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I am submitting herewith a thesis written by Kara Denise Boyd entitled "Zydeco Ethnicity in a Music of Louisiana " I have examined the final copy of this thesis for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Music with a major in Music

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ZYDECO ETHNICITY IN A MUSIC OF LOUISIANA

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ABSTRACT

This project explores the emergence of zydeco music in Louisiana as a representation of Creole identity and ethnicity The exploration of the term Creole and the impact of changes in this definition upon Creole culture are indicated through the study This thesis combines ethnographic fieldwork with archival and secondary sources as well as musical transcriptions Changes in Creole ethnic identity were produced by internal and external pressures These pressures caused shifts to occur that are were reflected in the music of the Creole culture Musical shifts are seen most significantly in the association of Creole music with that of African American culture through Clifton Chenier's use of African American musical styles of blues and rhythm and blues in the 1960's, and most recently through the inclusion of hip hop musical styles to zydeco Through the exploration of these changes in the musical style, Creole identity shifts are perceivable Moreover, an urban/rural distinction appears affecting the performers, performances, and consumers of zydeco music

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I	INTRODUCTION	1
II	ETHNIC ORIGINS AND AMBIGUITY IN LOUISIANA	12
	Creole Terminology	12
	Rise of the Creoles of Color	18
	The Acadians in Louisiana	24
III	FRENCH MUSIC AND OTHER ETHNIC INFLUENCES	30
	Cajun Music	30
	Creole Music	34
	Cajun and Creole Interplay	39
	African and African American Influences	42
	Caribbean Influences	44
IV.	INFLUENCES DEFINING PERFORMANCE	50
	Amede Ardoin	50
	Clifton Chenier	53
	C J Chenier	58
V	CREOLE ALIGNMENT WITH AFRICAN AMERICAN IDENTITY	62
VI	FIELDWORK	79
	Ethnography	79
	Discussion of Musical Observations	83
	Urban/Rural Dialectic	85
VII	CONCLUSIONS	89
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	95
	APPENDICES	100
	Appendix A	101
	Annotated Discography	101
	Appendix B	104
	Timeline	104
	VITA	106

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE		PAGE
3 1	"Joe Pitre a Deux Femmes" . .	37
3 2	"J'ai Fait Tour Du Pays"	43
3 3	"Bon Ton Roula"	46
3 4	Rumba Rhythm	47
5 1	"Choo Choo Ch'Boogie"by Louis Jordon	71
5 2	"Choo Choo Ch'Boogie" by Lynn August and the Hot August Band	72
5 3.	"It's A Zydeco Groove"	75-6
6 1	"Brick House" Bass Line . . .	84

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Zydeco music is described in music literature as a symbolic expression of the people if southwest Louisiana who identify themselves as being Creole Confusion exists as to the emergence of zydeco because Creole music of the 1920's was very similar to the music of the Cajuns The dominance of the Cajun culture in Louisiana is responsible for the commonalties between the two ethnic groups, specifically the music Nicholas Spitzer writes. "For 200 years, the dominant cultural group in rural South Louisiana has been the Cajuns Due to excessive acculturation --which has produced the intermingling of both cultures-- rural black Creoles are not radically different in terms of culture traits form the European derived Cajuns of the region" (Spitzer, 151) Similarities between Cajun music and Creole music of the 1920's still exist in the current versions of the music Barry Jean Ancelet, in *Musical Roots of the South*, offers the following delineation of the most popular and representative musical styles of the two groups "Cajun music is the music of white Cajuns of South Louisiana, while zydeco is the music of black Creoles of the same region" (1991, 18) Ancelet claims that the difference between the parallel musical forms of these two groups is primarily an issue of ethnicity This distinction between the two musics oversimplifies the importance of social factors and the interactions of the ethnic groups which influence the music produced This project concerns the process of change in Creole music from its similarity to Cajun music in the 1920's to the emergence of zydeco as a distinct style in the 1950's by exploring the issues of ethnicity and social factors upon the producers of Creole music and zydeco

Adelaida Reyes Schramm states that studies in ethnicity serve to further "the understanding of change as it results from specific types of human interaction within certain environments" (Reyes Schramm, 17) This is precisely the work to be done with Creole culture and zydeco music. By showing the internal and external pressures that have shifted the representation and identification of the Creole culture, I will clarify the development of zydeco music as a symbol of identification of the Creole culture itself On the broadest level, I will identify the factors responsible for the shifting ethnic identity of the Creole culture and for the development of zydeco I will begin by demonstrating the similarities of Creole music to that of Cajun music From there, I will follow the process of musical change in Creole music to the emergence of zydeco. In a narrower sense, I will examine how ethnicity has influenced the lives of specified performers The specific musical influences of Cajun and Creole music upon each other and zydeco will also be explored

The methodology employed throughout this endeavor is primarily archival, including research from the Amistad Research Center at Tulane University in New Orleans Research from this location will shed light on the interactions of Creole people with the Cajuns, as well as with other ethnic groups located in and around New Orleans in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Additionally, ethnographic research will explore performances of zydeco music in rural and urban settings in dance clubs such as El Sid O's in Lafayette and The Mid City Rock 'n' Bowl in New Orleans This information is relevant to this study with regard to the motivations of the people who

perform zydeco Several issues in regards to performance will be discussed, such as the connection between Creole identity and zydeco performance, the degree of involvement in crowd dynamics at zydeco performances, and the differences in music performed in urban areas compared to rural areas Furthermore, interviews with C J Chenier, zydeco performer, and Barry Jean Ancelet, Louisiana folklorist, and Herman Fuselelr, Bayou Boogie radio show host, will add insight to this study as well Musical analysis is included in the discussion of Creole music and zydeco nouveau as a method illustrating the musical relationships between zydeco and other styles

The theoretical orientation of this paper relies heavily upon the work of Adelaida Reyes Schramm, specifically, her 1979 article, "Ethnic Music, the Urban area, and Ethnomusicology " A critical point comes from Reyes Schramm's ideas of ethnic group boundaries These boundaries are not static, but malleable, changing in response to internal and external pressures Although her article focuses on ethnic groups in the urban area, parallels can be drawn to the ethnic group interaction during the colonization and development of the territory of Louisiana to the current time Reyes Schramm states, "Ethnicity is a set of dynamic processes generated by interaction within the group, between groups of the same order, and between these groups and the larger society" (Reyes Schramm, 8) Examining the interaction among the Creoles, the Cajuns, and African Americans will be utilized to show possible changes in Creole group interaction with other groups and within itself

These interactions have had a significant influence on the cultural identity of the Creole people, yet have not always strengthened the group identity Certain changes

have been known to throw a culture into identity crisis causing a shift in the identification of the group This shift alters the perception of the culture to outsiders and to the group itself Reyes Schramm points out that when "ethnic boundaries shift, when groups fuse or divide, distinctions between self [the Creoles, in this case] and other" are not immediately perceivable (Reyes Schramm, 7-8) This shifting of boundaries allows a disjunction of identities to form and it becomes difficult to distinguish one from the other. Following the theory that "music, actors, and their environment are intrinsically related" (Ibid , 16), I will show that identity shifts have been expressed through the musical products of the Creole culture When the ways in which internal and external interactions have affected Creole group identity are understood, the manifestations of these interactions should be apparent in the music they produce in the form of a shift of musical style.

