferguson (tenor), DeArman (lead), Pitts (baritone), Willson (bass)—vocal quartet.

"Cross-Eyed Cowboy from Abilene" (Los Angeles-1132). Composer: Marvin Montgomery. Produced by a Mr. Gray, first name unknown. Recorded in Los Angeles on May 29, 1936. Featured personnel: Kenneth Pitts—fiddle; Muryel Campbell—solo guitar; Marvin Montgomery—vocal.

"Did You Ever Hear A String Band Swing?" (Fort Worth-1255). Composer: Marvin Montgomery. Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Fort Worth, April 5, 1936. Featured personnel: Kenneth Pitts—fiddle; Bert Dodson—acoustic bass solo; Muryel Campbell—guitar solo; Marvin Montgomery—banjo solo; Montgomery—vocal lead; Kenneth Pitts, Dick Reinhart, Bert Dodson, Clifford Gross—backup vocal group; Montgomery and Dodson—speaking parts.

"Dirty Dishrag Blues" (Dallas-645). Composer: Muryel Campbell. Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, November 30, 1938. Featured personnel: Jim Boyd—acoustic guitar; Muryel Campbell—electric guitar; John "Knocky" Parker—piano; Kenneth Pitts—fiddle solo; Jim Boyd—vocal solo; Raymond DeArman—bass; Marvin Montgomery—banjo.

"Do You Ever Miss Me?" (Dallas-1210 [actually recorded in Fort Worth]). Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in the WBAP studios on the top floor of the Blackstone Hotel, Fort Worth, March 3, 1941, but not released.

"Don't Lie to an Innocent Maiden" (Dallas-1189 [actually recorded in Fort Worth]). Composer: Marvin Montgomery. Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in the WBAP studios on the top floor of the Blackstone Hotel, Fort Worth, February 27, 1941. Featured personnel: Kenneth Pitts and Cecil Brower—twin fiddles; Muryel Campbell—guitar; Joe Frank Ferguson—vocal.

"Dusky Stevedore" (Dallas 272). Words by Andy Razaf, music by J. C. Johnson. Published by the Edwin H. Morris Co., 1928. First recorded by Frankie Trambauer and His Orchestra, featuring Bix Beiderbecke (Okeh). The best-selling version was recorded by Louis Armstrong in 1933 (Victor). Theme song for Nathaniel Shilkret and His Orchestra. The Doughboys recording was produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, June 12, 1937. Featured personnel: Clifford Gross and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; Marvin Montgomery—banjo solo; John "Knocky" Parker—accordion; Raymond DeArman (lead) and Dick Reinhart (tenor)—vocal duet.

"Emaline" (Dallas-268). Words by Mitchell Parish, music by Frank Perkins. Published by Mills Music, Inc., and Everbright Music Co., 1939. Associated with Mildred Bailey. The Doughboys recording was produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, June 12, 1937. Featured personnel: John "Knocky" Parker—piano; Kenneth Pitts—fiddle; Muryel Campbell—electric guitar; Dick Reinhart—vocal.

"Five Long Years" (Dallas-1191 [actually recorded in Fort Worth]). Composer: J. B. Brinkley. Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in the WBAP studios on the top floor of the Blackstone Hotel, Fort Worth, February 27, 1941. Featured personnel: Muryel Campbell—electric guitar; Ted Daffan—steel guitar fills; Cecil Brower and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; J. B. Brinkley—vocal.

"Foot Warmer" (Dallas-653). Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, November 30, 1938. Featured personnel: Kenneth Pitts and "Buck" Buchanan—twin fiddles; Muryel Campbell—electric guitar; John "Knocky" Parker—piano; "Buck" Buchanan—fiddle solo; Jim Boyd—bass; Raymond DeArman—bass; Marvin Montgomery—banjo.

"Gig-A-Wig Blues" (Dallas-385). Composer: Marvin Montgomery. Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, June 20, 1937, but not released. Featured personnel: Kenneth Pitts—fiddle; Marvin Montgomery—banjo; John "Knocky" Parker—piano; Muryel Campbell—guitar; Parker—accordion.

"Gig-A-Wig Blues" (Dallas-542). Composer: Marvin Montgomery. Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, May 14, 1938. Same featured personnel as above.

"Gin Mill Blues" (Dallas-650). Music by Joe Sullivan. Published by Leo Feist, Inc., 1938. Introduced by jazz pianist Joe Sullivan in 1933. Featured by Bob Crosby and His Orchestra. The Doughboys recording was produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, November 30, 1938. Featured personnel: John "Knocky" Parker—piano; Muryel Campbell—electric guitar; Kenneth Pitts and "Buck" Buchanan—twin fiddles; Jim Boyd—bowed bass; Marvin Montgomery—tenor guitar; Raymond DeArman—rhythm guitar.

"Gloomy Sunday" (Fort Worth-1258). Magyar (Hungarian) words by Laszlo Javor, music by Rezso Seress; English translation by Sam M. Lewis. Published by Csardos, Budapest, Hungary, 1933. English version published by Chappell and Co., Inc., 1936. Original Hungarian title: "Szomoru Vasornop." Advertised and promoted as "The Suicide Song." Introduced in the United States by Paul Robeson. Best-selling record in 1941 for Billie Holiday. The composer, Rezso Seress, committed suicide in 1968. The Doughboys recording was produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Fort Worth, April 5, 1936, but not released.

"Good Gracious, Gracie" (Dallas-1075 [actually recorded in Fort Worth]). Composer: Marvin Montgomery. Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in the Doughboys' studio at Burrus Mill, Saginaw, Texas, April 26, 1940. Featured personnel: Cecil Brower—fiddle; Leroy Millican—guitar; "Babe" Wright—piano; Joe Frank Ferguson—vocal.

"Goodbye, Little Darling" (Dallas-1054 [actually recorded in Fort Worth]). Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in the Doughboys' studio at Burrus Mill, Saginaw, Texas, April 24, 1940. Featured personnel: Leroy Millican—electric guitar; Cecil Brower—fiddle; Raymond DeArman—vocal lead; DeArman, Joe Frank Ferguson (tenor), and Kenneth Pitts (baritone)—vocal trio.

"Green Valley Trot" (Fort Worth-25594). Produced by the Doughboys themselves. Recorded in the Doughboys' studio at Burrus Mill, Saginaw, Texas, early December 1939. Featured personnel: Muryel Campbell—guitar; Cecil Brower—fiddle; Jim Boyd—vocal solo; Raymond DeArman (lead), Boyd (tenor), Kenneth Pitts (baritone)—vocal trio.

"Grey Skies" (Dallas-648). Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, November 30, 1938, but not released.

"Gulf Coast Blues" (Dallas-531). Words and music by Clarence Williams. Published by MCA, Inc., 1923. First recorded by Monette Moore. Doughboys recording produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, May 14, 1938. Featured personnel: John "Knocky" Parker—

piano; Kenneth Pitts—fiddle; Muryel Campbell—guitar; Dick Reinhart—vocal.

"Happy Cowboy" (Fort Worth-1263). Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Fort Worth, September 10, 1936. Featured personnel: Clifford Gross and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; Muryel Campbell and Dick Reinhart—twin guitars; Bert Dodson—solo vocal; Dodson (lead), Reinhart (tenor), and Pitts (baritone)—vocal trio.

