

# The Creation of "Texas Music"

Doug Sahm's Atlantic Sessions and the Progressive-Country Era<sup>1</sup>

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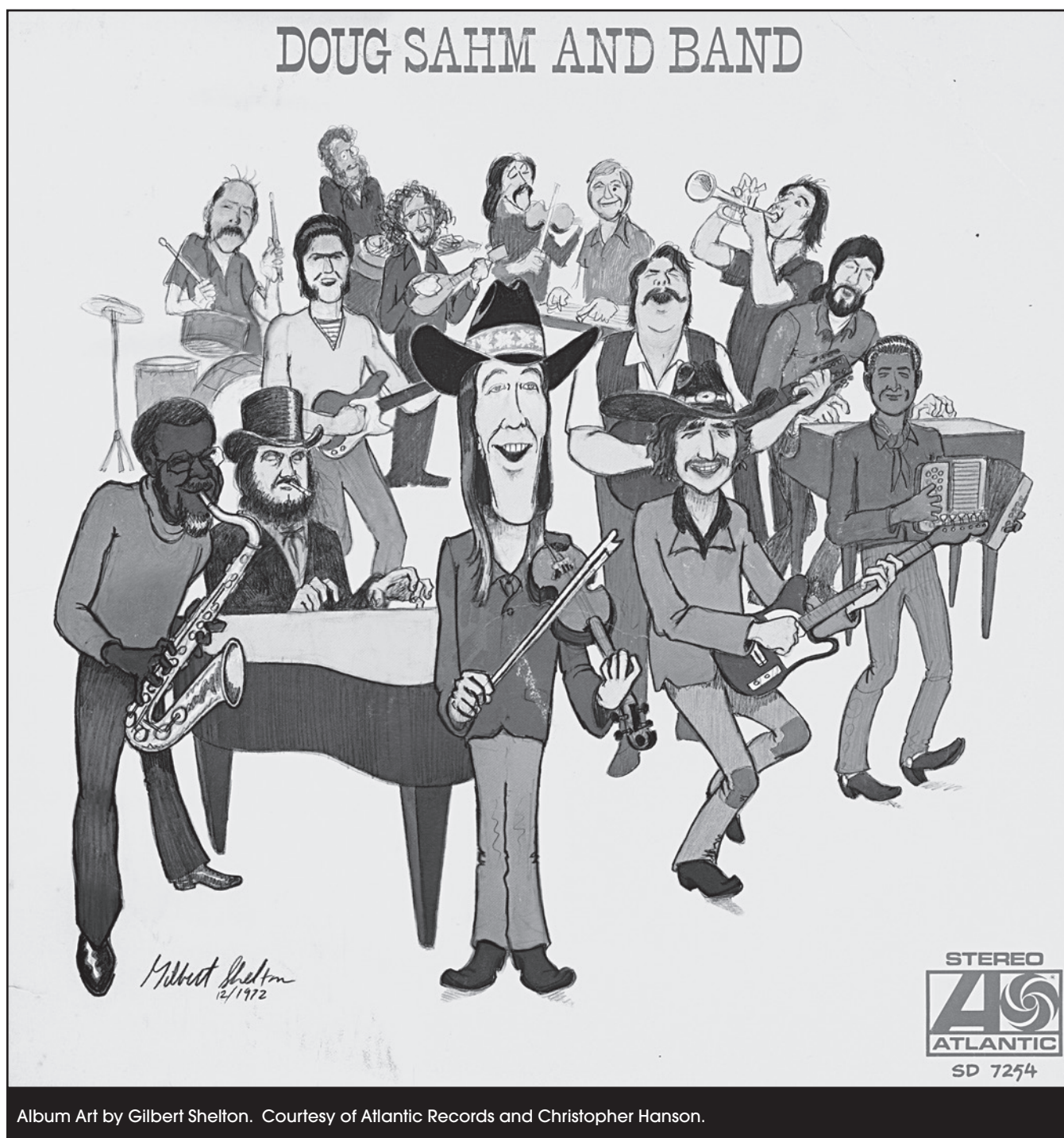




San Antonio native and progressive-country music icon, Doug Sahm, worked as a musician within the Mission City's ethnically diverse, working-class neighborhoods from the age of six, first as a multi-instrumentalist in the local country music scene and later as part of the area's blues and *conjunto* scenes. A third-generation German-American, Douglas Wayne Sahm was born on November 6, 1941. By his 30th birthday, he was widely recognized as a principal figure in the formation of a "Texas music" that brought together the vernacular styles of the Lone Star State's African-American, Anglo-American, and Tejano populations in order to articulate a Texan countercultural identity in the wake of the Civil Rights and Chicano movements, conflicts about the Vietnam War, and widespread economic change throughout the Sun Belt.<sup>2</sup>