John Blacking states that, "no musical style has 'its own terms'. its terms are the terms of society and culture, and of the bodies of the human beings who listen to it, and create and perform it" (Blacking, 25) Blacking's statement points out the need to focus on the relationionship betweeen humans and music Steven Feld believes

> "Music has a fundamentally social life It is made to be engaged --practically and intellectually, individually and communally-- as symbolic entity By 'engaged' I mean socially interpreted as meaningfully structured, produced, performed, and displayed by historically situated actors" (Feld, 77)

Feld's statement again points to the importance of music as a symbolic expression by the people who take part in its production and performance Adelaida Reyes Schramm comments along the same vein saying, "the musical product is not truly isolable from its

makers and users, no treatment of 'ethnic music' can be ethnomusicologically sound if it ignores the human component" (Reyes Schramm, 4) Blacking, Feld, and Reyes Schramm believe in the importance of the connection between music and human expression This study focuses on the interaction between the Creole people and their music

An example of a ethnomusicological study of music divorced from the people who produce the music can be seen in the case of Cantometrics Alan Lomax makes great claims of connecting song structure to social structure in his discussion of the Cantometric system Cantometrics is a system of 37 traits isolated to allow cross-cultural description of the most typical song characteristics of a culture These song characteristics are then used to correlate the musical traits with social structures Lomax believed that with training, anyone could apply the Cantometric system to the cultural samples of any culture and come up with the specific correlations to the social system of the specific culture However, the major failures of the system were the gross neglect of specific cultural knowledge and how relevant social connections were being made In his article "Sound Structure as Social Structure," Steven Feld critiques Lomax's approach by pointing out the need for the development of social constructs based on a "set of comparative research questions that make use of local models and metaphors while at the same time identifying issues that have broader comparative value" (Feld, 404) These constructs provide the researcher with local models for social structure The data necessary for this sort of comparative work must focus on "stylistic integrity,

sociomusical coherence, and the role of music in role differentiation" when examining connections of a social product to social structure (Feld, 385)

Because this project deals with the Creole culture of south Louisiana, a description of the Creole culture is necessary However, this task is not easily accomplished due to the many different definitions that have been used from the fifteenth century to today. I will explore the meanings implied by the terminology in chapter two For the purposes of this study, "Creole" will indicate an Afro-French person or group of persons born in Louisiana, settling in the area of Southwest Louisiana, speaking the French language, practicing the Catholic religion and differentiating themselves from African Americans. Different usages will be avoided unless necessary for quoting a source

Another area of exploration concerns the Free People of Color The inclusion of the Free People of Color in the discussion of zydeco is not consistent in the works of Tisserand and Spitzer Tisserand admits their presence, but describes them coming to Louisiana following the Haitian revolution Very little is said about them outside of this However, he does use the Free People of Color in reference to the heritage of modern Creoles as a "blending of [the] diverse black groups, as well as American Indians and Europeans, especially French and Spanish" (Tisserand, 2) Spitzer also includes the Free People of Color, noting their arrival from the French West Indies. The seven years following the Louisiana Purchase, over 10,000 people arrived from Haiti, strengthening the population of Free People of Color (Spitzer, 35) He goes on to discuss the rise of the Free People of Color in the unique tripartite system of Louisiana This system was unlike

any other in the South The system was based on the social system of the French West Indies allowing for the stratification of three distinct groups black slaves, free blacks, and whites Following the Civil War this system became obsolete and the binary system used today was introduced (Ibid , 36-59) New Orleans's Free People of Color are discussed in *Creole New Orleans· Race and Americanization* This book is a collection of essays including contributions by Joseph Tregle, Jr, Carre Cosse Bell, and Joseph Logsdon

The interaction of the Cajun and Creole cultures is not described in detail, but mentioned by Savoy, Spitzer and Brasseaux Ann Savoy touches on the socioeconomic aspect in the interaction of Creole people sharecropping farmland owned by Cajuns (Savoy, 305) Spitzer goes into detail on the interaction, but mainly focuses on the ownership of black slaves by the Cajuns and the interaction within those parameters (Spitzer, 61-144) Carl Brasseaux, in *The Founding of New Acadia* describes the initial conflict the Creole and Cajun cultures faced The Creoles were convinced of their superiority to the Acadians, yet the Acadians considered the Creoles pretentious Brasseaux says, "When Creole pride encoutered Acadian "impudence," conflict inevitably ensued (Brasseaux 1987, 167)

James Dorman focuses on aspects of ethnicity and identity in modern Creole culture, in an essay published in *Creoles of Color in the Gulf South*, entitled, "Creoles of Color in Twentieth -Century South Louisiana " This essay examines the Creole identity as a separate ethnic group and how their ethnicity was challenged during the African American Civil Rights Movement Creole ethnic identity is also explored through the

works of Virginia Dominguez in *White By Definition*, and Sister Francis Jerome Woods in *Marginality and Identity* The previously mentioned essays and studies in ethnic identification by Dominguez, Dorman, and Woods deal with Creole identity development from their status as a group in between whites and black slaves in colonial Louisiana, to the influence of the African American Civil Rights movement upon Creole identity

Ann Savoy in *Cajun Music A Reflection of a People* takes an extensive look at the Cajun and Creole music of the past Savoy describes the different trends in Cajun and Creole music from the introduction of the accordion to the emergence of zydeco Savoy's work also includes performer biographies, discographies, and musical transcriptions In *The Kingdom of Zydeco*, Micheal Tisserand uses biography as a way of mapping out the development of zydeco music The influence of the Cajun music on Creole house bands is included in Ancelet's introduction to *The Makers of Cajun Music* Virtually every author tries to explain what zydeco music is, but in the words of C J Chenier, "It's hard to explain It's just different" (Chenier)

In *South to Louisiana*, John Broven deals with the evolution of zydeco music from its Cajun similarities After a brief explanation of the development of the style, Broven focuses on the lives of important Creole and zydeco performers and their records (Broven, 102) Ancelet, Spitzer, and Broven discuss the social forces that significantly influence Cajun and Creole music The first of these is the Cajun culture in Louisiana The acculturation credited to the Cajuns is responsible for the similarities in Cajun and early Creole music of the twentieth century The Cajun culture affected social aspects

other than music Nicholas Spitzer comments on the dominance of the Cajun culture and confusion of ethnic identity

> Black Creole identity is still submerged by the dominant Cajun culture and society in many realms In this situation, black Creole ethnic boundaries are sometimes blurred to their dissatisfaction by forces beyond their control One example of confusion of black Creoles with Cajuns is the description of the Afro-French population as "Cajuns" by a variety of outsiders (Spitzer, 154)

Spitzer's comment reflects the problem with identity between the Cajuns and Creoles that this study will highlight Creole music is submerged in dominant Cajun culture, and therefore the Creole ethnic boundaries of the music become blurred, presenting confusion between Cajun and Creole

Another social force having an impact was the race to join mainstream American life Americanization had a huge effect on the musical products of both Creoles and Cajuns "The melting pot philosophy as articulated by Teddy Roosevelt, melded the peoples of America into a nation In South Louisiana, French culture and language were slag to be discarded in the Cajun's rush to join the mainstream" (Ancelet 1984, 24) The audience of ethnic music was turning to the new Country Western, R&B, and Rock and Roll sounds available to them

Clifton Chenier's use of African American popular styles has made a lasting impression on zydeco music. He was able to take the R&B sounds of his favorite musicians and incorporate them into the music he knew, traditional accordion-based French songs Chenier took the standard instrumentation of zydeco, accordion and rub board, and expanded it to include drum set, tenor saxophone, electric guitar, bass, and

sometimes keyboard player The discussion of zydeco today refers to the sound that originated in the music of Chenier's zydeco

The latest influence on zydeco music is that of African American hip hop style in the music of young zydeco performers "Zydeco nouveau" incorporates elements of hip hop with traditional zydeco styles C J Chenier comments on the future of zydeco music

