

Texas Dance Halls:
History, Culture, and Community
Gail Folkins



Past the front door of the Twin Sisters Dance Hall, a few miles west of New Braunfels, the honey-colored floor gleams, and the stage in front of us is framed in the same blonde wood. It could just as easily be Saturday evening in the late 1800s, when many of these dance halls were first built, except for the pick-up trucks starting to fill the parking lot outside. This hall is a new one for me; I scan the walls and the front stage. I may not be a native Texan, coming instead from the mountains near Seattle, but I am a dance hall wife. From my first visit to Gruene Hall with friends in the early 1990s to the gigs that my musician husband has taken me to across Texas, I have learned to slide across dance floor "salt" and to smell the years buried in the woody-dust scent.

The floor boards at Twin Sisters creak under our feet. It is so early that few people are here yet; as with most gigs, musicians are among the first to arrive and the last to leave at the end of the night. The band members of TCTaylor and 13 Days, along with spouses and a friend or two, help tote their black bundles of gear. My husband, John, is carrying his favorite bass guitar. I lug what I can, usually the electrical cords, the music stand, sometimes an electric bass in its soft black bag. Long arms outstretched to take his bass, John smiles behind his horned-rim glasses, happy that this is his job. As the lights dim, my research starts, too.

Years after my first dance hall visit, I decided to write about the vibrant settings that had become a regular part of my life. I 2

wanted to share the halls not through my eyes alone, but also through the eyes of individuals I meet at each gig who keep dance hall culture strong—hall owners, musicians, patrons, and friends. Interviews with some of my initial contacts and those of my musician husband soon led to an expanding circle of people eager to talk about their dance hall experiences.'

TEXAS DANCE HALL HISTORY

German and Czech immigrants built a number of dance halls throughout Texas in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, primarily as community and cultural centers. These early halls often served as meeting places where fraternal organizations gathered to conduct business in support of local farmers, merchants, and other residents. The dance halls also provided an important means of cultural identification for immigrant communities. According to Nick Morris in *A History of the S.P.J.S.T.: a Texas Chronicle*, "When an immigrant

immigrants effectively preserved boundaries between themselves and other dance hall patrons."⁴

Because "Das Deutsche Lied," or "the German song," was central to family and community celebrations back in the German-speaking parts of Europe, music also became an integral part of daily life in virtually every Texas-German settlement. Singing societies, which quickly sprang up within German communities throughout the Southwest, performed in local dance halls and at music festivals all across the state. As a result, the German dance halls often were the hub of social activity within each Texas-German community, and they hosted performances by various singing groups, as well as brass, woodwind, and string bands. Czech settlers, meanwhile, held many of their dances in family homes until the early 1900s, when Czech-Texan fraternal organizations, most notably the S.P.J.S.T. (Slavonic Benevolent Order of the State of Texas, founded in 1897), began building halls throughout the state.⁵

Over the years, the ethnic makeup of most of these

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arrived in America in those days, he naturally sought the company of those most like him in customs, habits, language, and common interests." To ease this transition into their new lives, immigrants frequently brought with them familiar aspects of their traditional culture—including music and dancing—to help comfort them in an unfamiliar setting, calling on what James Clifford terms in *The Predicament of Culture* "performances from (re)collected pasts."²

Music provided settlers with a welcome opportunity to relax and socialize. In *Dance Halls and Last Calls*, Geronimo Treviño III describes the importance of singing and dancing in the immigrants' lives. "The German and Czech immigrants brought with them their Old World habits. The dance hall/community center became a focal meeting place for their favorite pastime of dancing and listening to singing groups. It provided the medicine they needed from the rigors of farm work."³ In addition to partaking in fun and recreation, immigrant parents also used the halls to pass along traditions of music and dancing to their offspring. In this way, the dance halls became an important link in the transmission of ethnic culture from one generation to the next. Randy McBee explains in *Dance Hall Days* that "the cliques and social clubs that flourished in the dance hall...were so identified with ethnicity, class, and neighborhood affiliation that the children of