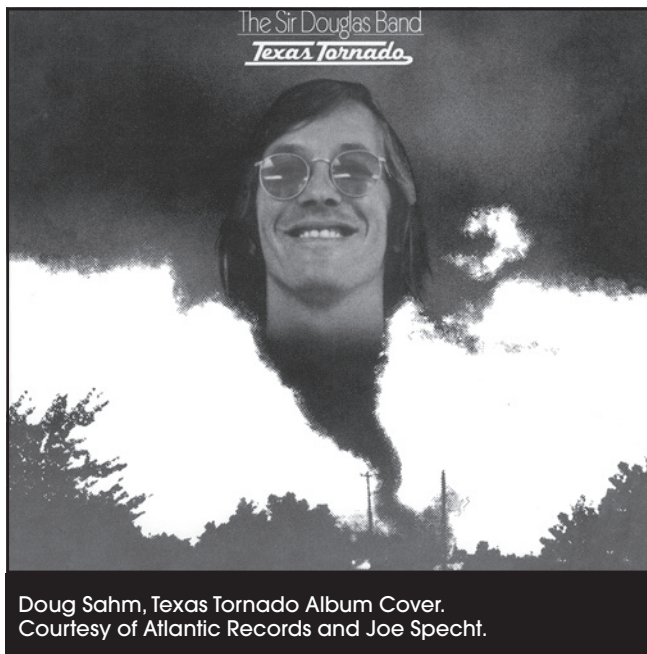
Although Sahm's entire musical career could be described accurately as an effort to celebrate Texan musical traditions within the context of the eclectic aesthetics of garage rock, certain sessions he recorded under the auspices of the Atlantic label in 1972 and 1973 offer a particularly rich distillation of his conception of "Texas music."<sup>3</sup> Sahm had already achieved national popularity before he migrated to San Francisco in the late 1960s. He returned from California to Texas in 1971 having recently finished a contract with Mercury Records and was seeking to get back in touch with his Texas roots.<sup>4</sup>





Sahm's 1973 releases on Atlantic Records, *Doug Sahm and Band* and *Texas Tornado*, covered a broad range of musical styles and included an all-star cast of supporting musicians who represented a variety of ethnic musical influences. This might lead some listeners to consider Sahm's progressive-country-era work as the musicalization of racial tolerance, acceptance, and peaceful cooperation in the aftermath of the civil rights

movement and emerging Chicano movement. At the same time, however, Sahm's understanding of "Texas music" may also be seen as an effort to reinforce the Anglo-Texan colonial impulses of the progressive-country genre. Consequently, using Sahm's Atlantic sessions as a case study, this article demonstrates the need for a critical reading of the popular notion of "Texas music" that more fully accounts for the cultural implications,



particularly those related to the politics of representation, and of the cross-cultural borrowings and exchanges that stand at the center of the Texan vernacular music experience.

In 1972, Doug Sahm met legendary Atlantic Records producer Jerry Wexler, who was in Austin hoping to capitalize on the nascent progressive-country music scene and to sign acts for the label's new Nashville operation. Arguably one of the most adventurous progressive-country artists, Sahm played an important role in shaping Austin's progressive-country scene by providing support for such Austin-based artists as Willie Nelson, Freda and the Firedogs, Stevie Ray Vaughan, and Roky Erickson, and profoundly influencing local and national conceptions of "Texas music" in the process. It was through Sahm, for example, that Wexler met the members of Freda and the Firedogs, who were working as Sahm's backing band at the time. Wexler offered the group a recording contract with Atlantic, which, for a variety of reasons, the group never signed.<sup>5</sup> Wexler's fascination with Texas music was short-lived, in no small part because many Texas musicians were wary of the national music industry.<sup>6</sup> Wexler may have been driven primarily by an interest to capitalize on the star power of musicians who had decamped to Austin and the surrounding area in the early 1970s, but the handful of albums that resulted from Atlantic Record's Texas experiment provide valuable insight into a seminal moment in the construction of "Texas music" as an idea and a musical practice.

By mid-1972, Wexler had signed Sahm to his first contract with Atlantic.<sup>7</sup> Recording at Wally Heider's studios in San Francisco and the Atlantic Studios in New York, Sahm worked with two

core groups of musicians to cut 64 sides in 13 sessions between September 8, 1972, and December 2, 1973. The first group of artists, featured mainly on Sahm's debut Atlantic release, *Doug Sahm and Band*, included such longtime Texas collaborators as keyboardist Augie Meyers, drummer George Rains, and tenor saxophonist Martin Fierro, as well as such nationally known artists as Bob Dylan and Dr. John. There were also session stalwarts Wayne Jackson, Willie Bridges, David "Fathead" Newman, David Bromberg, and Andy Statman, along with the up-and-coming Texas accordion virtuoso, Flaco Jiménez. The second group of artists, billed as The Sir Douglas Band, showcased the talents of several musicians with whom Sahm had played since he was a teenager in San Antonio, including tenor saxophonist Rocky Morales and bassist Jack Barber.