> "Well, there is a wide variety right now People still playing traditional, people mixing it up, more Blues in it And there's what they call 'nouveau' zydeco, where the younger generation came up with their own beat also The tree is branching off, you know? Eventually it's gonna be in all different directions" (Chenier, 1999)

Zydeco is branching off and aligning with different ethnic identities This can be seen through the development of a urban/rural dialectic in zydeco music Urban zydeco heavily incorporates the use of African American popular music styles, linked to the identity of African American culture Rural zydeco music is stylistically closer to Creole "la-la" music Differing from urban zydeco, rural zydeco is less noticeably influenced by the African American musical styles

The focus of this paper is to delineate the process of musical change through the examination of the outside forces acting upon the Creole culture of Southwest Louisiana. Chapters two and three establish the history of the Cajun and Creole cultures Chapter two specifically deals with the development of the respective cultures and the use of the term "Creole" in southwest Louisiana Chapter three discusses the musical products of Cajun and Creole music, along with the trends that have affected the musical styles Exploration into the role of music and ethnicity in the life of Amedee Ardoin, Clifton

Chenier, and C J Chenier occurs in chapter four I focus specifically on the connection between the musical product of each performer and his ethnic identity Chapter five explores the movement of Creole identity toward the alignment with the dominant African American culture and the expression of this movement through the incorporation of African American musical styles into Creole music An ethnographic presentation of fieldwork for the purposes of this study is included in chapter six In chapter seven, I reassess the idea behind this study and the conclusions that I have come to based on the research presented throughout this paper

CHAPTER II

ETHNIC ORIGINS AND AMBIGUITY IN LOUISIANA

Ambiguity of ethnic origin has been present in Louisiana from its founding to its present state This ethnic ambiguity will be explored in three parts the use of the term *creole*, the Free People of Color in Louisiana, and the Cajun acculturation of southwest Louisiana Exploration into each of these cases will serve to show the blurring and confusion of ethnic identities, which to some extent still exist today The blurring of ethnic group boundaries has a direct influence upon the cultural products they produce, essential to the study of ethnicity in zydeco music

Creole Terminology

This study focuses on zydeco music of the Creole culture of southwest Louisiana *Creole*[1] in the present context is different from the term used in seventeenth century Louisiana when the term began to be used In Robert Sacre's essay entitled, *Musiques Cajun, Creole et Zydeco*, he uses the definition of *creole* set forth in the *Harvard Encyclopedia of American Ethnic Groups* by Richard A Long There *creole* is used to refer to the culture, the cuisine, the music and the language that developed locally in Louisiana (Sacre, 11) To address the issue of ethnic ambiguity, it is necessary to explore the usage of the term *creole* further, from its presence and derivation in seventeenth century Louisiana to the current usage in reference to the Creole culture in Louisiana

[1] For the purposes of this study, Creole will refer specifically to the people of southwest Louisiana The term creole still be used in all other aspects not pertaining to the members of the Creole culture The only exceptions will be in the use of titles and direct quotes

Joseph Tregle Jr 's contribution to *Creole New Orleans* is entitled, "Creoles and Americans " His essay deals with creole terminology as Louisiana moved from an essentially French territory to an American state. This approach to creole terminology and to the people who identified themselves as creole allows for the exploration of the social and political influences upon usage of the terminology itself Tregle begins his essay by tracing the origin of the term Writings from the seventeenth century by Garcilaso de la Vega note that the term *creole* was created by Negroes in order to differentiate between those native born and those born in the new world (Tregle, 137) The Spanish adopted this usage as well to describe those born in the New World, calling them *criollo* Virginia Dominguez notes that the *Academia Real Espanola* claims the origin of the word is Spanish The definition of *criollo* she finds, suggests that it signified all locally born persons of non-native origin (Dominguez, 14) Tregle's description of the use of the term throughout the Spanish empire indicates variability The South American Spanish eventually focused on purity of white blood as judgement of defining creole (Tregle, 137) Tregle and Dominguez agree on the use of creole in the West Indies In the Caribbean islands, such as the French Colony of St Domingue, "the distinction continued to apply to all those indigenous to the region regardless of race" in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Tregle, 137) Dominguez confirms this usage with the definitions "born in, native to, committed to the area of living" (14) Tregle notes that many correspondences written by Iberville and Bienville, early Louisiana founders, included the term *creole* in their correspondence with officials in France before Louisiana ever fell into Spanish hands (Tregle, 137)

The Louisiana Purchase of 1803 strengthened the definition of creole as a native born population, responding to the fear of cultural demise by an American invasion This sense of being a *creole*, a native of the soil, had along with it a natural property right to their homeland Tregle follows, "origin in the soil became, therefore, the very essence of the concept creole, precisely because it gave the older residents the most profound warrant of the right not to be dispossessed in their own land" (Tregle, 138) Any person drawing his/her first breath in Louisiana regardless of parentage, was still referred to as creole Therefore Italian, Irish, Acadian, and German could all be creole as long as they satisfied the stipulation of birth on Louisana soil.

After 1803, immigrants began settling in Louisiana in such great numbers that the French population was outnumbered by German and Irish immigrants This in combination with the invasion of Anglo-Saxon Americans settling into Louisiana seemed only to produce ethnic tension between creoles and everyone else (Tregle, 164) The Louisiana French community believed that a victory for the Confederacy in the Civil War was the only way to revive creole supremacy of the area and restore Louisiana as an aesthetically French state The collapse of the Confederacy dashed all hope of the Creoles' reinstatement in a French Louisiana The Reconstruction era proved only to bring armed legions from the North and carpetbaggers, yet another Anglo-Saxon invasion (Ibid., 169-170)

It was during the reconstruction era that a preoccupation with ethnicity grew This came from fear of "radical republican plans for the implementation of black sharing in the political life of the region" (Tregle, 170) This fear was strengthened by the

Reconstruction Acts of 1867 and the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution These two amendments "imposed military rule on the conquered South and extended suffrage and civil rights to former slaves and free men of color" (Tregle, 170)

The ensuing ethnic hypersensitivity was so intense that the whole concept of creole was revolutionized In Louisiana, the distinction of being creole had emerged from the opposition of American and foreign French immigrants Nativity was the issue, not color The domination of a white male governing body allowed no challenge from others outside of the ruling body therefore there was no reason to deny anyone of native birth the classification as a creole, whether they be white, black, free or slave "Unchallengeable white supremacy, in short, had made it possible to accommodate a pan-racial[2] creolism" (Tregle, 172) This changed after the Civil War. Northern victory created a population of free blacks perceived by whites as the menace of black domination that would spawn violent reaction if power was challenged Creoles became caught up in this anti-black fanaticism sweeping the South White creoles had yet another fear -- the fact that they could be confused with blacks (Tregle, 172-173).