communities changed, and dance hall patronage began to reflect the demographic shifts of immigrant cultures. Historian Gary Hartman explains that "as succeeding generations of German and Czech Texans increasingly assimilated and moved out of the small towns into bigger cities, the ethnic bond that had kept the communal celebrations and other events going in the local communities began to erode." As the children and grandchildren of the original immigrants began to more fully integrate into "mainstream" American culture, the strong sense of ethnic nationalism associated with the halls began to fade. From the middle to late 1900s, both German and Czech dance halls lost their specific ethnic constituency and began serving as public venues for various ethnic groups and their music.⁶

By the 1950s, the increased migration of rural residents into urban areas, coupled with the growing role of television as the chief source of family entertainment, meant that many small-town dance halls fell into disuse and disrepair or came to be used as sports facilities, bingo parlors, or for other non-musical purposes. As more people migrated to the cities, rural dance halls had increasing difficulty attracting clientele. A new generation of consumers was finding its music on CDs, videos, and in concert arenas rather than in the old dance halls scattered throughout the Texas countryside.

Despite these changes, the historical appeal of the halls,

combined with their functionality as performance sites, helped keep dance hall culture alive and thriving. Although most Texas dance halls suffered a decline in use during the middle part of the twentieth century, by the beginning of the twenty-first century, many of them are more popular than ever, hosting a variety of local and nationally-known entertainers and, once again, providing a dynamic and vital component in the state's larger musical culture.

THE ROLE OF MUSIC

As part of the long-term evolution of dance halls, community culture has been redefined to reflect newer, regional-based identity, instead of the old ethnic-based cultural identity. Migratory patterns and a shifting populace could not help but influence the music played in the surviving Texas dance halls. Customers responded to a divergent regional sound, and communities once defined by ethnic origin were at once broken and reformed. From the traditional polkas and folk music

styles of ethnic music throughout the Southwest.⁸

In the midst of this trading and borrowing of musical styles, Texas dance halls served as cross-cultural incubators, helping give rise to entirely new forms of music that are distinct to the Southwest. Hartman considers the unique geographic, social, and ethnic make-up of Texas to be a key factor in spurring these musical innovations.

Partly because Texas was less strictly segregated than the Deep South, and partly because the rugged environment of the western frontier necessitated cooperation among traditionally disparate groups, people of different racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic backgrounds interacted somewhat more freely in Texas than in other parts of the South, exchanging musical ideas and influences in the process.⁹

One of the most notable examples of this cultural cross-

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Music has been an important catalyst for cultural change in virtually all human societies throughout history, and it certainly has played an important role in shaping and reflecting the complex cultural evolution of the American Southwest. As Martin Stokes argues in *Ethnicity, Identity, and Music*, "musical performance, as well as the acts of listening, dancing, arguing, discussing, thinking, and writing about music, provide the means by which ethnicities and identities are constructed and mobilized." Since Texas dance halls provided a comfortable and accessible arena in which neighboring ethnic groups could share musical traditions, the dance hall/community center became vital to the remarkable cross-pollination of musical cultures that occurred throughout the state.

For instance, the polka music of Czech and German immigrants, which is still played in many Czech and German settlements across Texas, spilled out of specific regional dance halls to become a standard feature in the musical repertoires of Anglo, Mexican, and other ethnic communities around the state. Another good example of this exchange of musical traditions is the accordion. Brought to Texas by German and Czech immigrants, it was soon incorporated into conjunto, Tejano, zydeco, and other