"Have I Lost Your Love Forever (Little Darling)?" (Dallas-1231 [actually recorded in Fort Worth]). Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in the WBAP studios on the top floor of the Blackstone Hotel, Fort Worth, March 6, 1941.Featured personnel: Muryel Campbell—guitar; Cecil Brower and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; Joe Frank Ferguson—vocal.

"Hills of Old Wyomin'" (Dallas-540). Words and music by Leo Robin, Ralph Rainger, and Earl Robinson (1936). Doughboys recording produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, May 14, 1938. Featured personnel: Kenneth Pitts—fiddle; Charles Burton (mascot)—vocal solo; Parker Willson (emcee), Raymond DeArman, Pitts, Dick Reinhart—vocal unison humming; DeArman (lead), Reinhart (tenor), Pitts (baritone), Willson (bass)—vocal quartet.

"Honky Tonk Shuffle" (Dallas-1194 [actually recorded in Fort Worth]). Composer: Muryel Campbell. Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in the WBAP studios on the top floor of the Blackstone Hotel, Fort Worth, February 27, 1941. Featured personnel: Muryel Campbell—guitar; Cecil Brower and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; Frank Reneau—piano.

"Horsie, Keep Your Tail Down" (Fort Worth-25525). Words and music by Walter Hirsch and Bert Kaplan (1923). Doughboys recording produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in the Doughboys' studio at Burrus Mill, Saginaw, Texas, late October 1939. Featured personnel: Jim Boyd—horse sounds; Marvin Montgomery—banjo; Cecil Brower and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; Muryel Campbell—guitar; Raymond DeArman—vocal solo; Boyd (tenor), DeArman (lead), Pitts (baritone), emcee Parker Willson (bass)—vocal quartet.

"I Had Someone Else Before I Had You" (Dallas-834). Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, June 15, 1939. Featured personnel: Cecil Brower and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; Muryel Campbell—guitar; John "Knocky" Parker—piano; Jim Boyd—bass and vocal.

"I Have Found a Honey" (Los Angeles-1130). Composer: Marvin Montgomery. Produced by a Mr. Gray, first name unknown. Recorded in Los Angeles, May 29, 1936. Featured personnel: Kenneth Pitts—fiddle; Bert Dodson—vocal.

"I Know I'll See Mother Again" (Dallas-1236 [actually recorded in Fort Worth]). Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in the WBAP radio studios on the top floor of the Blackstone Hotel, Fort Worth, March 6, 1941. Status: unavailable.

"I Like Bananas (Because They Have No Bones)" (Fort Worth-1252). Words and music by Chris Yacich, 1936. Doughboys recording produced by Art Satherley. Recorded in Fort Worth, April 4, 1936. Featured personnel: Clifford Gross and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; Muryel Campbell—guitar solo; Pitts—fiddle solo; Bert Dodson, Dick Reinhart, Pitts, Marvin Montgomery, Gross—vocal group; Montgomery and Reinhart—speaking parts.

"I Shall See Him By and By" (Dallas-1235 [actually recorded in Fort Worth]). Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in the WBAP radio studios on the top floor of the Blackstone Hotel, Fort Worth, March 6, 1941, but not released.

"I Want a Feller" (Dallas-1055 [actually recorded in Fort Worth]). Composer: Marvin Montgomery. Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in the Doughboys' studio at Burrus Mill, Saginaw, Texas, April 24, 1940. Featured personnel: Cecil Brower—fiddle; Leroy Millican—guitar; Raymond DeArman—vocal.

"I Want a Girl (Just Like the Girl That Married Dear Old Dad)" (Fort Worth-1270). Words by W. William Dillon, music by Harry von Tilzer, 1911. Doughboys recording produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Fort Worth, September 10, 1936, but not released.

"I Want a Waitress" (Dallas-1212 [actually recorded in Fort Worth]). Composer: Marvin Montgomery. Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in the WBAP radio studios on the top floor of the Blackstone Hotel, Fort Worth, March 3, 1941. Featured personnel: J. B. Brinkley, Joe Frank Ferguson, Kenneth Pitts, emcee Parker Willson, Marvin Montgomery—vocal group; Montgomery—vocal solo; Muryel Campbell—guitar; Frank Reneau—piano; Cecil Brower—fiddle solo.

"I'd Love to Live in Loveland (With a Girl Like You)" (Fort Worth-1262). Words and music by W. R. Williams (Rossiter), 1910. Doughboys recording produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Fort Worth, September 10, 1936, but not released.

"I'll Get Mine" (Dallas-533). Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, May 14, 1938. Featured personnel: Clifford Gross and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; Muryel Campbell—guitar; John "Knocky" Parker—piano; Pitts—fiddle solo; Dick Reinhart—vocal solo; Raymond DeArman (lead), Reinhart (tenor), Pitts (baritone), Gross (bass)—vocal quartet.

"I'll Keep On Loving You" (Fort Worth-25317). Words and music by Floyd

Tillman. Published by Peer International Corp., 1939. Introduced by Tillman on the Victor label. Doughboys recording produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in the Doughboys' studio at Burrus Mill, Saginaw, Texas, early September 1939. Featured personnel: Muryel Campbell—electric guitar; Cecil Brower and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; Raymond DeArman—vocal; Jim Boyd—bass and vocal.

"I'll Never Say Goodbye" (Dallas-1233 [actually recorded in Fort Worth]). Composer: Marvin Montgomery. Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in the WBAP radio studios on the top floor of the Blackstone Hotel, Fort Worth, March 6, 1941, but not released.

"I'm a Ding Dong Daddy from Dumas" (Fort Worth-1250). Written by Phil Baxter. Published by Leo Feist, Inc., 1928. Introduced by Phil Baxter and His Orchestra. A best-selling record for Louis Armstrong and His Orchestra. Performed by Benny Goodman's Quartet in the film *Hollywood Hotel* (1937). Doughboys recording produced by Art Satherley. Recorded in Fort Worth, April 4, 1936. Featured personnel: Clifford Gross and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; Muryel Campbell—acoustic guitar solo; Marvin Montgomery—banjo solo; Dick Reinhart—acoustic guitar solo; Pitts—fiddle solo and vocal; Reinhart—vocal.

"If I Didn't Care" (Dallas-805). Words and music by Jack Lawrence. Published by MPL Communications, Inc., 1939. Best-selling record for the Ink Spots. Revived in 1970 by the Moments (Decca). Doughboys recording produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, June 14, 1939. Featured personnel: Cecil Brower and Kenneth Pitts—unison twin fiddles; Charles Burton (mascot)—vocal; Marvin Montgomery—tenor guitar fills; Jim Boyd—bass.

"If I Don't Love You (There Ain't a Cow in Texas)" (Dallas-273). Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, June 12, 1937. Featured personnel: Clifford Gross and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; Muryel Campbell—electric guitar; John "Knocky" Parker—accordion; Dick Reinhart—vocal.

"If I Had My Way" (Dallas-837). Words by Lou Klein, music by James Kendis, 1913. Doughboys recording produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, June 15, 1939. Featured personnel: Muryel Campbell—guitar; John "Knocky" Parker—piano; Cecil Brower and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; Jim Boyd—vocal.