Before the Civil War, creole fear had simply been the loss of French identity to impending Anglo-Saxon domination In the Post Civil war period, this fear became insignificant in comparison to the association of creole identification with blacks

> For the creole knew the world he now lived in to be one obsessed with the no longer settled issue of racial supremacy, in which the very suspicion of "tainted blood" guaranteed a ticket to opprobrium, contempt, and ostracism He knew it because he helped to make it so. In such manner

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[2] The term "race" will be avoided unless used in a direct quote This study focuses on "ethnicity" because of the cultural relationships the term includes, whereas "race" implies the use of skin color as a defining quality between specific group members and nonmembers

> was the cardinal tenet of the now familiar myth born· for those so threatened, henceforth to be creole was to be white (Tregle, 173)

The transition between old and new self-image is evident through historical writings In 1874, *The Jewell's Crescent City Illustrated*, a New Orleans journal, was still describing the creole in accordance to the antebellum definition of native born One year later, a piece in another journal by Alexander Dimitry, an advisor for the previously mentioned journal, uses the new definition Dimitry sets out the criteria for creole as "pure white" and but also includes the use of the term in description of "indigenous horses, vegetables, and of course, Negroes" (Tregle, 174) The latter discription provided a way of establishing the term Creole as it was used by colored people while divorcing them from the association to white people Dominguez confirms the appearance of different definitions as well She cites the 1869 French edition of *Larousse*, which used the definition of creole, with its non ethnic-connotation (Dominguez, 14) *Larousse's* 1929 edition, "unequivocally stated that creole was correctly used only in reference to the presumably white population of those colonial or formerly colonial societies" (Dominguez, 14)

Adoption of the post-Civil War creole definition was criticized in the writings of George Washington Cable His 1880 fictional work *The Grandissimes* infuriated the white high status creoles of New Orleans due to the presentation of a white creole character and a mulatto sibling. Tregle's description of *The Grandissimes* follows

> The consequences of a racial morality which condones miscegenation yet penalizes those whom it produces find graphic portrayal in the tragic life of the mulatto brother of the creole protagonist, while the horrors of

> slavery seethe in the history of Bras Coupe, a black whose heroic and dignified death dishonors those responsible for it (Tregle , 175)

Cable produced yet another work in 1884, *The Creoles of Louisiana* This writing targeted the post Civil War definition of creole claiming purity of blood by implying ethnic mixing of the group Even Cable's essay on New Orleans published in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopedia Brittanica* included the suggestion of ethnic impurity in the blood of those calling themselves creole (Trelge , 175) Cable was not the only critic of the manners and customs of White creole society, nor was he the sole challenger to the restricted use of creole to indicate white colonials of Louisiana. Works published in newspapers and journals throughout 1870 New Orleans included assaults on white creole society by Dr Charles Testut, Anne Porter, Lafcadio Hearn and Dr Alfred Mercier (Tregle, 176)

In retaliation for these attacks, elite white creole society members banded together Charles Guyarre gave a rousing speech on creole identity entitled, "The Creoles of History and the Creoles of Romance," at Tulane University in 1885 Guyarre set forth the meticulous account of the derivation of *creole*, reaffirming the notion of blood purity of those bearing the name Tregle describes Guyarre's speech as an obsession that moved beyond predictable prejudices due to the fact that Guyarre claimed ethnic mixing was unknown in New Orleans society Guyarre himself had sired a child in 1825 by a free woman of color, yet that information was not mentioned in his lecture (Tregle, 183).

Based on the evidence presented by Tregle, two different definitions of *creole* were in use in Louisiana, an antebellum definition used from the 1600's to 1875 approximately and a post-war definition was used beyond 1875 The antebellum

definition focused on nativity of birth regardless of ethnicity, in response to the growing American invasion after the Louisiana Purchase in 1803 The post Civil War definition of creole emerged from a society suffering from a violent negrophobia and focused on the insistence of white purity of blood line The usage of the different definitions was influenced by societal factors upon the ruling civic bodies with the power to issue such labels to others without power The confusion and disagreement in association with *creole* provides insight into the conflicting information in scholarship today For clarity table 2.1 provides a definition for each separate term and places it within a time frame referring to the group to which the term applies Confusion persists as scholarship discusses the influences and importance of the *gens de couleur libre* or the Free People of Color to the Creole culture in southwest Louisiana

Rise of the Creoles of Color

The phrase "creole of color" is often used to distinguish black creoles from white creoles after the use of the post-Civil War definition of creole became popular Tregle notes that usage sprang up from outsiders describing the non-white creoles in the antebellum usage of creole

> Nothing in any of this involved the slightest need to exclude black or colored natives from membership in the creole community, where they remained, as countless references in newspapers, correspondence, and judicial records certify, for the whole of the antebellum period The phrase creole of color must be recognized, therefore, as a favorite of more recent times, seized upon to support post-civil war theories of distinction based on race, the term being essentially foreign to antebellum usage (Tregle, 139)

Table 2 1 Creole Terminology Chart

Time Frame	Term Used	Group Referred To	Definition Use
Sixteenth Century	*criollo*	Negro slaves in Spanish colonial American	To differentiate the nativity between those born in the New World and those of Africa
Antebellum Period	creole	Inhabitants of Louisiana	To differentiate between people born in Louisiana verses those born elsewhere
Post-Civil War	creole	White people of in Louisiana	To differentiate white European heritage from any other definition previously in use
Reconstruction Era	creole of color	People of Afro-French heritage in Louisiana	To differentiate between black people and white creoles while still maintaining the issue of nativity to Louisiana
Early Twentieth Century	Creole (The use of this term in this time-frame is subject to controversy throughout Louisiana due to the popularity of the post-Civil War definition)	People of Afro-French heritage native to Louisiana	To refer to the group formerly known as creoles of color who grouped together in small rural communities in order to preserve their culture, and primarily locate throughout southwest Louisiana

Dominguez affirms that the attachment of a qualifier indicated by terms such as "Negro" or "of Color," were to differentiate black from white Using the example of the Haitian creole, she explains that they were Negroes who resembled "true creoles," meaning white creoles (Dominguez, 14) The usage of creole in the previous example illustrates the fact that change in definition, from anyone of native birth to a white of European decent born in Lousisiana, was forcing creoles to distinguish themselves from blacks and white creoles by use of the phrase "creoles of color "

Upon the establishment of the French colony Louisiane in 1682 by the French explorers, La Salle, di Tonti, and Cavalieri, it is thought that slaves accompanied the first few French settlers to the areas of Natchitoches, Natchez, and New Orleans Gradually these pioneers were joined by retired French soldiers, Acadian exiles, African slaves and *gens de couleur libre* or Free People of Color It is the descendants of the *gens de couleur libre* which make up the majority of the creoles of color found on the prairie parishes in southwest Louisiana (Brasseaux 1998, 68 or 63)

Colonial Louisiana was a rough territory Originally the French used it as a penal colony to rid France of unwanted prisoners by way of deportation to the new world The colony was also notorious for Indian insurrections and rampant disease Finding colonists who were willing to build a life in the territory was not easy Intermingling and intermarriage became a necessity for survival This basic drive to survive led to the rise of a mulatto class These people of mixed ancestry were part of the *gens de couleur libre* This group of free people of color grew larger and eventually came to occupy their place in a social structure unlike any other in the South Louisiana's social structure was

tripartite like most European social structures involving slaves (Brasseaux 1998, 72) Three distinct groups were present in this system whites, black or slave, and free blacks, as an in-between group both ethnically and socially

The free people of color were typically manumitted slaves, bondsmen, or, later, immigrants from Haiti In Kimberly Hanger's contribution to the book *Creoles of Color in the Gulf South*, she points out that it was during the Spanish regime (1699-1769) that Creoles of Color enjoyed the greatest growth due to the fact that slaves could attain freedom with less difficulty than at any other time in Louisiana's history Under this Spanish regime, the free black population grew from 97 in 1771 to 1,566 in 1805 (Hanger, 23) The 1805 count lists the free blacks as consisting of 33 5 percent of the New Orleans's African population. Hanger explains the Spanish reasoning for the growth of the free black population

> In Louisiana, as in many areas of Spanish America, the crown fostered the growth of a free black population in order to fill middle-sector economic roles in society, to defend the colony from external and internal foes, and to give African slaves an officially approved safety valve Spanish policy makers envisioned a society in which Africans would seek their freedom through legal channels -- compensating their masters for property lost by means of service, money or material goods -- rather than by running away or rising in revolt (Hanger, 6)