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pollination to be associated with Texas dance halls is the emergence of a dynamic new style of music during the 1930s that would come to be known as "Texas swing" or "western swing." Although western swing was rooted in the "Anglo" folk traditions of the British Isles, it also absorbed a variety of other musical influences, including Mexican-American, African-American, German-American, and Franco-American. Western swing, which combined traditional fiddle breakdowns with blues, jazz, pop, polkas, mariachi, Dixieland, and big band swing, could be heard on radios and in dance halls across the country during the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s. Texas artists Bob Wills and Milton Brown, both of whom were strongly influenced by a variety of musical styles, were the leading architects of early western swing. Performing in dance halls throughout the Southwest, Wills, Brown, and other artists helped define Texas dance hall culture with their signature sound, which was a lively, highly danceable form of country music that borrowed from the multitude of musical traditions found in the region.¹⁰

In addition to western swing, other types of musical synergies formed within the cultural vortex of the Southwest during the early twentieth century. One of the most significant of these has been conjunto, which incorporated the German-style of accordion and polka into Mexican-American folk music,

producing a dynamic and energetic dance music that is now popular throughout the United States. Santiago Jiménez, Sr., one of the pioneers of *conjunto* music, grew up in San Antonio, where he absorbed the sounds of German and Czech accordion music. As an adult, he blended these eclectic influences into his own unique Mexican-American sound to help define the modern *conjunto* style. Today, younger *conjunto* players continue to perform this music at festivals and in dance halls throughout the Southwest."

Adolph Hofner, a German-Czech musician who lived in San Antonio, is another good example of this mingling of ethnic cultures that has taken place throughout the state over the years. Hofner performed in numerous Central Texas dance halls, mixing Czech polkas and German waltzes with western swing and fiddle hoedowns. Along with Ernest Tubb, Lefty Frizzell, Floyd Tillman, and other Texas musicians, Hofner also helped pioneer a new style of country music in the 1940s and 1950s that came to be known as "honky tonk," which is still performed by countless bands in dance halls across Texas.¹² As they have done for generations, Texas dance halls continue to provide an ideal environment for the exchange of musical cultures and the ongoing evolution of various types of musical genres.

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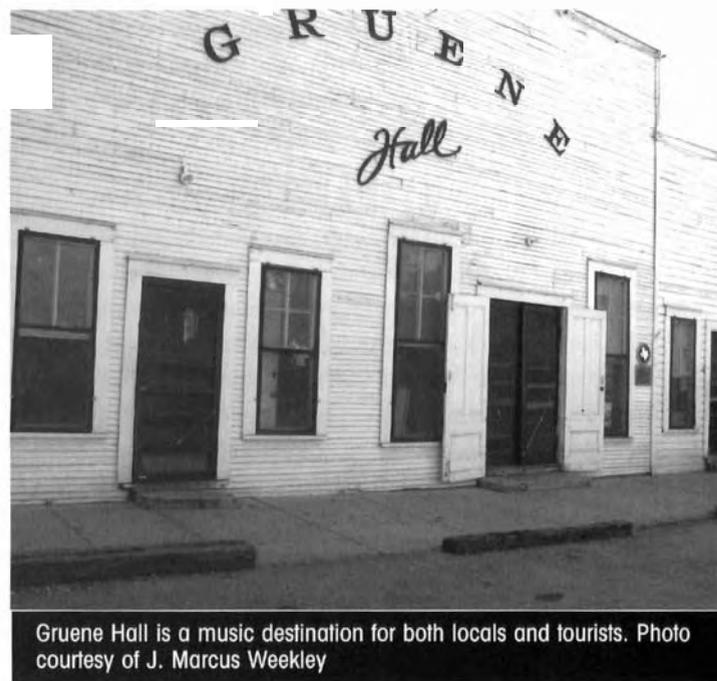
TODAY'S DANCE HALL CULTURE

Texas dance halls survive in contemporary culture because of the social function they serve and the combination of traditional and innovative sounds that keep filling the wooden floors with dancers. Today's dance hall owners manage to attract a diverse clientele within their historic venues, which, for the most part, still feature the kind of regional music that reflects the halls' long-term contributions to the development of Texas culture. As dance hall patrons and performers interact, they continue to foster community bonding and artistic creativity. The halls still attract people of all ages, from singles in trim jeans looking for jitterbug partners to seniors who have been waltzing together for years. Children learning to two-step with their parents or sliding across the dance floor during set breaks are a healthy indicator that this living tradition will continue.¹³