In addition to the sheer talent and experience that these musicians brought to the sessions, the groups that Sahm assembled were quite remarkable in their racial diversity, even if this was not readily apparent to most listeners. The debut album's cover image, designed by Austin cartoonist and *Fabulous Furry Freak Brothers* creator Gilbert Shelton, reveals that the recording sessions provided an opportunity for African-American, Mexican-American, Jewish-American, and Anglo-American artists to blend together a wide array of musical traditions, much as Sahm himself had done earlier in the complex racial and ethnic musical landscape of 1950s San Antonio.

Sahm's Atlantic sessions reveal a similar acceptance of diversity, including not only such original compositions as "Nitty Gritty" and "Texas Tornado" but also covers of songs with connections to the richly diverse Texas music scene, as indicated by the material recorded in four sessions held in New York, October 9-12, 1972.<sup>8</sup> On those dates, Sahm and his all-star group cut 31 songs, including versions of the 1954 pop hit "Mr. Sandman," hillbilly classics such as the Delmore Brothers' "Blues Stay Away from Me," and Darby & Tarlton's "Columbus Stockade Blues," as well as songs written by session participants Atwood Allen, Bob Dylan, and, of course, Sahm himself.

However, the majority of tunes cut in these sessions could be traced to three musical traditions that were becoming key elements of the progressive-country music scene in Austin and the emergent idea of "Texas music"—honky-tonk, Western swing, and electric blues. In each case, Sahm seems to have trained his eye on iconic artists in those three genres, paying particular attention to the ones whose recordings were readily accessible and who had enjoyed relative longevity across Texas: Hank Williams, Bob Wills, and T-Bone Walker. On October 12, Sahm cut Williams's "I Can't Help It (If I'm Still in Love with You)," "Lost Highway" (written by Texan Leon Payne), "I'm So Lonesome I Could Cry," and "Hey Good Lookin'." In addition, Sahm recorded Bob Wills's "Faded Love" and "Papa





(L-R) Long time Sahm friend and future Texas Tornados drummer, Ernie Durawa, Doug Sahm, and Atwood Allen, early 1970s. Courtesy of Ernie Durawa Collection, Wittliff Collections, Texas State University.

Ain't Salty," a T-Bone Walker standard. Sahm also recorded songs by several artists whose work could be considered part of the periphery of Texas music, most notably songs of "Chitlin' Circuit" favorites Bobby "Blue" Bland and Jimmy Reed, New Orleans rhythm-and-blues songwriter Bobby Charles, and Charlie Pride's contemporary radio hit and salute to Sahm's hometown "(Is Anybody Going to) San Antone."

In essence, these sessions brought together musical styles, key artists, and essential songs that embodied the radio and dancehall soundscapes found throughout Texas at the time. Sahm's approach, however, was somewhat cavalier, freely mixing black and white musical practices that, despite his own youthful experiences as a musical standout in San Antonio, were to a great extent segregated from one another in Texas's racially homogeneous clubs.<sup>9</sup> Wexler pointed to this aspect of Sahm's music-making as one of the key reasons that he signed Sahm to Atlantic Records, noting that "Doug had the whole repertoire" of blues, Western swing, jazz, rhythm-and-blues, and Tejano music.<sup>10</sup>

However, even more than bringing a wide-ranging interest in what Wexler described as "American root music" and what was quickly becoming known in Austin as "Texas music" was Sahm's mastery of the idioms of each genre. As a bluesy singer and a skilled multi-instrumentalist on steel guitar, fiddle, *bajo sexto*, and electric guitar, Sahm moved fluently from the *conjunto* and Western swing-influenced twin fiddle sound of "(Is Anybody Going to) San Antone" to the blazing electric guitar work heard in his cover of Bobby "Blue" Bland's "Your Friends."