Hanger writes that the importation of African slaves began in Louisiana in 1719 (Ibid , 4). These slaves were imported to help clear and cultivate the land of the new settlement (Sacre, 10) John Law's Company of the Indies deposited 500 Guinea slaves upon the bank of the Mississippi river (Hanger, 4) Contrary to popular belief, Louisiana's importation of slaves started out quite slowly But by the last three decades

of the eighteenth century, the slave trade was booming due to the rising labor needs of the colony (Ibid , 4-5)

Although most free blacks attained their freedom by manumition, other reasons for the granting of freedom existed Carl Brasseaux notes that some slaves earned their freedom through military service, outstanding public service, or proof of Indian ancestry Manumition was usual under two circumstances, being a long and faithful servant to a family, or being a mistress or natural child of a white farmer As the eighteenth century progressed, manumission for the latter reason increased in frequency as the other reasons for manumition declined (Brasseaux 1998, 67) In many cases, as the white partners took white wives, the colored wife and children were freed and given land as well as money to support themselves (Ibid , 70-71) The matriarch's social and financial independance provided an economic basis for the elevated status of the family in Louisiana's tripartite social system (Ibid , 71)

The 1724 Code Noir, while imposing harsh rules on slaves, granted to free blacks the same freedoms as whites had, however, this equality did not exist in the social milieu. Brasseaux writes, "Though free blacks could successfully sue whites in court, they could not--as a result of legal prohibitions and social conventions--share a meal or a church pew with whites, even whites of inferior social status" (1998, 72)

The Free People of Color (Creoles of color) were found in cities such as New Orleans as well as the rural parishes where some of the families had established large plantations It was the Creoles of color of the large plantations who often owned many slaves and tried to copy the lifestyle of the white-planter aristocracy (Brasseaux 1998, 74,

Wood, 33) These families often could trace their roots to a white progenitor who acknowledged their birth either in documentation or by a gift of land, thus establishing their claim to elevated status (Wood, 61-63) The family often held a substantial amount of land, livery, and slaves (Wood, 33) In accordance with the white aristocracy, these creoles practiced Catholicism, supported and collected the arts, and made sure their children were educated and provided for (Brasseaux 1998, 74, Spitzer, 38) Creole families attaining such status include the Donato, Letoyant, Meuillon, Guillory, Simien, and Rideau families (Brasseaux 1994, 88, Woods, 34)

Wealthy Creole families did not fare well after the Civil War The ravages of carpetbaggers and the southern economic depression combined to strip them of their lands and assets Brasseaux notes that the Donato family, the wealthiest Creole family in the St Landry parish, was reduced in assets by ninety percent following the Civil War and reconstruction period. Not all Creoles were so lucky Many were reduced to tenant farming (Brasseaux 81-83) Throughout the antebellum period, Creoles had largely separated themselves from slaves. In fact, most supported the Confederacy in the Civil War (Woods, 22) After the war, the Creoles lost their special status No more did it matter that they were free people of color, for all colored men were now free Thus the tripartite social division was forced into a binary system, and creoles were equated with blacks simply as "colored"

In order to try and maintain their special status, Creoles used endogamy, intermarriage within the Creole group, as a means to keep Creole land in Creole hands Creoles also maintained their practice of Catholicism in contrast to slaves, who were

mostly of the Protestant faith (Brasseaux 1998, 74) Another way of maintaining their difference from the newly freed slave population was by link to a white, typically French white, ancestor It is my belief, as well, that continuation of French language and traditions served the purpose of further highlighting the difference between black and Creole. Brasseaux supports this statement by noting that the black slaves of African importation and American influence largely spoke English and carried out traditions of their homeland (Ibid , 74). This is not to say that African slaves did not have any influence on the Creoles That aspect will be examined in chapter three

The Acadians in Louisiana

The group of Louisiana settlers known as the Acadians were actually French colonist from the present day area of Nova Scotia, referred to as Acadia in colonial times These French colonists settled in Acadia around 1604 They were largely fur trappers and traders Neglect of the colony by France forced colonists to become self supportive, making tools, furniture, and fabrics, that they could not get from their mother country (Brasseaux 1987, 10) The area inhabited by the Acadians bounced back and forth between British and French rule until 1713 when France ceded Acadia to Britain under terms of the Treaty of Utrecht (Ibid , 13)

The British sought to assimilate the Acadians into British life, but that proved difficult Acadians remaining in the British occupied Nova Scotia were given a year to leave the area or stay and take an oath of allegiance to Britain Rather than abandon their homes and farms, they would take the oath, but only under specific conditions freedom

to practice Catholicism, guaranteed neutrality in future Franco-English colonial wars, and recognition by colonial government that they were in fact a distinct community (Ibid ,14) The issue was stalemated until 1730 when British officials demanding the Acadians concede to the oath were again met with the same demands. This time the Acadians were told that the English government had agreed to their terms The Acadians, assuming the issue had been settled, thereby took the oath and signed in accordance of it However, the chief executive officer returned to England with the Acadian signatures to the oath notifying the upper echelon that the Acadians had signed and all claims of neutrality had been abandoned (Ibid, 15)

In 1750 the issue of the unconditional Acadian oath was revived Yet the Acadians refused citing the conventions of 1730, which, unknown to them, were essentially worthless (Basseaux 1987, 17) British governor Charles Lawrence began to feel the perceived threat of such a large group of French speaking people which wanted no part of the affiliation with England. As the border war with France continued to escalateand would eventually lead to the French and Indian War, Lawrence devised a way to remove Acadians from the area A plan to capture and relocate the Acadians was initiated in August of 1755 Approximately 5,400 Acadians were spread among Britain's seaboard colonies or deported directly to England (Brasseaux 1987, 25) Those Acadians managing to escape deportation were unable to prepare for winter due to the frequent raids on their camps Many died of malnutrition and diseases associated with it (Ibid., 27)

Deportees to the mid Atlantic colonies hoped to find a place to seek refuge and rebuild their lives Yet their arrival culminated with the rising French and Indian War These French speaking exiles were seen as people to be feared, a local population of would-be French vigilantes Even in the colonies of Maryland and Pennsylvania, known for their humanitarianism and religious tolerance, the Acadians were feared and hated The Acadians, still unwilling to bow to British rule, were seen by British colonists as a threat to their security Rather than hire their children out to British families and subject themselves to English education, the group banded together in refusal of the destruction of their ethnic identity. The sad state of this obstinate group led government officials to help secure passage for the Acadians to Louisiana "After a decade of exile and subjugation, Acadian society was battered, but not broken, and its members sought a haven in which to rebuild their shattered world" (Brasseaux, 54)

After France's loss in the French and Indian War, Article IV of the Treaty of Paris gave Acadians eighteen months to leave "England's North American colonies for any French possession" (Brasseaux, 32) The tenacity and obstinence of the Acadian is exemplified through the following quote

> Unwilling to abandon their ethnic identity for the privilege of becoming proper British Protestants and for continued servitude to the oppressive colonial regime, most, though not all, of the Acadians captured in the Seven Years' war preferred to carve out a new life in an alien land rather than face an insidious death of assimilation Undeterred by the challenge, the émigrés readily faced the task of rebuilding their lives and reuniting their large extended families in a stable, francophone environment (Brasseaux, 34)

The Acadians eventually settled in the French environment of Spanish held Louisiana