The regional music of the halls is another predictor of their survival. Similar to musicians past, today's performers play a critical role in keeping dance halls relevant and thriving. From the updated western swing sound of Asleep at the Wheel to the Tejano mix of Little Joe y la Familia, bands and singer-songwriters perform a wide variety of Texas music ranging from traditional to cutting edge. And while the music helps keep the dance halls afloat, dance halls serve the musicians' needs, as well, by giving them a variety of venues in which to perform. Along with such well-known locales as Gruene Hall and Luckenbach Hall, smaller venues also have helped launch the

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careers of musicians and provided them with regular employment. Numbering well over one hundred, Texas dance halls thrive in a melding of history, community, and music that



Gruene Hall is a music destination for both locals and tourists. Photo courtesy of J. Marcus Weekley

remains regionally rooted rather than commercially defined.

The following first-person accounts are intended to provide a closer look at life inside a few well-known Texas dance halls, including Gruene and Luckenbach, along with some less-well-known halls in Fayette County and the Hill Country.

★*Gruene Hall*★ Ernst Gruene, namesake of the hall, immigrated from Germany to Texas in 1845. Rather than settling in the established community of New Braunfels, he created a picturesque settlement further up the Guadalupe River that eventually became the town of Gruene. About thirty families joined Ernst over the years to help build a thriving community based primarily on cotton production. Henry D. Gruene, Ernst's son, built several houses in the growing town and also directed the construction of Gruene Hall, which was built by Christian Herry in 1878. The hall, which served as a combined saloon and dance venue, became a center of social activities for local residents. Although these early years were prosperous for Gruene, the community eventually fell on hard times, as the 1930s ushered in the economic devastation of the Great Depression.

Gruene was largely abandoned throughout much of the mid-twentieth century, but it experienced a renaissance beginning in the 1970s. Gruene Hall, which had escaped demolition by developers when it was placed on the National Register of Historic Places in 1970, was purchased in 1975 by Bill Gallagher and Pat Molak of San Antonio, along with several

other historic buildings in the riverside community. After making minor repairs to the dance hall and restoring its immediate surroundings, the new owners began booking musical acts that both reflected and contributed to the local culture. Within a couple of years, the hall had become a very popular venue for such Texas musicians as Willie Nelson, George Strait, Tish Hinojosa, Delbert McClinton, Joe Ely, Marcia Ball, Pat Green, and many others.

On the day that the Cosmic Dust Devils perform at Gruene Hall, the crowd is made up of locals as well as those who have driven in from Austin, San Marcos, and San Antonio. Between songs, I step out into the hall's old biergarten, which is filled with picnic tables and oak trees; a warm breeze floats overhead. This summer is a busy one for the band, taking them to New Braunfels, San Angelo, and places in between. Most of the dance halls they will visit, which have been used for a hundred years or more, defy their age; their owners keep them strong through fresh musical acts that bring in crowds and varied performance times that are conducive to singles, parents, and kids alike.

★Luckenbach Dance Hall* Before this night's show, my photographer friend Marcus and I tour the grounds at Luckenbach. I take notes while Marcus snaps photos. The community has remained small; even today, its population is listed as twenty-five. What have grown are the town's popularity and its ties to country music. Luckenbach began with a post office in 1854, followed by a dance hall, cotton gin,



Soft lights brighten up a Luckenbach Saturday. Photo courtesy of J. Marcus Weekley

and blacksmith shop by the end of the nineteenth century. In 1886, the post office was reopened after a brief closure, and postmaster August Engel renamed the town Luckenbach after some of the area's German settlers. His son, Benno Engel, sold <http://ecommons.txstate.edu/jtmh/vol6/iss1/5>

the town in 1971 to John Russell (Hondo) Crouch, Kathy Morgan, and Guich Koock.