Of course, there were other musicians in Austin's 1970s progressive-country scene who blended a variety of ethnic musical genres. This is one reason progressive country appealed to such a broad audience and helped connect young listeners and veteran players in the process of defining this new "Texas music." Yet unlike many other progressive-country artists,

Sahm had been freely mixing all of these musical influences since his teens. Childhood friends and musical collaborators Rocky Morales and Johnny Perez seemed to confirm Sahm's genuine respect and fondness for African-American, Tejano, and Anglo-Texan music early on, when they rechristened him "Doug Saldaña," noting that "Doug...was so Mexican he needed a proper name."<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, *Rolling Stone* named Sahm "Chicano of the Year" in its 1970 "Annual Awards for Profundity in Arts and Culture."<sup>12</sup>

Doug Sahm's eclectic musical output reflected his unwillingness to be categorized as simply an "Anglo" artist. "Chicano," a song recorded on October 9, 1972, at Atlantic Records' New York Studios and released on Sahm's 1973 *Texas Tornado* album, was conceived as a *conjunto* song. It featured Sahm on *bajo sexto* (a 12-string guitar commonly used for rhythm in *conjunto* bands) and Flaco Jiménez on accordion. Capturing the spirit, sound, and message of the Chicano movement that was gaining momentum throughout South and Central Texas during the early 1970s,<sup>13</sup> the song offered a powerful statement of Mexican-American pride:

Chicano, soy Chicano.  
Skin is brown, I'm so proud.  
And I'll make it in my own way.  
Some people call me third world.  
But I know that it's a real world.  
'Cause to me, all I am is Mexican.

The lyrics go on to echo the Chicano movement's call for collective action in celebrating Mexican-American history and culture. He challenges his fellow Chicanos to:

Come together right now.  
And all across the U.S.A.  
Jump up and say  
Chicano, soy Chicano.  
Right on!

In addition to making a powerful lyrical statement of Chicano pride, Sahm prominently featured the sounds of *conjunto* music, a style most often associated with the Mexican-American working class of South Texas. *Conjunto* itself epitomized the remarkable cross-pollination of musical cultures found throughout the Lone Star State. Rooted in Mexican folk music, *conjunto* borrowed the accordion and the polka dance step from German and Czech immigrants and blended those with elements of blues and country. In "Chicano," the musical echoes of Mexicans, Germans, Czechs, Africans, and Anglo-Texans in South Texas are joined by a steel-guitar obbligato, highlighting the complex intermingling of ethnic influences that Sahm had encountered since his childhood.<sup>14</sup>

As historian Jason Mellard has argued, Doug Sahm became something of a Chicano "insider" by calling for respect, acceptance, and reconciliation between Anglo Texans and Tejanos.<sup>15</sup> In the years immediately following the release of *Texas Tornado*, "Chicano" appeared on such records as Los Alvarados' 1974 LP *El movimiento chicano*. Indeed, ethnomusicologist and *conjunto* scholar Manuel Peña went so far as to suggest that many Tejanos, as "upwardly mobile, former proletarians (or their offspring)," began "to reexamine their relationship with this suddenly precious cultural resource" following the interest of Sahm and other white artists in the genre.<sup>16</sup>

The effectiveness of Sahm's "Chicano" role is further supported by the widespread acceptance of this song by Tejano groups in and around Austin during the 1970s. Rumel Fuentes and Los Pinguinos del Norte's 1975 recording of "Chicano," which appears in Les Blank's 1976 documentary film *Chulas Fronteras*, perhaps best exemplifies the growing impact of the song within the Chicano movement. In this particular performance, Fuentes adds two bilingual verses that bring the political confrontations between Tejanos and Anglo Texans into stark relief, noting that "some people call me violent / 'cause I'm no longer the silent / Pobrecito Mexicano! (Poor little Mexican!)."<sup>17</sup>

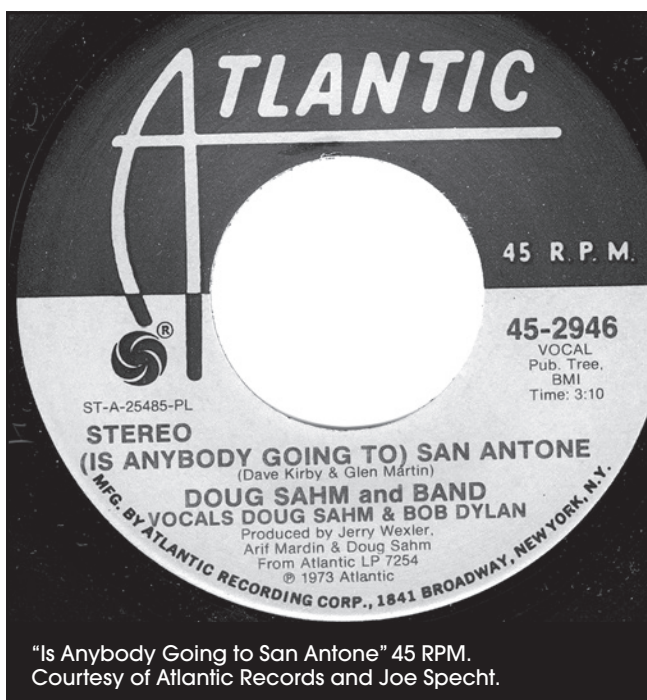
At the same time that Doug Sahm's cultural complexity might be interpreted as an effort to desegregate the musical landscape of Austin in the 1970s, some people might just as easily regard this as another example of the colonial impulse of Texan nationalism. Emerging alongside the establishment of the Republic of Texas in 1836, Texan nationalism, as cultural