"If You'll Come Back" (Dallas-1076 [actually recorded in Fort Worth]). Composer: Marvin Montgomery. Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in the Doughboys' studio at Burrus Mill, Saginaw, Texas, April 26, 1940. Featured personnel: Leroy Millican—guitar; Cecil Brower—fiddle; Raymond DeArman—vocal.

"In a Little Red Barn" (Dallas-386). Produced by Art Satherley and Don

Law. Recorded in Dallas, June 20, 1937. Featured personnel: Clifford Gross and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; John "Knocky" Parker—piano; Muryel Campbell—guitar; Pitts—solo fiddle; Raymond DeArman—vocal.

"In Ole' Oklahoma" (Dallas-807). Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, June 14, 1939. Featured personnel: Cecil Brower and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; Jim Boyd—bass; Marvin Montgomery—tenor guitar; Raymond DeArman—rhythm guitar; emcee Parker Willson—vocal.

"In the Morning" (Dallas-1324 [actually recorded in Fort Worth]). Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in the WBAP radio studios on the top floor of the Blackstone Hotel, Fort Worth, March 14, 1941. Featured personnel: Frank Reneau—piano; Joe Frank Ferguson (tenor), J. B. Brinkley (lead), Kenneth Pitts (baritone), emcee Parker Willson (bass)—vocal quartet.

"It Makes No Difference Now" (Dallas-641). Words and music by Floyd Tillman. Published by Peer International Corp., 1939. Introduced by Jimmie Davis. Sung by Tex Ritter in the film *Down the Wyoming Trail.* Doughboys recording produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, November 30, 1938. Featured personnel: Muryel Campbell—electric guitar; John Boyd—steel guitar fills; Kenneth Pitts and "Buck" Buchanan—twin fiddles; Marvin Montgomery—tenor guitar; Raymond DeArman—bass; Jim Boyd—rhythm guitar and vocal.

"It's Been So Long" (Los Angeles-1131). Produced by a Mr. Gray, first name unknown. Recorded in Los Angeles, May 29, 1936. Featured personnel: Kenneth Pitts—fiddle; Muryel Campbell—guitar solo; Bert Dodson—vocal.

"It's Funny What Love Will Make You Do" (Dallas-1209 [actually recorded in Fort Worth]). Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in the WBAP radio studios on the top floor of the Blackstone Hotel, Fort Worth, March 3, 1941, but not released.

"It's Your Worry Now" (Dallas-1186 [actually recorded in Fort Worth]). Composer: Marvin Montgomery. Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in the WBAP radio studios on the top floor of the Blackstone Hotel, Fort Worth, February 27, 1941. Featured personnel: Muryel Campbell—guitar; Cecil Brower and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; J. B. Brinkley—vocal.

"Jazzbo Joe" (Dallas-836). Composer: Marvin Montgomery. Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, June 15, 1939. Featured personnel: Marvin Montgomery—kazoo; Cecil Brower and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; Muryel Campbell—guitar; Brower—fiddle solo; John "Knocky" Parker—piano; Jim Boyd—bass and vocal.

"(New) Jeep's Blues" (Dallas-646). Music by Edward Kennedy ("Duke" Ellington) and Johnny Hodges. Published by the American Academy of Music, Inc., 1938. Introduced by Duke Ellington and His Orchestra. Best-selling record for Johnny Hodges and His Orchestra (Vocalion). Doughboys recording produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, November 30, 1938. Featured personnel: John "Knocky" Parker—piano; Kenneth Pitts and "Buck" Buchanan—twin fiddles; Muryel Campbell—electric guitar.

"Jig in G" (Los Angeles-1128). Produced by a Mr. Gray, first name unknown. Recorded in Los Angeles, May 29, 1936, but not released.

"Just Once too Often" (Dallas-391). Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, June 20, 1937. Featured personnel: Dick Reinhart—guitar and vocal; Kenneth Pitts—fiddle; Muryel Campbell—guitar.

"Kalua Loha" (Dallas-536). Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, May 14, 1938, but not released.

"Knocky-Knocky" (Dallas-543). Composer: John "Knocky" Parker. Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, May 14, 1938. Featured personnel: "Knocky" Parker—piano; Kenneth Pitts—fiddle; Muryel Campbell—guitar.

"Let Me Ride by Your Side in the Saddle" (Dallas-269). Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, June 12, 1937, but not released.

"Let's Make Believe We're Sweethearts" (Dallas-803). Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, June 14, 1939. Featured personnel: Muryel Campbell—electric guitar; Cecil Brower and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; Raymond DeArman—rhythm guitar; John "Knocky" Parker—piano; Marvin Montgomery—banjo; Jim Boyd—bass and vocal.

"Listen to the Mockingbird" (Fort Worth-25597). Words by Septimus Winner (pseud. Alice Hawthorne), music by Richard Milburn, 1855. Doughboys recording produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in the Doughboys' studio at Burrus Mill, Saginaw, Texas, early December 1939, but not released.

"Little Hillbilly Heart Throb" (Fort Worth-1254). Produced by Art Satherley. Recorded in Fort Worth, April 5, 1936, but not released.

"Little Hillbilly Heart Throb" (Los Angeles-1121). Produced by a Mr. Gray, first name unknown. Recorded in Los Angeles, May 26, 1936. Featured personnel: Clifford Gross and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; Muryel Campbell—guitar; Dick Reinhart—vocal.

"Little Honky Tonk Headache" (Dallas-1074 [actually recorded in Fort Worth]). Composer: Marvin Montgomery. Produced by Art Satherley

and Don Law. Recorded in the Doughboys' studio at Burrus Mill, Saginaw, Texas, April 26, 1940. Featured personnel: Leroy Millican—guitar; "Babe" Wright—piano; Cecil Brower—fiddle; Joe Frank Ferguson—vocal.

"Little Honky Tonk Heart Throb" (Dallas-1190 [actually recorded in Fort Worth]). Composer: Marvin Montgomery. Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in the WBAP studios on the top floor of the Blackstone Hotel, Fort Worth, February 27, 1941, but not released.

"Little Rock Get-A-Way" (Dallas-812). Music by Joe Sullivan. Published by Leo Feist, Inc., 1938. Introduced as a piano solo by Joe Sullivan in 1933. Jazz band instrumental version introduced by Bob Crosby and His Orchestra. Lyrics by Carl Sigman added in 1951. Doughboys recording produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, June 14, 1939. Featured personnel: John "Knocky" Parker—piano; Cecil Brower and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; Muryel Campbell—electric guitar; Jim Boyd—bass; Marvin Montgomery—tenor guitar; Raymond DeArman—rhythm guitar.

"Little Rubber Dolly" (Fort Worth-25318). Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in the Doughboys' studio at Burrus Mill, Saginaw, early September 1939. Featured personnel: Cecil Brower—fiddle; Jim Boyd—acoustic guitar fills; Muryel Campbell—acoustic rhythm guitar; Raymond DeArman (lead) vocal in duet with Boyd (high tenor).

"Lost" (Los Angeles-1125). Words and music by Phil Ohman, Johnny Mercer, Macy O. Teetor. Published by Robbins Music Corp. and Mercer Music, 1936. Doughboys recording produced by a Mr. Gray, first name unknown. Recorded in Los Angeles, May 26, 1936. Featured personnel: Clifford Gross and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; Marvin Montgomery—tenor guitar fills; Pitts—solo fiddle fills; Campbell—guitar solo; Bert Dodson—vocal.