Under this new ownership, Luckenbach flourished as a place for music, festivals, and laid-back fun, all reflected in the town's slogan, "Everybody's Somebody in Luckenbach." The community gained statewide attention when Jerry Jeff Walker and his Lost Gonzo Band made their 1973 live recording of the popular album *Viva Terlingua* in Luckenbach. The small town became internationally famous when Waylon Jennings and Willie Nelson released their 1977 hit song "Luckenbach, Texas (Back to the Basics of Love)." Willie Nelson's Fourth of July celebrations, some of which have been held in Luckenbach over the years, further bolstered the community's reputation as a haven for Texas music.

The community looks similar to when it was first built, with the old general store and dance hall nestled among shimmering oak trees and fields rolling into nearby woods. On this evening, some people are waiting for the band to start, while others sit outside, picking guitars with fellow musicians in impromptu jam sessions. Much of the crowd is left over from the women's chili cook-off that was held earlier in the day. Families, singles, and bikers lounge on picnic tables scattered around the grounds and swap stories of the day's events. Atop a temporary stage set up on the grounds, members of one of the chili teams gather to sing karaoke. The leader of the group croons "Play That Funky Music" to the rest of the chili cook-off teams who are cheering below.

Inside the dance hall, tonight's featured band, "Two Tons of Steel," sets up its instruments and gets ready to play. Kids wearing Luckenbach T-shirts sit between young parents. Nearby, couples in their sixties and seventies wait for the band to come out on stage. The wooden tables in the dance hall start to fill. Later, the lights that line the dance hall eaves will start to glow. When the warm-up act, Jed and Kelly, takes the stage, several dancers spill onto the floor. Fans outside the hall lean on their elbows and peer into the open sides of the hall. Among them is a man in a cowboy hat who proclaims that "Texas is the best place on earth."

★Ammannsville and Dubina Hall* Riding in a tan van through Fayette County, I breathe in fields of blowing grasses, the narrow road we follow parting them like a comb. Gary McKee, a Schulenburg native and vice chair of the Fayette County Historical Commission, has volunteered to give me an early afternoon tour of some of the many dance halls in this part of East Central Texas. On this warm day in March, Gary plots a course to the Fayette County communities of Ammannsville and Dubina. The sun, straight overhead, pierces through the oak leaves and into the van.

Off a gravel road south of La Grange, Gary's expression brightens. He adjusts his baseball cap and scans the roadway for a shady space to park. Ammannsville, our dance hall

destination, stands at a corner created by three intersecting roads—the asphalt version we drive on, a dusty road that meets it from a grove of trees, and a second dirt road that I later learn leads back to Schulenburg. From the shady parking spot that Gary has found, we climb out of the van. Above us towers a well-preserved dance hall, painted white with a hint of yellow. I look up to read the tall black letters on its front—K.J.T.—which stand for *Katolika Jednota Texaska* (Catholic Union of Texas). Ammannsville served as one of four original lodges within the K.J.T., a fraternal Czech-Catholic organization formed in 1889. Fayette County records state that Ammannsville, Dubina, and Hostyn were the first Czech settlements in Texas, and about seventy-five percent of Czech immigrants were Roman Catholics. A nearby church, painted an even brighter shade of white, points its steeple toward the clouds.

The only car that sits in the gravel parking lot belongs to a nearby group preparing for a picnic. Ammannsville and other local communities host church picnics, family reunions, and saint's days celebrations in their halls. "We've had parties here until two in the morning," Gary chuckles. Someone can celebrate an entire lifetime in a dance hall, he adds, from baptism, to birthday parties, to wedding and funeral receptions.¹⁴ We spend a half-hour in the hall before driving down the road to Dubina Hall, which appears in a sudden cluster of buildings behind an old oak grove.