geographer D.W. Meinig suggests, has been intimately tied to "a history of conquest, expansion, and dominion over a varied realm, and not only an outward movement of people, but the thrust of a self-confident aggressive people driven by a strong sense of superiority and destiny."<sup>18</sup>

When viewed from a different perspective, Sahm's recording of "Chicano" reveals what some might consider the intrusion of Anglo-Texan musical styles into this otherwise Texas-Mexican song. For example, the traditional *conjunto* button-accordion solo is followed by what could be considered the quintessential honky-tonk instrument, the steel guitar. The steel guitarist, David Bromberg, not only plays a break over half of the song but continues to make its presence known throughout the remainder of the recording. Moreover, Sahm also interjects the trademark "a-ha" holler of Western-swing pioneer Bob Wills, who, during the 1930s, already was blending Anglo, African, Mexican, Czech, and other ethnic musical influences found in the Lone Star State. In fact, Wills's "a-ha," which he often used to express happiness or enthusiasm at certain points in a song, is similar to the *grito* shout so commonly heard in Mexican popular and folk music.<sup>19</sup>

While this blurring of generic distinctions might be heard in light of Sahm's holistic and multicultural approach to "Texas music," one might just as easily hear this seemingly uncritical blending of otherwise segregated musical practices as yet another chapter in a long narrative of Anglo-Texan colonial dominance. Similarly, Sahm's performance of "Chicano" might be interpreted as a form of "brownface." Dance scholar Juliet McMains, writing of the tendency of competitive ballroom dancers to don dark makeup and spray-on tans, has described this as "a mask of Latinness that might free...[a performer] to step outside his or her own culturally acceptable range of expression" while also "eras[ing] and displac[ing]" authentic Latin presence in performance.<sup>20</sup> Consequently, Sahm's personal background, along with his deliberate efforts to include a diverse range of ethnic musical repertoires and a multi-racial cast of studio musicians, served to cast him as one who was sympathetic to the ideals of the Chicano movement. However, the fact that he was white and non-Hispanic certainly added to the complexity of his role in helping shape a "Texas sound."

The 1970s progressive-country music scene in Austin was a cultural space in which a generation of young Texans redefined what it meant to be Texan. They did so by claiming ownership of distinctly Texan forms of expressive culture, including not only music but also fashion, language, and art.<sup>21</sup> Sahm's recordings and his appearances at Austin's Armadillo World Headquarters, Soap Creek Saloon, and on the PBS series *Austin City Limits* occurred at the same time that other young Texas musicians were borrowing from the state's unique and eclectic musical heritage. In particular, Ray Benson's group Asleep at



the Wheel, along with others such as fiddler Alvin Crow, were helping to revive public interest in Western swing, an eclectic blend of country, jazz, blues, and pop that had emerged from Texas in the 1930s but had declined in popularity by the 1960s. Benson and other Western swing revivalists learned from and often performed with former members of Bob Wills's Texas Playboys. This allowed Benson's Asleep at the Wheel and other young acts to move fluidly between Austin's progressive-country venues and more traditional venues, such as Dewey Groom's Longhorn Ballroom in Dallas.<sup>22</sup>

Similarly, Austin musician Bobby Earl Smith, who occasionally played with Sahm, collaborated quite frequently with local restaurateur and Jimmie Rodgers emulator Kenneth Threadgill. Threadgill served as a direct link between Rodgers, arguably the most successful and influential country singer of the 1920s and 1930s, and Texas blues-rock singer Janis Joplin, who had some of her first public performances at Kenneth Threadgill's bar while still a student at the University of Texas during the 1960s. Threadgill's, which had hosted an eclectic mix of musicians since it opened in the 1930s, helped lay the foundation for Austin's vibrant alternative music scene that continues today. Perhaps most famously, songwriter and multi-instrumentalist Ry Cooder traveled to San Antonio in 1975 to study with *conjunto* accordionist Flaco Jiménez and *bajo sexto* player Toby Torres after hearing Jiménez's contributions to Sahm's *Texas Tornado*.<sup>23</sup> Such efforts at blending diverse musical influences were common throughout Austin's progressive-country music scene, and it became an important part of articulating the emerging concept of "Texas music" among young musicians, fans, and members of the media.