In 1750, the Spanish colony of Louisiana was sparsely settled Spanish officials knew they needed inhabitants if they were to be able to keep Louisiana out of the hands of other countries The Acadian immigrants were, therefore, an important commodity The Acadians began their settlement of Louisiana in 1757 and by 1770, nearly one thousand Acadians had come to New Orleans in hope to reunite families and reestablish former Acadian life However, settling in Louisiana was not as easy as they had dreamed it would be. Louisiana was under the control of the Spanish regime led by Antonio de Ulloa Ulloa's regime no longer honored the former French policy allowing settlers to select home sites from any vacant lands (Brasseaux, 73) Upon the Acadians entrance they were assigned settlement areas along the lower Mississippi River This was part of Ulloa's plan to defend Spanish Louisiana from the British East bank of the Mississippi River recently ceded as part of the Treaty of Paris in 1763 (Brasseaux, 77) Acadian displeasure with Ulloa's policy eventually led to a revolt ousting Ulloa, who was replaced by a more sympathetic governing council led by Alejandro O'Reilly (Brasseaux, 88) O'Reilly allowed the resettlement of certain Acadians to more suitable areas Thus granting the dream of reuniting with separated family members (Brasseaux, 89) By the year 1800, it is believed that nearly 3,000 Acadians had settled in areas near the Bayou Teche, Bayou Lafourche, and the area north of New Orleans (Sacre, 12)

Within a generation, the Acadians had reestablished their previous culture to the extent that they became the dominant culture of south Louisiana, absorbing other cultures into theirs Barry Jean Ancelet lists the other ethnic groups of the area including the French Creoles, Spanish, Germans, Scots-Irish, Afro-Carribeans, and Anglo-Americans,

that were all absorbed by the Acadian culture The Acadians borrowed traits from each of these absorbed groups forming the unique Louisiana ethnic community of the Cajuns (Ancelet 1984, 20)

Outside of visual ethnic identity markers, the criteria for Cajun and Creole ethnic identity is not so clear Steven Del Sesto and Ron L Gibson write

> A Cajun is most emphatically identifiable as an individual who is typically Roman Catholic, is rural or of rural extraction, emphasizes kinship relations over those of non kin-based associations and who speaks or understands both English and Louisiana French languages or has close relatives who do so (Del Sesto and Gibson, 3)

According to the criteria set forth in the previous statement a Creole is qualifies as a Cajun in the following ways Creoles are and have been typically Roman Catholic since establishment in Louisiana Creoles were found in the cities, but were also predominant in the rural parishes such as St Landry and St Mary Kinship relations are still evident in family businesses and trades passed down through generations, especially in musical traditions Examples of the kinship relationship can be seen in the Creole families Ardoin, Fotent, and Chenier After the Civil War, Creoles used the French language as a factor of differentiation between themselves and the former slave population Creoles qualify on all these criteria as Cajuns, but they are not However, the key to being Cajun, according to Gibson and Del Sesto is "if they perceive themselves as such and are so perceived by others" (Del Sesto and Gibson, 3) Although Creoles may be labeled as black Cajuns by outsiders they do not perceive themselves in that way They may describe themselves as Afro-French, black Creole, or simply Creole The latter term comes from its original usage in antebellum Louisiana, the former two descriptors add

"Afro" and "black" into the semantic interplay of the terminology These words provide a link between the Creoles and the larger African American culture with which some Creoles identified during the Civil Rights movement yet shunned after the Civil War (Tentchoff, 88)

Adelaida Reyes Schramm states, "Ethnicity is a matter of boundaries set up through the articulation of differences and the use of symbols perceived to be cultural or assigned a cultural meaning by members of the group and by outsiders" (Reyes Schramm, 5) Half of this equation requires the perception of cultural symbols or cultural meaning by individuals inside the culture and the other half by individuals outside of the culture. The ambiguity of *creole* terminology, Creole culture and identity, and that of the Cajun makes the perception of distinctions between each difficult, not necessarily for the group members, but for the outsiders The shift in ethnic identification by group members and nonmembers is the crux of this study focusing on the musical aspects of the Creole culture Chapter three will distinguish between the music of the Creoles and the music of the Cajuns as well as the ethnic influences from each other and from outside ethnic groups

CHAPTER III

FRENCH MUSIC AND OTHER ETHNIC INFLUENCES

Cajun and Creole music share similarities and yet also have distinct differences This chapter shall serve a binary purpose, to point out the differences in the two musics as well as the specific ethnic associations that bind it to the ethnic identity, Cajun or Creole, and to discuss ethnic influences upon these musics which have contributed to the blurring of ethnic boundaries The influences to be discussed include Cajun influence on Creole music, Creole influence upon Cajun music, and African and African American and Caribbean influences on Creole music

Cajun Music

Cajun music is strongly rooted in the European French singing tradition that came to Louisiana with the French Acadians The earliest music was probably unaccompanied since frontier life was not conducive to delicate instruments Barry Jean Ancelet notes that, "after a days work the family would gather to sing *complaintes*, the long, unaccompanied story songs of their French heritage" (Ancelet 1984, 21) These songs told of the experiences through which the Cajuns had passed It included their deportation form Acadia, subsequent exile in various inhospitable places, and the solitude of exclusion. Physical and moral suffering as well as love lost and found were common themes throughout the Cajun songs (Sacre, 21).

By 1780, Ancelet notes that inventory lists of Louisiana frontier forts included musical instruments The violin soon became popular in Louisiana Barry Jean Ancelet

attributes this to the importance and popularity of the violin in Europe at the time the Acadians left France (Ancelet 1991, 16) Players used a double string bowing technique which produced a "self-accompanying drone which characterized much of traditional western French style" (Ancelet 1984, 22)

Dancing was an important part of frontier life The violin found its place in *balls de maison*, dances held in private homes attended by family members and neighbors (Ibid , 22) Single violin players found it difficult to compete with the noise of dancing These dance bands projected their sound over the dancers by developing a dual fiddle technique bearing down hard on the strings while the singer emitted harsh, crying vocal lines (Ancelet 1984, 22). The lead fiddle carried the tune and the second fiddle would create rhythmic accompaniment by either playing the melody on the lower strings or by playing low chords (Savoy, 13) Later the instrumental group would occasionally be enriched by the addition of the jaw-harp, the triangle, and spoons scraped on a *frottoir* or washboard (Sacre, 22) The dance music the fiddle bands played came to include reels, mazurkas, polkas, gigues, cotillions, gallops, and contredanses Performers continuing to play in this style beyond 1870 included Dennis McGee, Wade Fruge, Sady Courville and Lee Miller (Savoy, 13)

Cajun music was revolutionized by the introduction of the accordion in 1870 (Sacre, 22) The accordion became the instrument of choice due to its durability and sheer volume "Even with half of its forty metal reeds broken," states Ancelet, "it made enough noise for dancing" (Ancelet 1984, 23) The fiddle was assigned a new role in the duet with the accordion, one of a purely accompanimental voice (Ancelet 1984, 23)

This style of music is referred to as traditional Cajun music It is typified by the use of accordion and violin in which the music and dancers were products of Louisiana in contrast to the European influence of earlier Cajun music (Sacre, 17) The introduction of the accordion changed the music performed by the Cajuns The intricacies of the half steps in the fiddle tunes did not convert well to the diatonic accordions, because of this, songs were created for the accordion (Savoy, 13-14) Performers of this truly Louisiana French music included Joe and Cleoma Falcon and the Breaux Brothers Band (Savoy, 13)

The next trend in Cajun music comes from the rise of Western String Bands The Cajun band line up was changed by the addition of the box guitar in the 1920's Performers in this style often put down the accordion, dropped their French lyrics, and added the steel guitar (Sacre, 21-22, Savoy, 13) However, bands such as the Hackberry Ramblers contributed versions of Cajun classics such as "Jolie Blonde" (Savoy, 13)