Established in 1856, Dubina was one of the largest all-Czech settlements in Texas. The first immigrants endured a sleet storm to settle the area in late November 1856. The community survived its first winter and planted for spring, but the resulting crop the next year was still only one bale of cotton. Eventually,



Dubina Hall hosts polka lessons and the occasional picnic. Photo courtesy of J. Marcus Weekley

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the town grew more prosperous, and the new residents built a church and dance hall as part of their settlement. The dance hall, which nestles in a small clearing next to live oak trees, derives its name from the Czech word for oak, *Dub*. Although



Ammannsville's KJT Hall is one of the many dance halls in Fayette County. Photo courtesy of J. Marcus Weekley

smaller than Ammannsville, the Dubina dance hall looks no less grand, with its wooden floors illuminated in the afternoon light. About twenty townspeople mingle around plates of barbecue for a Sunday picnic. They invite us to join them, but we politely decline, still full from lunch earlier that day.

With so many dance halls scattered throughout the area, Saturday night dances could be found almost anywhere in Fayette County during the first half of the twentieth century. "The Czech musicians played the accordion and made their own beer," says Ed Janecka, a Fayette County judge who meets us on the church steps. "It was a place for people to get together," he says of the dance hall at Dubina. "I have wonderful memories of growing up here, with the polka and folk dances, along with some rock dances." He stares across the green lawn to the dance hall, where a few people finish their lunch.¹⁵

Today, the rural location of the dance halls impacts the performances they host. "People don't live as close to the halls as

they once did," Ed says. "It used to be, there were halls everywhere, some in the middle of nowhere. The 1930s were the golden age of Czech polka music," he adds. After World War II, many of the polka bands broke up, and the growing popularity of country and rock music soon changed the flavor of the music played within the halls. "We give polka and waltz lessons at the hall," Ed says. Along with providing a social outlet, such efforts also keep the traditional dances alive. Gary's eyes light up at this news; I watch him make a mental note about the next sessions. "My favorite thing," Ed says, "is when the dancers all move together as one." I cannot tell if he is talking about past or present, and decide he probably means both.¹⁶

★ *Wright's Park** At the end of our dance hall tour, Gary McKee turns his van into the dirt driveway in front of Wright's Park, which is just outside of Schulenburg. "I've always wanted to visit this place," he says, adding that our tour gives him a good excuse to stop by. We park the van, walk past the picnic tables outside, and step into the dim light of the hall. That is when we spot Robert, grandson of Olton Wright, the man who built the 1948 hall and gave it his name. Robert sits behind the bar arranging pictures and text for an upcoming Juneteenth celebration. "Hello," Gary says. Robert waves us into the hall. "Come on in."¹⁷

While Gary and Robert talk, I hang back to look at the inside of the front door, which is covered in snapshots of past dance hall parties. Faces in the photographs, mostly African-American, laugh together at round tables or cut a rug on the dance floor space in the middle of the room. Robert tells us that the crowd at Wright's Park varies on any given night, both in terms of its size and musical tastes. "Anyone's welcome," he says. "It's not just for black people." Robert motions to the bar, which is still covered with his flyer project. "How about a beer?" he asks. He reaches into a cooler and hands a beer to Gary and the Coke I request to me. Although Robert has written a short history of the hall, he tells us that his mother, Ora Mae Moore, is the real expert. "She's the one you want to talk to," he says.¹⁸

A few months later, I drive back to the hall so I can experience the local Juneteenth celebration and meet Ora Mae. As I arrive, she takes a break from tending bar and walks to the table where I sit. Between the smiles and greetings she gives others in the crowd, she begins to tell me about her father, Olton Wright, who opened Wright's Park in 1948. Ora Mae started helping her dad run the hall in 1960 and has worked there ever since. She shows me a brochure her son Robert has written. It includes the dance hall's history along with photos of Olton, one of which shows him smiling under his cap. When Olton passed away in 1984, he left the hall to Ora Mae. "In his will, he asked me to take care of the place and never to lose it," she says. Her eye wanders again to the people who fill this venue, which has been continuously run by three generations of her family.¹⁹