These collective Texan identities and the free musical borrowings that aided in their formation were shaped in large part by the legacy of Anglo-Texan nationalism. Despite challenges from Chicano and African-American civil rights

groups and official efforts to integrate the state capital during the 1970s, Austin and the University of Texas remained highly segregated throughout the progressive-country decade.<sup>24</sup> This meant that the progressive-country music scene existed within a predominantly white, Anglo-Texan milieu in clubs such as the Soap Creek Saloon and Armadillo World Headquarters.<sup>25</sup> Consequently, country music historian Bill Malone has suggested that progressive-country musicians created a "Texas music," which "reflected the fusion of cultures [that progressive-country fans] had grown up with" and represented for them "a semblance of tradition in a society given over to feverish change."<sup>26</sup>

To be sure, progressive-country music certainly celebrated Anglo-Texan culture, musical or otherwise, as the scene's veneration of the cowboy, country music, and Texas "exceptionalism" indicate.<sup>27</sup> Yet the case of Doug Sahm suggests that the notion of "Texas music" may not have been a simple reactionary construction; rather, it might just as easily be understood as an effort to reconceptualize the fundamental tenets of Texan identity, effectively celebrating the Lone Star State's cultural diversity and cultural heritage. Unfortunately, this sentiment may have been lost on the national audience for Sahm's Atlantic releases, as evidenced by Greil Marcus's review of *Doug Sahm and Band*, which focuses on the star power of Bob Dylan and laments that the album "may be Sir Doug's dullest."<sup>28</sup>

A product of the rich multicultural environment of San Antonio, Doug Sahm was a living archive of Texan vernacular musical styles. However, unlike such contemporaries as Western-swing revivalists Asleep at the Wheel, he did not engage with this music primarily as a practitioner of a historically informed performance practice rooted in efforts to preserve the past.<sup>29</sup> Rather, as a solo recording artist and in his work as leader of the Sir Douglas Quintet and the Texas Tornados, Doug Sahm freely interpolated elements from disparate musical practices in order to imbue these repertoires with distinctly contemporary meanings. ★

## Notes

- 1 An earlier version of this paper was presented at the POST-45 @ the Rock Hall Conference, Cleveland, Ohio, April 29, 2011. I would like to thank Tracey Laird, Jason Mellard, Karl Hagstrom Miller, and Diane Pecknold, as well as the anonymous reviewers from the *Journal of Texas Music History*, for their insights and suggestions.
- 2 Jan Reid with Shawn Sahm, *Texas Tornado: The Times & Music of Doug Sahm* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010), 3-15; Chet Flippo, "Like to Send This Out to Everybody. Sir Douglas of the Quintet is Back (in Texas). He'd Like to Thank All His Beautiful Friends All Over the Country for All Their Beautiful Vibrations. He Loves You," *Rolling Stone* 86, July 8, 1971, 28; "Doug Sahm," *1980 Houston Country Scene* (1980): 23; Jason Mellard, "Regional Hybridity in Texas Music: The Case of the Texas Tornados," *Text, Practice, Performance V* (2003): 115-121; Gregory Curtis, "He's About a Mover," *Texas Monthly*, April 1974. My conception of "Texas music" is very much informed by Texas music historian Gary Hartman, who argues that "first and foremost, Texas music is extraordinarily diverse.... [It] has evolved alongside and in conjunction with other forms

of regional music, and...has deep roots extending to other parts of North America and around the world," Gary Hartman, *The History of Texas Music* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2008), 1-2. See also Rick Koster, *Texas Music* (New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 1998), vii-ix. For a broader discussion of the cultural politics of the progressive-country movement, see Cory Lock, "Counterculture Cowboys: Progressive Texas Country of the 1970s and 1980s," *Journal of Texas Music History* 3.1 (2003): 1-10; Travis David Stimeling, "Place, Space, and Protest: Austin's Progressive Country Music Scene and the Negotiation of Texan Identities, 1968-1978," Ph.D. dissertation, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2007; and Jason Dean Mellard, "Cosmic Cowboys, Armadillos and Outlaws: The Cultural Politics of Texan Identity in the 1970s," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 2009.

- 3 Joe Nick Patoski, "Uno, Dos, One, Two, Tres, Cuatro," *Journal of Texas Music History* 1.1 (2000): 3; Don McLeese, "Sir Douglas Sahm and the Garage as Big as Texas," *Popular Music and Society* 29.4 (October 2006): 447.