Another musical movement became evident around 1950 and continues to be heard today The music is characterized by the return of French lyrics and the featured accordion and violin duets which were popular during in the traditional style from 1870-1920 (Sacre, 17) The relationship between this style of Cajun music and the earlier traditional style is similar to the neoclassical movement in twentieth-century art music This movement in Cajun music is a return to the traditional style while incorporating the musical styles of the day It is a neo-traditional movement Performers of this music included Nathan Abshire and Dewey Balfa Ann Savoy points out that the accordion's reappearance is due in part to the popularity of Pointe Noire, Louisiana

native, Iry Lejeune and his style of accordion playing The combination of a popular accordionist and a feeling of Cajun pride after the end of World War II provided Cajun music with a link back to its French speaking heritage (Savoy, 14)

The incorporation of contemporary sounds into Cajun music resulted from the fusion of the neo-traditional style with that of country and western, modern rock, the blues, jazz, rap, and world music These groups can be heard throughout Louisiana and are typically represent the younger generation of Cajun culture Performers such as Pat Brew, of Cajun Brew, combine traditional Cajun sounds with classic rock Bruce Diagrepont's music is a combination of Cajun music and the sounds of New Orleans The group Mamou led by Cajun singer Steve LaFleur, is described as being heavy metal Cajun by Sacre (80) However, when I heard Mamou in New Orleans, I was struck more by their use of electric guitars and traditional Cajun instruments such as fiddles, rub boards and triangles Not once did I hear the heavy metal defining power chord ZydeCajun is a unique group led by Wayne Toups The group's name describes their sound as well They combine a traditional Cajun base of sound and with the high energy rhythmic drive of zydeco music (Sacre, 80)

Cajun music being performed in Louisiana dance halls today includes an accordion, twin fiddles, electric bass, electric guitar, pedal steel guitar, and drums (Savoy, 14). This instrumentation should not be viewed as the set instrumentation for Cajun music. Musical tastes and availability of personnel change often while some remain the same for many years The delineation of the unique styles and trends

provided by Savoy, Sacre, and Ancelet give evidence of changes that can develop at any given time.

Creole Music

Micheal Tisserand opens *The Kingdom of Zydeco* with an explanation of zydeco "Zydeco is the traditional dance music of the black Creoles of southwest Louisiana" (2) This statement provides zydeco with the ethnic association to Creoles However, little insight is given to the music itself, other than the phrase "dance music " Describing zydeco as "traditional dance music" is problematic because it leads the reader to believe that zydeco has always been representative of the Creole dance music However, in all reality zydeco did not exist until 1950 This section deals explicitly with the music of the Creoles of southwest Louisiana, exploring the music that was the predecessor of zydeco

Early unaccompanied Creole music existed in many forms, including marching songs, ballads and *jure* (Sacre, 85-86) Little is known about the marching songs or ballads, however *jure* singing has been recorded by John and Alan Lomax (Rounder 1843-2) The recordings of the *jure* style provide musical examples rather than relying upon sparse descriptions written on the subject *Jure* comes from the French word for "testify" (Tisserand, 10) Before the violin and the accordion, Creoles relied on their voices and the rhythms made by clapping and stamping Thus the importance of *jure* singing *Jure* could be performed in a sacred nature or secular, or sometimes both (Sacre, 86) The performance of these acapella chants is determined by the rhythm of those stamping their feet and clapping their hands (Rounder 1843-2)

These *jures* featured testimonies or stories dealing with disappointment, heartache, and despair A phrase sung in a *jure* captured by the Lomaxes becomes a recurrent theme of the Creole music, *les haricots sont pas sales,* a chorus that indicates how bad the singer felt, similar to the expression of the "blues" in African American music Literally, it meant there was no money to buy salt meat to season the snap beans, an allusion to the extent of the poverty the people were experiencing (Tisserand, 11) This phrase would later appear in zydeco music of performers such as Clifton Chenier *Zydeco,* it has been argued, is actually the slurred pronunciation for *les haricots (*Ancelet, 1991, 18, Tisserand, 17)

Another form of unaccompanied music popular in Creole culture was that of story songs These songs were performed by the women of Creole families in the intimate setting of their own homes (Sacre, 87) It is unclear if any relationship exists between these Creole story songs and the Acadian *complaintes* Due to the close relations of the French Acadians with Creoles, it could be possible Further research in that area needs to be done Inez Catalon is the most well known Creole ballad singer of the twentieth century She has performed French traditional songs for zydeco and Cajun music festivals since the first Acadian Music Festival in 1974 (Tisserand, 355)

When instruments were introduced into southwest Louisiana around 1870, Creoles were among the first to master them with virtuostic techniques Noted performers in the early twentieth century were violinist Douglas Bellard and accordionist Amede Ardoin (Sacre, 87-88) Creole musicians polished their musical skills playing for *la-las* or house dances The *la-las* were the Creole version of the Cajun *bals de maison.*

Families would clear all the furniture out of their house to make room for the dancers (Tisserand, 10). Here, the musicians were important, they had to keep the dancers moving The music was provided by an accordionist and a washboard, sometimes accompanied by a violin (Sacre, 92) The lyrics of these songs were not as important as the music itself This is due to the fact that before the age of amplification, the singer was rarely heard over the noise of the dancers After Amede Ardoin, Alphonse "Bois Sec" Ardoin and Canray Fotenot were two of the most influential Creole musicians to come out of the *la-la* tradition *La-la* provides a direct association to zydeco music as an accordion based dance music of the Creole culture

All of the previous styles and contributions of the Creole musicians from *jure* to *la-la* were influential to the development of zydeco *Jure* contributed its polyrhythms and the phrase *les haricot sont pas sales* *La-la* contributed a dance relationship, importance of the accordion, and an introduction to the blues From Ardoin and Fontenot the use of the blues can be seen Songs the duo played such as "Bonsoir Moreau" and "Joe Pitre a Duex Femmes" incorporate the blues Figure 3-1 is a transcription of "Joe Pitre a Duex Femmes" by Ann Savoy Notice the use of the lowered third scale degree which contributes to the blues sound Also contributing to the blues sound is the construction of the tune the blues chord I, IV, and V "Joe Pitre a Deux Femmes" includes the mixing of triplet rhythms with duple rhythms which give the personalized feel of improvisation. Another rhythmic aspect consistent with the blues sound is the use phrase initiation on the weak beat, seen in measures six and thirteen This song if featured in the 1989 film, *J'ai ete au bal*, produced by Les Blank Canray Fotenot