"Mama Gets What She Wants" (Dallas-832). Composer: John "Knocky" Parker. Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, June 15, 1939. Featured personnel: "Knocky" Parker—piano; Muryel Campbell—guitar; Cecil Brower—fiddle; Jim Boyd—vocal.

"Mama Won't Let Me" (Dallas-828). Composers: John "Knocky" Parker; Marvin Montgomery, fiddle parts only. Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, June 15, 1939. Featured personnel: Muryel Campbell—guitar; John "Knocky" Parker—piano; Cecil Brower and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; Jim Boyd—bass.

"Marinita" (Fort Worth-25595). Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in the Doughboys' studio at Burrus Mill, Saginaw, Texas, early December 1939. Featured personnel: Jim Boyd—acoustic guitar and vocal; Cecil Brower and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; John "Knocky"

Parker—accordion; Marvin Montgomery (tenor guitar) with Boyd and Campbell—guitar trio.

"Mary Lou" (Dallas-806). Words and music by Abe Lyman, George Waggner, J. Russel Robinson. Published by Mills Music, Inc. and Venus Music Corp., 1926. Best-selling record for Ronnie Hawkins (Roulette). Doughboys recording produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, June 14, 1939. Featured personnel: Muryel Campbell—electric guitar; Cecil Brower and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; Marvin Montgomery—tenor guitar; Jim Boyd—bass; Raymond DeArman—rhythm guitar; Charles Burton (mascot)—vocal.

"Mean, Mean Mama (From Meana)" (Dallas-1072 [actually recorded in Fort Worth]). Composers: Kenneth Pitts, Muryel Campbell, John "Knocky" Parker. Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in the Doughboys' studio at Burrus Mill, Saginaw, Texas, April 26, 1940. Featured personnel: Leroy Millican—guitar; Cecil Brower—fiddle; Joe Frank Ferguson—vocal.

"Memories" (Fort Worth-1259). Words by Gus Kahn, music by Egbert Van Alstyne. Doughboys recording produced by Art Satherley. Recorded in Fort Worth, April 5, 1936, but not released.

"My Buddy" (Fort Worth-1251). Words by Gus Kahn, music by Walter Donaldson. Published by the Donaldson Publishing Co. and Gilbert Keys Music Co., 1922. Popularized by Al Jolson. Theme song of Buddy Rogers and His Orchestra. Sung by Doris Day in the film *I'll See You in My Dreams.* Doughboys recording produced by Art Satherley. Recorded in Fort Worth, April 4, 1936, but not released.

"My Buddy" (Los Angeles-1122). Produced by a Mr. Gray, first name unknown. Recorded in Los Angeles, May 26, 1936. Featured personnel: Clifford Gross and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; Marvin Montgomery—tenor guitar fills; Dick Reinhart—mandolin solo; Bert Dodson (lead), Reinhart (tenor), Pitts (baritone)—vocal trio.

"My Gal's With My Pal Tonight" (Dallas-833). Composer: Marvin Montgomery. Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, June 15, 1939. Featured personnel: Cecil Brower and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; Jim Boyd—vocal.

"Oh Baby Blues" (Dallas-830). Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, June 15, 1939. Featured personnel: Cecil Brower and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; Muryel Campbell—guitar; Jim Boyd—vocal.

"Oh! Susannah" (Fort Worth-1267). Words and music by Stephen Foster, 1848. Doughboys recording produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Fort Worth, September 10, 1936. Featured personnel: Marvin Montgomery—banjo; Muryel Campbell—guitar solo; Clifford

Gross—fiddle solo; Kenneth Pitts—accordion; Bert Dodson—vocal solo; Dodson (lead), Dick Reinhart (tenor), Pitts (baritone), Gross (bass)—vocal quartet.

"Old November Moon" (Dallas-814). Composer: Marvin Montgomery. Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, June 14, 1939, but not released.

"One Sweet Letter from You" (Dallas-275). Words by Lew Brown and Sidney Clare, music by Harry Warren. Published by Shapiro, Bernstein & Co., Inc., 1927. Best-selling record for Sophie Tucker (Columbia). Doughboys recording produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, June 12, 1937, but not released.

"Pretty Little Dear" (Dallas-546). Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, May 14, 1938. Featured personnel: Clifford Gross and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; Muryel Campbell—guitar; Pitts—fiddle solo; Raymond DeArman—vocal.

"Pussy, Pussy, Pussy" (Dallas-655). Composer: Marvin Montgomery. Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, November 30, 1938. Featured personnel: Marvin Montgomery—voice of a little girl; Kenneth Pitts, Jim Boyd, Raymond DeArman, Montgomery—group voices; Muryel Campbell—electric guitar; "Buck" Buchanan—fiddle; John "Knocky" Parker—piano; Jim Boyd—bass; DeArman—the cat.

"Rainbow" (Dallas—1056 [actually recorded in Fort Worth]). Words and music by Percy Wenrich (1908). Doughboys recording produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in the Doughboys' studio at Burrus Mill, Saginaw, April 24, 1940. Featured personnel: Leroy Millican—guitar; Cecil Brower—fiddle.

"Rockin' Alone (In an Old Rockin' Chair)" (Dallas-545). Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, May 14, 1938, but not released.

"Roll Along Jordan" (Dallas-274). Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, June 12, 1937. Featured personnel: Clifford Gross and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; Muryel Campbell—guitar; John "Knocky" Parker and Pitts—twin accordions; Raymond DeArman—vocal solo; DeArman (lead), Dick Reinhart (tenor), Pitts (baritone), Gross (bass)—vocal quartet.

"Saddle Your Blues to a Wild Mustang" (Fort Worth-1257). Produced by Art Satherley. Recorded in Fort Worth, April 5, 1936. Featured personnel: Clifford Gross and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; Bert Dodson—vocal.

"Salvation Has Been Brought Down" (Dallas-1234 [actually recorded in Fort Worth]). Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in the WBAP studios on the top floor of the Blackstone Hotel, Fort Worth, March 6, 1941, but not released.

"She Gave Me the Bird" (Dallas-808). Composer: Marvin Montgomery. Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, June 14, 1939. Featured personnel: Cecil Brower and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; Muryel Campbell—electric guitar; Brower—fiddle solo; Marvin Montgomery—girl's voice; Jim Boyd—vocal and sound effects; Raymond DeArman—sound effects; emcee Parker Willson—the bird.

"She's Too Young (To Play with the Boys)" (Dallas-1071 [actually recorded in Fort Worth]). Composers: Kenneth Pitts, Muryel Campbell, John "Knocky" Parker. Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in the Doughboys' studio at Burrus Mill, Saginaw, April 26, 1940. Featured personnel: Kenneth Pitts, Raymond DeArman, emcee Parker Willson, Joe Frank Ferguson—speaking voices; Cecil Brower—fiddle; Leroy Millican—guitar; "Babe" Wright—piano; DeArman—vocal solo.

"Sitting on Top of the World" (Dallas-529). Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, May 14, 1938. Featured personnel: Dick Reinhart—electric guitar and vocal; Kenneth Pitts—fiddle; Muryel Campbell—rhythm guitar.