- 4 Reid with Sahm, *Texas Tornado*, 73; Mellard, "Regional Hybridity in Texas Music," 119-120.
- 5 Marcia Ball, interview by author, January 18, 2007; Bobby Earl Smith, interview by author, June 2, 2007; Joe Nick Patoski, interview by author, April 1, 2008.
- 6 Jerry Wexler famously described the Austin music scene as a "mirage" in a 1974 interview with *Rolling Stone's* Chet Flippo, "Austin: The Hucksters Are Coming," *Rolling Stone* 158, April 11, 1974, 24. For a more detailed discussion of Austin musicians' attitudes toward the national music industry, see Travis D. Stimeling, *Cosmic Cowboys and New Hicks: The Countercultural Sounds of Austin's Progressive Country Music Scene* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 6-7.
- 7 Reid with Sahm, *Texas Tornado*, 84-85.
- 8 Jazz Discography Project, "Atlantic Records Discography: 1972—session index," <http://www.jazzdisco.org/atlantic-records/discography-1972/> (accessed February 15, 2011).
- 9 For a more extensive examination of musical life in San Antonio's West Side during Sahm's youth, see Allen O. Olsen, "San Antonio's West Side Sound," *Journal of Texas Music History* 5.1 (2005), <http://ecommons.txstate.edu/jtmh/vol5/iss1/>.
- 10 Raoul Hernandez, "A Man and a Half: Jerry Wexler, 'The Funky Jewish King of Black Music,'" *Austin Chronicle* December 1, 2000, <http://www.austinchronicle.com/music/2000-12-01/79616/> (accessed April 5, 2011); Reid with Sahm, *Texas Tornado*, 85-86.
- 11 Reid with Sahm, *Texas Tornado*, 10.
- 12 "It Happened in 1970: Rolling Stone Annual Awards for Profundity in Arts and Culture," *Rolling Stone* 75, February 4, 1971, 47.
- 13 Manuel Peña, *Música Tejana: The Cultural Economy of Artistic Transformation* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1999), 116; Cathy Ragland, "La Voz del Pueblo Tejano: Conjunto Music and the Construction of Tejano Identity in Texas," in *Puro Conjunto! An Album in Words and Pictures: Writings, Posters, and Photographs from the Tejano Conjunto Festival en San Antonio*, eds. Juan Tejeda and Avelardo Valdez (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001), 214; Guadalupe San Miguel, Jr., *Tejano Proud: Tex-Mex Music in the Twentieth Century* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 2002), 66.
- 14 Mellard, "Regional Hybridity in Texas Music," 111. On the multi-ethnic nature of *conjunto* elements, see Carlos Jesús Gómez Flores, "The Accordion on Both Sides of the Border," in *Puro Conjunto!* eds. Tejeda and Valdez, 74; Daniel S. Margolies, "Voz de Pueblo Chicano: Sustainability, Teaching, and Intangible Cultural Transfer in Conjunto Music," *Journal of American Culture* 34.1 (March 2011): 41.
- 15 Mellard, "Regional Hybridity in Texas Music," 119. At the same time, as José E. Limón has suggested, the use of the term "Chicano" by a white speaker might easily be read as a racial slur akin to the use of other derogatory racial epithets; José E. Limón, "The Folk Performance of 'Chicano' and the Cultural Limits of Political Ideology," in *And Other Neighborly Names: Social Process and Cultural Image in Texas Folklore*, eds. Richard Bauman and Roger D. Abrahams (Austin and London: University of Texas Press, 1981), 206. One finds a similar example in Austin-based Conjunto Aztlán's frequently performed and more militant composition "Yo soy Chicano," which proclaims, "Yo soy Chicano, tengo color / Puro Chicano, hermano con honor. / Cuando me dicen que hay revolución, / Defiendo a mi raza con mucho valor" ("I am Chicano, a man of color/ Pure Chicano, a brother with honor/ When they tell me there's a revolution/ I'll defend my race with much valor"). Conjunto Aztlán, "Yo soy Chicano," *Hecho en Texas: An Anthology of Texas-Mexican Literature*, ed., Dagoberto Gilb (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press in cooperation with the Southwestern Writers Collection, Texas State University, 2006), 272-273. For more on the nature of the Chicano movement in Texas, see Armando Gutiérrez and Herbert Hirsch, "The Militant Challenge to the American Ethos: 'Chicanos' and 'Mexican Americans,'" *Social Science Quarterly* 53.4 (1973): 830-845; Armando Navarro, *Mexican American Youth Organization: Avant-Garde of the Chicano Movement in Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995); George Mariscal, *Brown-Eyed Children of the Sun: Lessons from the Chicano Movement, 1965-1975* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005); Carlos Muñoz, Jr., *Youth, Identity, Power: the Chicano Movement*, revised and expanded ed. (London and New York: Verso, 2007); Yolanda Alaniz and Megan Cornish, *Viva La Raza: A History of Chicano Identity & Resistance* (Seattle: Red Letter Press, 2008); José P. Garza, "El Grupo: The Initiation of the First Chicano Art Group in Texas, 1967," ed. Felipe Reyes, *Aztlán* 34.1 (2009): 247-291; and David Montejano, *Quixote's Soldiers: A Local History of the Chicano Movement, 1966-1981* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010).