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The hall got its start when Ora Mae's parents, Olton and Josephine Wright, decided to build a dance hall on their land located on the outskirts of Schulenburg. To help the family raise funds, Josephine took their children, Olton, Jr., Walter B., Ora Mae, and Henry, to East Bernard, Texas, where they picked cotton all summer. While Josephine and the kids worked in the fields, Olton kept his job in town, working at a retail store. Josephine and her kids earned five hundred dollars that summer, which the family put toward the dance hall. Building the hall was no overnight task. According to Robert Moore's historical account, clearing the land took almost a year to complete. Olton and Josephine Wright celebrated the official opening of their dance hall, which they named Wright's Park, with a 1948 Juneteenth celebration. Guests came from the neighboring communities of Schulenburg, Hallettsville, Weimar, Oakland, La Grange, Moulton, and Yoakum. After barbeque and baseball, the partygoers danced late into the night, melding their dance hall inauguration with the Juneteenth celebration of freedom for Texas slaves, which was belatedly proclaimed in Galveston, Texas, on June 19, 1865.²⁰

On the fifty-seventh consecutive Juneteenth celebration at Wright's Park, Marcus and I walk between picnic tables filled with laughing participants and watch kids make a run for the moonwalk, which sits by a grove of oak trees. Inside the hall, Ora Mae is back behind the bar. A group of teenagers crowd around the jukebox, deciding what to play next. The dance hall

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Wright's Park celebrates its fifty-seventh Juneteenth event. Photo courtesy of J. Marcus Weekley

has hosted many bands over the year, including B.B. King and Albert Collins. Wright's Park still books live acts on occasion, along with DJs, rap music, and occasional jukebox selections rounding out the venue's entertainment lineup.

★**Twin Sisters Dance Hall*** The Twin Sisters Dance Hall, located deep in the Hill Country against the backdrop of the Twin Sisters Mountains, was built around 1870. Although it is not in operation every weekend, the Twin Sisters Hall Club opens the venue on the first Saturday of each month for an evening dance. On the night that my friends perform, the crowd begins to arrive just as the last rays of sunlight fade outside. Some of the band members wear 1950s-style western clothing, including vintage black and white cowboy boots and cowboy hats, very similar to that worn by western swing bands who have played this hall in days gone by. Even the group's set list, which includes originals, as well as earlier hits by Bob Wills and Johnny Cash, reflects the long-standing generational connections reinforced through Texas dance hall music.

The venue quickly fills with children, parents, singles, and couples, both young and old. Gliding across the hall's well-worn floor boards, made smooth from decades of boot leather, teenagers and the elderly alike experience a sense of nostalgia that connects them to earlier times. While my friend Terrie and I talk, a dark-haired man asks her to dance. When the song is over, she returns, and the man now motions for me to join him. The band launches into a faster two-step, which soon draws more couples to the floor. I watch the smiles around me as the dancers flit and slide. A woman's long skirts wrap around her legs with every spin; it is hard to tell if she belongs to this world, or one from years ago. I take the man's hand and join the circle.

Notes

- Midway through my work, I invited friend and photographer, J. Marcus Weekley, along for the ride. After our first road trip, Marcus's photos began to tell stories of their own, showing the halls as meeting places filled with life. Even the photos without people suggest the liveliness these halls have witnessed throughout the years.
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- Martin Donell Kohout, "Adolph Hofner," in Barkley, ed., *The Handbook of Texas Music*, 137; Joe Specht, "Put a Nickle in the Jukebox: The Texas Tradition in Country Music, 1922-1950," in Lawrence Clayton and Joe W. Specht, eds., *The Roots of Texas Music*, (College Station, Texas: Texas A&M University Press, 2003), 79-87.
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- Author's conversation with Gary McKee, May 15, 2005.
- Author's interview with Ed Janecka, May 15, 2005.
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- Author's conversations with Gary McKee and Robert Wright, May 15, 2005.
- Ibid.
- Author's interview with Ora Mae Moore, June 19, 2005.
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