"Slow Down, Mr. Brown" (Dallas-537). Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, May 14, 1938. Featured personnel: Kenneth Pitts—fiddle; Muryel Campbell—guitar; John "Knocky" Parker—piano; Dick Reinhart—vocal.

"Slufoot on the Levee" (Dallas-1193 [actually recorded in Fort Worth]). Composer: Frank Reneau. Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in the WBAP radio studios on the top floor of the Blackstone Hotel, Fort Worth, February 27, 1941. Featured personnel: Frank Reneau—piano; Muryel Campbell—guitar; Cecil Brower and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; Brower—fiddle solo.

"Snow Deer" (Dallas-1077 [actually recorded in Fort Worth]). Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in the Doughboys' studio at Burrus Mill, Saginaw, Texas, April 26, 1940. Featured personnel: Cecil Brower—fiddle (playing double stops); Leroy Millican—guitar.

"Song of the Saddle" (Dallas-276). Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, June 12, 1937, but not released.

"South" (Dallas-1070 [actually recorded in Fort Worth]). Music by Bennie Moten and Thomas Hayes; words added by Ray Charles in 1941. Published by Peer International Corp., 1930, 1941. First recorded by Bennie Moten's Kansas City Orchestra in 1924. Doughboys recording produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in the Doughboys' studio at Burrus Mill, Saginaw, Texas, April 26, 1940. Featured personnel: Leroy Millican—electric guitar; "Babe" Wright—piano; Joe Frank Ferguson—bass; Cecil Brower—fiddle; Marvin Montgomery—banjo.

"Stay on the Right Side, Sister" (Dallas-390). Words by Ted Koehler, mu-

sic by Rube Bloom. Published by Robbins Music Corp., 1933. Identified with Ruth Etting. Sung by Doris Day in the film *Love Me Or Leave Me* (1955). Doughboys recording produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, June 20, 1937, but not released.

"Stay Out of the South" (Dallas-392). Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, June 20, 1937, but not released.

"Stumbling" (Dallas-548). Words and music by Zez Confrey. Published by Leo Feist Inc., 1922. Introduced by Zez Confrey. Doughboys recording produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, May 14, 1938. Featured personnel: Marvin Montgomery—tenor guitar lead; Muryel Campbell—second guitar; Kenneth Pitts—third guitar; Campbell—guitar solo; John "Knocky" Parker—piano; Pitts—fiddle.

"Sweet Georgia Brown" (Fort Worth-1266). Words and music by Ben Bernie, Maceo Pinkard, and Kenneth Casey. Published by Remick Music Corp., 1925. Introduced by Ben Bernie and His Orchestra. Sung by Cara Williams in the film *Some Like It Hot* (1959). Doughboys recording produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Fort Worth, September 10, 1936, but not released.

"Sweet Sally" (Dallas-1192 [actually recorded in Fort Worth]). Composers: Muryel Campbell, Kenneth Pitts, John "Knocky" Parker. Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in the WBAP radio studios on the top floor of the Blackstone Hotel, Fort Worth, February 27, 1941. Featured personnel: J. B. Brinkley—guitar lead and vocal; Cecil Brower and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; Muryel Campbell—guitar; Frank Reneau—piano; Brower—fiddle solo.

"Sweet Uncle Zeke" (Los Angeles-1126). Composed by Freddy Casares, fiddler with the Wanderers' band. Produced by a Mr. Gray, first name unknown. Recorded in Los Angeles, May 29, 1936. Featured personnel: Dick Reinhart—guitar solo; Kenneth Pitts—fiddle solo; Muryel Campbell—guitar solo; Marvin Montgomery—banjo solo.

"Sweeter than an Angel" (Dallas-547). Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, May 14, 1938. Featured personnel: Kenneth Pitts—fiddle; Dick Reinhart—vocal; John "Knocky" Parker—piano.

"Tea for Two" (Dallas-811). Words by Irving Cesar, music by Vincent Youmans. Published by Warner Brothers and Seven Arts Music, 1924. Introduced by Louise Groody and John Barker in the musical *No, No, Nanette* (1925). Sung by Doris Day and Gordon MacRae in the film *Tea for Two* (1950). Re-created by Doris Day with Harry James and His Orchestra in the film *Young Man, Go Home* (1950). Used in the film *With a Song in My Heart* (1952), with the voice of Jane Froman dubbed for Susan Hayward's. Doughboys recording produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, June 14, 1939. Featured personnel:

Cecil Brower and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; John "Knocky" Parker—piano; Muryel Campbell—guitar; Raymond DeArman—rhythm guitar; Jim Boyd—bass; Marvin Montgomery—tenor guitar.

"Texas Song of Pride" (Dallas-816). Composer: Marvin Montgomery. Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, June 14, 1939. Featured personnel: Cecil Brower and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; Muryel Campbell—guitar; John "Knocky" Parker—piano; Raymond DeArman (lead), Pitts (baritone), Jim Boyd (tenor), emcee Parker Willson (bass)—vocal quartet.

"The Bartender's Daughter" (Dallas-1188 [actually recorded in Fort Worth]). Composer: Marvin Montgomery. Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in the WBAP radio studios on the top floor of the Blackstone Hotel, Fort Worth, February 27, 1941. Featured personnel: Muryel Campbell—guitar; Cecil Brower and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; J. B. Brinkley—vocal.

"The Big Corral" (Fort Worth-1269). Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Fort Worth, September 10, 1936, but not released.

"The Birth of the Blues" (Dallas-544). Words by B. G. DeSylva and Lew Brown, music by Ray Henderson. Published by Warner Brothers and Seven Arts Music, and Anne-Rachel Music Corp., 1926. Introduced by Harry Richman in the revue *George White's Scandals* of 1926. Sung by Bing Crosby in the film *The Birth of the Blues* (1941). Sung by Gordon MacRae in the film *The Best Things in Life Are Free* (1956). Doughboys recording produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, May 14, 1938. Featured personnel: Dick Reinhart—guitar and vocal; Clifford Gross and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; John "Knocky" Parker—piano; Muryel Campbell—guitar; Pitts—fiddle solo.

"The Budded Rose" (Dallas-532). Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, May 14, 1938. Featured personnel: Clifford Gross and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; Muryel Campbell—guitar; Raymond DeArman—vocal.

"The Cattle Call" (Dallas-815). Words and music by Tex Owens. Published by Forster Music Publishers, Inc., 1934. Best-selling record for Eddy Arnold in 1955 (RCA Victor). Doughboys recording produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, June 14, 1939. Featured personnel: Cecil Brower and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; Muryel Campbell—electric guitar; Jim Boyd—vocal solo; Boyd (tenor), Raymond DeArman (lead), Parker Willson (bass)—vocal trio.

"The Eyes of Texas" (Dallas 388). Words by John L. Sinclair, music anonymous. Doughboys recording produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, June 20, 1937. Featured personnel: Clifford Gross and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; Muryel Campbell—guitar; John

"Knocky" Parker—piano; Raymond DeArman (lead), Dick Reinhart (tenor), Pitts (baritone), Gross (bass)—vocal quartet.

"The Farmer's Not in the Dell" (Dallas-652). Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, November 30, 1938. Featured personnel: Muryel Campbell—electric guitar; John "Knocky" Parker—piano; "Buck" Buchanan—fiddle solo; Buchanan and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; Jim Boyd—rhythm guitar and vocal; Raymond DeArman—bass.