- 16 Manuel Peña, *The Texas-Mexican Conjunto: History of a Working-Class Music* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1985), 110.
- 17 "Remembering Doug Saldaña," ...to the Sublime, November 9, 2000, [http://tothesublime.typepad.com/to\\_the\\_sublime2009/11/index.html](http://tothesublime.typepad.com/to_the_sublime2009/11/index.html) (accessed March 15, 2011).
- 18 D.W. Meinig, *Imperial Texas: An Interpretive Essay in Cultural Geography* (Austin and London: University of Texas Press, 1969), 7. See also Arnoldo De León, "Region and Ethnicity: Topographical Identities in Texas," in *Many Wests: Place, Culture, and Regional Identity*, eds. David M. Wrobel and Michael C. Steiner (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1997), 260-265; Mark E. Nackman, *A Nation within a Nation: The Rise of Texas Nationalism*, National University Publications (Port Washington, NY, and London: Kennikat Press, 1975), 3-5.
- 19 I am grateful to Jason Mellard for drawing my attention to the similarity between this utterance and the *grito*.
- 20 Juliet McMains, "Reality Check: *Dancing with the Stars* and the American Dream," in *The Routledge Dance Studies Reader*, 2nd ed., eds. Alexandra Carter and Janet O'Shea (London and New York: Routledge, 2010), 266.
- 21 Stimeling, *Cosmic Cowboys and New Hicks*.
- 22 Floyd Domino, interview by author, June 25, 2007; Joe Nick Patoski, "Alvin Crow...6 Days on the Road," *Pickin' Up the Tempo: A Country-Western Journal* 1 (April 1, 1975): 4-5.
- 23 Joe Gracey, "Conjunto Fever," *Pickin' Up the Tempo: A Country-Western Journal* 1 (April 1, 1975): 2-4. Joe Nick Patoski has observed that *conjunto* was rather difficult to find in Austin during the early 1970s, appearing primarily at the "Sunday *bailes* at *el club Rockin' M*, a country dance hall between Austin and Lockhart during the early 1970s"; Joe Nick Patoski, introduction to *Conjunto: Voz del Pueblo. Canciones del Corazón/Conjunto: Voice of the People, Songs from the Heart* by John Dyer (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2005), 7. See also Patoski, "Uno, Dos, One, Two, Tres, Cuatro," 3.
- 24 For more on the efforts to desegregate the University of Texas, see Almetris Marsh Duren, *Overcoming: A History of Black Integration at the University of Texas at Austin* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979); Michael C. Gillette, "Blacks Challenge the White University," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 86 (October 1982): 321-344; Richard B. McCaslin, "Steadfast in His Intent: John W. Hargis and the Integration of the University of Texas at Austin," *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 95 (July 1991): 21-41; Dwonna Goldstone, *Integrating the 40 Acres: The 50-Year Struggle for Equality at the University of Texas* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2006); and Gary Lavergne, *Before Brown: Heman Marion Sweatt, Thurgood Marshall, and the Long Road to Justice* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010).
- 25 For more on the role of the Armadillo World Headquarters and other live music venues in Austin during this period, see Jason Dean Mellard, "Home With the Armadillo: Public Memory and Performance in the 1970s Austin Music Scene," *Journal of Texas Music History* 10 (2010), 8-21. For an examination of the authenticity of "live" music as part of the progressive-country music scene, see Travis D. Stimeling, "¡Viva Terlingua! Jerry Jeff Walker, Live Recordings, and the Authenticity of Progressive Country Music," *Journal of Texas Music History* 8 (2008), 20-33.
- 26 Bill C. Malone, "Myth, Media, and the Making of Texas Music," *Texas Humanist* (July-August 1985): 9.
- 27 Mellard, "Cosmic Cowboys, Armadillos and Outlaws," 143.
- 28 Greil Marcus, "Doug Sahm: *Doug Sahm and Band* (Atlantic K40466)," *Let It Rock* (April 1973), <http://www.rocksbkpages.com/article.html?ArticleID=669> (accessed November 9, 2011).
- 29 Stimeling, *Cosmic Cowboys and New Hicks*, 63-76.