"The Little Bar Fly" (Dallas-1185 [actually recorded in Fort Worth]). Composer: Marvin Montgomery. Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in the WBAP radio studio on the top floor of the Blackstone Hotel, Fort Worth, February 27, 1941. Featured personnel: Muryel Campbell—guitar; Cecil Brower and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; Frank Reneau—piano; J. B. Brinkley—vocal.

"The Strawberry Roan" (Fort Worth-1268). Traditional, ca. 1870–1890. Doughboys recording produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Fort Worth, September 10, 1936, but not released.

"The Wheel of the Wagon Is Broken" (Los Angeles-1123). Words and music by Elton Box, Desmond Cox, and Michael Carr, 1935. Doughboys recording produced by a Mr. Gray, first name unknown. Recorded in Los Angeles, May 26, 1936. Featured personnel: Marvin Montgomery—tenor guitar; Clifford Gross and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; Dick Reinhart—vocal.

"Thinking of You" (Dallas-804). Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, June 14, 1939. Featured personnel: Cecil Brower and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; Muryel Campbell—electric guitar; John "Knocky" Parker—accordion; Jim Boyd—bass; Raymond DeArman—rhythm guitar and vocal.

"This Life Is Hard to Understand" (Dallas-1323 [actually recorded in Fort Worth]). Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in the WBAP radio studios on the top floor of the Blackstone Hotel, Fort Worth, March 14, 1941. Featured personnel: Joe Frank Ferguson (tenor), J. B. Brinkley (lead), Kenneth Pitts (baritone), emcee Parker Willson (bass)—vocal quartet; Frank Reneau—piano.

"Thousand Mile Blues" (Dallas-649). Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, November 30, 1938. Featured personnel: "Buck" Buchanan and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; Buchanan—fiddle solo; Muryel Campbell—electric guitar; John "Knocky" Parker—piano; Marvin Montgomery—kazoo; Raymond DeArman—slap bass; Jim Boyd—vocal.

"Three Naughty Kittens" (Dallas-809). Composer: Marvin Montgomery. Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, June 14, 1939. Featured personnel: emcee Parker Willson—sound effects; Willson, Jim Boyd, Raymond DeArman, Kenneth Pitts, Marvin Mont-

gomery—voices; Willson—little girl's voice; John "Knocky" Parker—piano; Muryel Campbell—guitar.

"Three Shif-Less Skonks" (Dallas-535). Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, May 14, 1938. Featured personnel: Clifford Gross and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; Pitts—fiddle solo; John "Knocky" Parker—piano; Muryel Campbell—electric guitar; Raymond DeArman—vocal solo; DeArman (lead), Dick Reinhart (tenor), Pitts (baritone), Gross (bass)—vocal quartet.

"Tom Cat Rag" (Dallas-270). Composer: Marvin Montgomery. Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, June 12, 1937, but not released.

"Tom Cat Rag" (Dallas-541). Composer: Marvin Montgomery. Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, May 14, 1938. Featured personnel: Kenneth Pitts—fiddle; Muryel Campbell—guitar; John "Knocky" Parker—piano; Marvin Montgomery—banjo; Raymond DeArman (lead), Dick Reinhart (tenor), Pitts (baritone)—vocal trio.

"Tonight I Have a Date" (Fort Worth-1256). Composer: Marvin Montgomery. Produced by Art Satherley. Recorded in Fort Worth, April 5, 1936, but not released.

"Tonight I Have a Date" (Los Angeles-1124). Composer: Marvin Montgomery. Produced by a Mr. Gray, first name unknown. Recorded in Los Angeles, May 26, 1936, but not released.

"Too Late" (Dallas-1184 [actually recorded in Fort Worth]). Words and music by Jimmy Wakely. Published by MCA, Inc., 1941. Best-selling record for Gene Autry (Okeh) and Jimmy Wakely (Decca). Doughboys recording produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in the WBAP radio studios on the top floor of the Blackstone Hotel, Fort Worth, February 27, 1941. Featured personnel: Muryel Campbell—guitar; Ted Daffan—steel guitar fills; Cecil Brower and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; J. B. Brinkley (lead) and Joe Frank Ferguson (tenor)—vocal duet.

"Troubles" (Dallas-654). Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, November 30, 1938. Featured personnel: "Buck" Buchanan and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; Muryel Campbell—electric guitar; Jim Boyd—vocal; Raymond DeArman (lead), Boyd (tenor), Pitts (baritone)—humming trio.

"Truck Driver Blues" (Fort Worth-25526). Words and music by Ted Daffan. Published by Ted Daffan Music, 1939. Introduced by Moon Mullican. Doughboys recording produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in the Doughboys' studio at Burrus Mill, Saginaw, Texas, late October, 1939. Featured personnel: Muryel Campbell—guitar; Cecil Brower and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; Jim Boyd—rhythm guitar and vocal; Raymond DeArman—bass.

"Two More Years (And I'll be Free)" (Dallas-827). Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, June 15, 1939. Featured personnel: Muryel Campbell—playing two-part harmony on guitar; Cecil Brower and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; Jim Boyd—vocal.

"Waiting for the Robert E. Lee" (Dallas-539). Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, May 14, 1938. Featured personnel: Clifford Gross and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; John "Knocky" Parker—accordion; Muryel Campbell—guitar; Dick Reinhart—vocal.

"Washington and Lee Swing" (Dallas-389). Words by Thornton W. Allen, C. A. Robbins, music by Thornton W. Allen and W. M. Sheafe. Doughboys recording produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, June 20, 1937. Featured personnel: Clifford Gross and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; Marvin Montgomery—banjo; Muryel Campbell—guitar; John "Knocky" Parker—piano; Pitts—accordion.

"We Found Her Little Pussy Cat" (Dallas 813). Composer: Marvin Montgomery. Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, June 14, 1939. Featured personnel: Raymond DeArman and emcee Parker Willson—cats; Marvin Montgomery—little girl's voice; DeArman, Kenneth Pitts, Willson, Jim Boyd—other voices; Muryel Campbell—electric guitar; John "Knocky" Parker—piano; Cecil Brower—fiddle; Boyd—bass; Montgomery—tenor guitar; DeArman—rhythm guitar.

"We Just Can't Get Along" (Dallas-1230 [actually recorded in Fort Worth]). Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in the WBAP radio studios on the top floor of the Blackstone Hotel, Fort Worth, March 6, 1941, but not released.

"We Must Have Beer" (Dallas-810). Composer: Marvin Montgomery. Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, June 14, 1939. Featured personnel: Cecil Brower and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; John "Knocky" Parker—accordion; Muryel Campbell—guitar solo; Pitts, Jim Boyd, Raymond DeArman, Parker Willson—vocal group.

"Weary Blues" (Dallas-530). Words and music by Artie Matthews, Mort Greene, and George Cates. Doughboys recording produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, May 14, 1938. Featured personnel: Kenneth Pitts—fiddle; Muryel Campbell—electric guitar; John "Knocky" Parker—piano; Marvin Montgomery—banjo; Dick Reinhart—rhythm guitar; Raymond DeArman—slap bass and yells.

"When the Moon Shines on the Mississippi Valley" (Los Angeles-1129). Produced by a Mr. Gray, first name unknown. Recorded in Los Angeles, May 29, 1936. Featured personnel: Clifford Gross and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; Dick Reinhart—vocal.

"When You Wore a Tulip (And I Wore a Big Red Rose)" (Fort Worth-1271).

Words by Jack Mahoney, music by Percy Wenrich, 1914. Doughboys recording produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Fort Worth, September 10, 1936, but not released.

"Why Did You Lie to Me?" (Dallas-1232 [actually recorded in Fort Worth]). Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in the WBAP radio studios on the top floor of the Blackstone Hotel, Fort Worth, March 6, 1941. Featured personnel: Muryel Campbell—guitar; J. B. Brinkley—vocal; Cecil Brower and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles.

"Won't You Wait Another Year?" (Dallas-1211 [actually recorded in Fort Worth]). Composer: Marvin Montgomery. Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in the WBAP radio studios on the top floor of the Blackstone Hotel, Fort Worth, March 3, 1941. Featured personnel: Muryel Campbell—guitar; Cecil Brower and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; J. B. Brinkley—vocal.

"Yancy Special" (Dallas-651). Words by Andy Razaf, music by Meade "Lux" Lewis. Published by Shapiro, Bernstein & Co., Inc., 1938. Introduced by Meade "Lux" Lewis, who dedicated it to boogie-woogie pianist and composer Jimmy Yancey. Featured by Bob Crosby and His Orchestra with Bob Zurke on piano. Doughboys recording produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, November 30, 1938, but not released.

"You Got What I Want" (Dallas-835). Composer: Marvin Montgomery. Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, June 15, 1939. Featured personnel: Cecil Brower and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; Muryel Campbell—guitar; John "Knocky" Parker—piano; Jim Boyd—bass and vocal.

"You're the Only Star (In My Blue Heaven)" (Dallas-643). Words and music by Gene Autry. Published by Shapiro, Bernstein & Co., Inc., 1938. Introduced by Gene Autry in the film *The Old Barn Dance.* Doughboys recording produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, November 30, 1938. Featured personnel: "Buck" Buchanan and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; Marvin Montgomery—tenor guitar; Muryel Campbell—acoustic, harmonizing guitar; Raymond DeArman—bass; Jim Boyd—vocal.

"Zenda Waltz" (Dallas-647). Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in Dallas, November 30, 1938. Featured personnel: "Buck" Buchanan and Kenneth Pitts—twin fiddles; Muryel Campbell—electric guitar; Marvin Montgomery—tenor guitar; Raymond DeArman—bowed bass; Jim Boyd—rhythm guitar.

"Zip Zip Zipper" (Dallas-1187 [actually recorded in Fort Worth]). Composer: Marvin Montgomery. Produced by Art Satherley and Don Law. Recorded in the WBAP radio studios on the top floor of the Blackstone Hotel, Fort

Worth, February 27, 1941. Featured personnel: Muryel Campbell—guitar; Frank Reneau—piano; Cecil Brower—fiddle solo; emcee Parker Willson, Kenneth Pitts, Joe Frank Ferguson, J. B. Brinkley—vocal group.

SOURCES

On October 17, 1989, Marvin "Smokey" Montgomery placed the finishing touches on a discography that he, with the help of other Doughboys, created to clarify specific facts concerning participants in Doughboys' recording sessions and the locations of the sessions from the time Montgomery joined the band until the Doughboys disbanded 1941. Montgomery made copies of this typewritten discography and disseminated them to anyone interested in the band and its recording career. I acquired a copy from Montgomery during an interview session in the mid-1990s. At about the same time, Montgomery gave a copy to Alan B. Govenar, who also interviewed him. With Montgomery's permission, Alan Govenar and Jay F. Brakefield published the discography in their book *Deep Ellum and Central Track.* In creating the list above, I consulted the copy of the discography that Montgomery gave me, as well as transcriptions of the many interviews that he and I did together. Information about specific songs came from three reference sources: Barbara Naomi Cohen-Stratyner, ed., *Popular Music* 1900–1919*: An Annotated Guide to American Popular Songs;* Roman Iwaschkin, *Popular Music, A Reference Guide;* and Robert Lissauer, *Encyclopedia of Popular Music in America,* 1888 *to the Present.*

BRIEF ANALYSIS OF THE LIST

At first glance, a list such as that provided above seems quite uninteresting. Closer inspection, however, reveals a wealth of important information about the Doughboys as recording artists. Remember that it was not their recordings, but rather their radio programs and live performances that brought the Doughboys fame and recognition. Montgomery told me during several interviews and reiterated in the discography that Satherley and Law's main interest was in making recordings that would sell in the jukebox market, a consideration that largely determined which tunes were ultimately released.

Art Satherley and Don Law worked for Columbia Recording Company primarily as promoters of country music, and they recorded many Texas string bands. It is particularly noteworthy that they supervised all of the Doughboys' sessions, except for those conducted in Los Angeles. I feel certain that Art Satherley in particular deserves much credit for promoting Texas music, and that he merits scholarly study.

I list 161 record sides cut by the Doughboys between 1936 and 1941. Since some tunes were recorded more than once, this leaves 156 separate tunes recorded during this period. Thirty-eight of the sides cut by the Doughboys were not released. Of the songs recorded, both released and not released, Marvin Montgomery wrote thirty-four, John "Knocky" Parker composed three, Muryel Campbell two, and Kenneth Pitts, Muryel Campbell, and "Knocky" Parker collaborated on three, Frank Reneau and J. B. Brinkley composed one each. This means that better than a quarter of the tunes recorded were created by band members. All of the other tunes were re-created through the arranging efforts of Pitts, Campbell, and Montgomery.

Each Doughboy who composed new material revealed much about his personality and musical interests in the process. Most of Montgomery's songs were clearly honky-tonk songs, some slightly suggestive, and nearly all comic in nature. People who worked with Montgomery noted that he was a practical joker; I know from our many interviews that he always had a glint of mischief in his eyes. Montgomery's "Pussy, Pussy, Pussy" (1938) sold well on the jukeboxes because of its sexually suggestive title, but in reality, it was a comic song about a little girl who lost her cat. Montgomery also penned songs that focused on beer and drinking and on the honky-tonk lifestyle, yet he himself seldom drank alcoholic beverages or participated in the honky-tonk scene. Montgomery wrote a few more-serious songs about love lost and lovers going astray, but in the conduct of his life he was a man of honor, integrity, and fidelity. So, Marvin "Smokey" Montgomery's songs met the needs of a particular market but were not autobiographical. Of the group of songs listed here, probably the one closest to his heart was "Texas Song of Pride," which describes his pride in his adopted state.

John "Knocky" Parker, who was known as an incredible pianist and something of a hyperactive personality, wrote two types of songs. "Knocky, Knocky" was a display piece for his considerable piano skills. His other two songs, "Mama Won't Let Me" and "Mama Gets What She Wants," belong to the general category of red-hot-mama honky-tonk numbers.

Muryel Campbell was quiet and reserved, and although his expression never changed on the bandstand, he was capable of playing exhilarating, hot solo choruses. His compositions "Dirty Dishrag Blues" and "Honky Tonk Shuffle" provided him with ample opportunity to do just that.

Kenneth Pitts, Muryel Campbell, and "Knocky" Parker collaborated on three songs that had comic twists: "She's Too Young (To Play With the Boys)," "Mean, Mean Mama (from Meana)," and "Sweet Sally." J. B. Brinkley's "Five Long Years" was more of a country song, and Frank Reneau's "Slufoot on the Levee" was a vehicle for his unique method of playing the piano.

In terms of songs not created by members of the band, the Doughboys recorded an amazing variety of material. They picked up some arrangements from horn bands, including those of Duke Ellington, Bob Crosby, Phil Baxter, Ben Bernie, Bennie Moten, Frankie Trambauer, and Wayne King. They recorded vaudeville comedy songs, for example, "I Like Bananas" and "Horsie, Keep Your Tail Down." They also recorded western songs by Gene Autry, Tex Owens, and Jimmy Wakely and country songs by Floyd Tillman and Ted Daffan. Several of the popular songs the Doughboys recorded pre-dated World War I, for example, "My Buddy" and "Tea for Two." The Doughboys cut, though they did not always release, traditional folk songs and breakdowns, all re-arranged to conform to their sound. For the most part, the recordings that were not released were older barbershop numbers and cowboy songs.

The Doughboys maintained a recognizable sound between 1936 and 1941 despite personnel changes, largely through the efforts of Kenneth Pitts and Marvin Montgomery. For example, the two arrangers always employed twin fiddles, with one fiddle playing melody and the other a harmony part. The presence of twin fiddles became an essential element of their unique sound. Between 1936 and 1941, they had no need of a drummer because the rhythm section, made up of piano, rhythm guitar, and Montgomery's banjo, were more than adequate to maintain a steady and prominent beat.

The versatility of the band members also played an important role in creating their collective identity. Kenneth Pitts could play fiddle and piano and could sing, arrange, and compose. John "Knocky" Parker could exchange his piano for the accordion, and Marvin Montgomery often soloed on tenor guitar, as well as banjo. Raymond DeArman could switch between guitar and bass. Muryel Campbell played acoustic and electric guitar, and when urged to do so, steel guitar. And all members of the band could sing in trios and quartets and make sound effects and provide speaking voices as needed. This was an extraordinary group of natural musicians, these quintessential Texas musicians—the Light Crust Doughboys.

NOTES

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3. Betty Casey, *Dance across Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985), 11.

4. Michael Mendelson, "Benny Thomasson and the Texas Fiddling Tradition," *JEMF Quarterly* 10 (Autumn 1974): 118.

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7. Glen E. Lich, *The German Texans* (San Antonio: University of Texas Institute of Texan Cultures, 1981), 38.

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14. Ibid., 39.
15. Fehrenbach, *Seven Keys to Texas,* vii–viii.
16. Ibid., 38.
17. Richardson, Wallace, and Anderson, *Texas,* 181–182.
18. Fehrenbach, *Seven Keys to Texas,* 75.
19. George Fuermann, *Reluctant Empire* (New York: Doubleday, 1957), 179–180.
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21. Fehrenbach, *Seven Keys to Texas,* 82.
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26. Robert A. Calvert and Arnold De Leon, *The History of Texas,* 2nd ed. (Wheeling, Ill.: Harlan Davidson, 1996), 307–338.
27. Cliff Bruner, interview by Jean A. Boyd, 14 August 1991.
28. Marvin "Smokey" Montgomery, interview by Jean A. Boyd, 1 June 1992.
29. Al Stricklin with Jon McConal, *My Years with Bob Wills* (Burnet, Tex.: Eakin Press, 1980), 12–13.

TWO. GETTING STARTED: 1930–1935

1. Cary Ginell, *Milton Brown and the Founding of Western Swing* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 46. Announcer Truett Kimzey opened each broadcast with the words "The Light Crust Doughboys are ONNN the air!"
2. Ibid., 22–31.
3. Roy Lee Brown, interview, quoted in Ginell, *Milton Brown,* 31.
4. Rick Koster, *Texas Music* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 12.
5. Charles R. Townsend, *San Antonio Rose: The Life and Music of Bob Wills* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976), 51–57.
6. Ginell, *Milton Brown,* 245 n. 8.
7. Ibid., 34.
8. Ibid., 36–38.
9. Townsend, *San Antonio Rose,* 51–57.
10. Ginell, *Milton Brown,* 39.
11. Ibid., 43.
12. Cary Ginell, "The Development of Western Swing," *JEMF Quarterly* 20 (Fall/Winter 1984): 59.
13. According to Ginell and his informant, Roy Lee Brown, this audition took place after both the Wills' Fiddle Band and the Aladdin Laddies had dissolved. This fact does not detract from either the audition or its result.
14. Stricklin with McConal, *My Years with Bob Wills,* 9–11.
15. Ginell, *Milton Brown,* 43–44.
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17. Ibid., 50.

18. Ginell, "The Development of Western Swing," 59–60.
19. Pat Remick, "Light Crust Doughboys Still Make Music Near and Far," *Amarillo Sunday News Lode*, 20 February 1983.
20. Ginell, *Milton Brown,* 250–251 n. 16.
21. Ibid., 251 n. 18.
22. Ibid., 65.
23. For additional information about Milton Brown and His Musical Brownies, see Cary Ginell's excellent book on Brown.
24. Malone, *Country Music, USA,* 90, 161.
25. Ginell, "The Development of Western Swing," 63–64.
26. Leon McAuliffe, interview by David Stricklin, 19 May 1985.
27. Janis Stout, "The Light Crust Doughboys Were on the Air: A Memoir," *Journal of Country Music* 18 (1996): 6.
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3. Ibid., 158.
4. Ginell, "The Development of Western Swing," 63–64.
5. David Tarrant, "Smokey Montgomery: The Doughboys Longtime Banjo Player Is Far from Stale," *Dallas Morning News,* 19 January 1997, E-2.
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8. Stout, "The Light Crust Doughboys Were on the Air," 6.
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12. Ibid., 32–36.
13. Ibid., 95–100.
14. Montgomery, interview by Richard Schroeder, 16 August 1994, quoted in *Texas Signs On,* 101.
15. Schroeder, *Texas Signs On*, 77.
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19. Willie Smyth, "Country Music in Commercial Motion Pictures (1933–53)," *JEMF Quarterly* 19, no. 70 (Summer 1983): 103.
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24. Ibid.
25. Montgomery, interview by Boyd, 29 December 2000.
26. Ibid.
27. John Lawson, "Willson Returns as Doughboys M.C.," *Fort Worth Star-Telegram* [date uncertain].
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29. Montgomery, "Light Crust Doughboys Recording Sessions," discography.
30. Montgomery, interview by Jean A. Boyd, 20 August 1998.
31. Ibid.
32. Jim Boyd, interview by Jean A. Boyd, 13 June 1992.
33. Ibid.
34. Montgomery, interview by Jean A. Boyd, 8 August 1998.
35. Montgomery, "Light Crust Doughboys Recording Sessions," discography.
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38. Jim Boyd, interview by Jean A. Boyd, 13 June 1992.
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17. James Lane, "Knocky Parker," *Tampa Magazine,* April 1981, 61.
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12. Greenhaw interview, 28 May 1998.
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