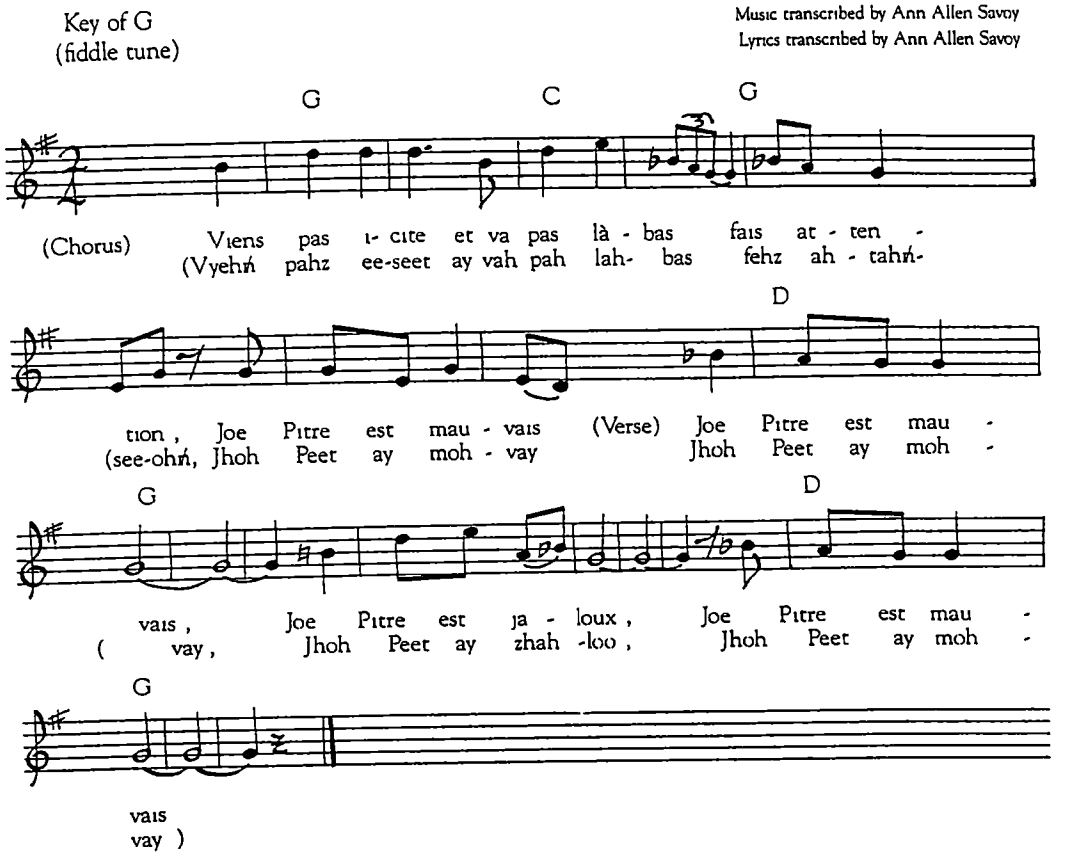

Figure 3 1 "Joe Pitre a deux femmes "

Transcription taken from Ann Savoy's, *Cajun Music a Reflection of a People* Eunice, Louisiana Bluebird Press, 1986 338

performs a version of the tune and the blues sound is immediately apparent (Blank, 1989)

In an interview with Herman Fuselier, host of the "Bayou Boogie" Radio show in Lafayette, Louisiana, he refers to a geographic distinction in zydeco rural zydeco versus urban zydeco (Fuseleir 2000) Rural style zydeco is what you hear in places such as Lafayette or Opelousas, compared with the urban style you would hear in the Houston or New Orleans Rural style is very similar to Creole music with an accordion, fiddle, washboard or triangle player, and occasionally a drummer and guitarist The rural zydeco players such as Boozoo Chavis, remain strongly rooted in the Creole style using his single or double row accordion without amplification Other rural zydeco players include Delton Broussard and the Lawtell Playboys, Sampy and the Bad Habits and Wilfred Latour and His Travel Aces (Sacre, 103) Rural zydeco also holds an association with the rural lifestyle Often zydeco dances are held to coincide with a trail ride The connection to rural zydeco and trail rides is strengthened by the dress of rural performers, often times in Cowboy hats, boots, and Western shirts (Sandmel 1999, 79-84)

The urban style emphasizes electronically amplified sound with differences in instrumentation as follows no violin, piano key accordion, metal frottoir, additional horns such as saxes or trumpets, electric guitars, and drums (Sacre, 98) Urban zydeco is best characterized by the music of Clifton Chenier Chenier was a gifted accordion player who also had the ability to create new songs as well as adapt other black musics into the zydeco idiom (Sacre, 106-7) Clifton Chenier's brother Cleveland is credited

with changing the playing style of the *frottoir* The brothers Chenier designed the vest *frottoir* now worn by most zydeco *frottoir* players (Sandmel 1999, 24)

Chenier's music and playing style were inspired by Amedee Ardoin's syncopated playing style and use of the blues. From this point Clifton mixed the sounds of rhythm and blues, rock and roll, western swing, country, Caribbean, and Latin American music into his repertoire (Sacre, 107) Chenier's constant touring and recording made him quite possibly the best known zydeco performer to this day, but not the only performer The music of Rockin Dopsie, John Delafose and the Eunice Playboys, Queen Ida, Al Rapone, and C J Chenier carry on the traditions in the modern style (Sacre, 109-113)

Creole music laid the foundation for the emergence of zydeco music Creole, Cajun, and zydeco music share similarities and influenced each other as each changed throughout the years The following section explores the influences upon the musical styles, including Cajun-Creole musical interplay and importance of African and Caribbean influences upon Creole music.

Cajun and Creole Interplay

The association of Cajuns and Creoles within the area of south Louisiana led to the borrowing of certain musical traits Dorice Tentchoff describes the language of the Cajuns and Creoles to be ethnically blurred in certain circumstances I believe this blurring in linguistics also occurs with Cajun and Creole music From her work in linguistics, Tentchoff states, "It is apparent that in some localities, relations between whites and blacks have been close for a prolonged period of time Frequent informal,

daily contact between them was a necessary and accepted ingredient of living" (Tentchoff, 89-90) Tentchoff goes on to strengthen the first statement by adding, "In the face of an often rejecting and hostile outside world, French-speaking members of both races experienced a common level of identity" (90) Interaction and shared French identity between ethnically diverse groups allowed for similarities to develop Tentchoff is speaking of linguistic similarities, this research focuses on musical similarities

In Ancelet's 1991 essay," Cajun and Zydeco Music Traditions," he writes, "Both share common origins and influences, and there is much overlap in the repertoire and style of each" (1991, 18) As Ancelet goes on to describe Cajun music he included the influence of Creoles which contributed "new rhythms and a sense of percussion techniques, improvisational singing and the blues" (18). All of these influences can be directly linked to the *jure* singing of the Creoles Later when instruments became prominent in the musical styles of both groups, Ancelet lists Creole accordionist Amede Ardoin's highly syncopated playing style and his improvisational singing as having an influence on black performers and Cajun performers as well (Ancelet 1991, 20) Even some of Ardoin's songs such as "Blues de la Prison" and "Les Blues de Voyages" have been recorded by Cajun performers such as the Hackberry Ramblers and the Balfa Brothers (Savoy, 120 and 248)

Creole musicians borrowed French Acadian songs from the Cajuns These songs became new musical ideas for the Creoles Ancelet points this out by listing the lyrics for "Je veux me marier, je peux pas trouver" a jure song recorded by John and Alan Lomax (Rounder 1843) This jure tune is based on the French Acadian tune, "Je veux me

marier, mais les poules pendant pas" (1996, 135) This tune was probably one of the *complaintes* sung unaccompanied The lyrics themselves translate an expression of similar meaning The jure title is "I wish to marry, I can not give " The Acadian song title is "I wish to marry, but I do not have any chickens " About the two tunes Ancelet compares the lyrics and says

> The French Acadian version is lyrically and rhythmically structured in typically European-influenced fashion The jure is lyrically reformulated and impressionistic, with a fragmented story line, uneven lines, and a completely retooled melody, all of which come from the African influences of its singers' past The jure version preserves the basic theme of the young suitor whose courtship is frustrated because he has no money, but develops the story in a completely different way (Ancelet, 1996, 136)

Another case of borrowing from the Cajun tradition can be found in Clifton Chenier's 1950s hit "Zydeco est pas sales " Ancelet writes, "it is based on 'Hip and Taiau', a French Acadian folk song about two thieving dogs" (Ancelet 1996, 132) Ancelet describes "Hip and Taiau" as being borrowed from the tradition of the *complaintes* or the other unaccompanied songs of the earliest Cajun music Chenier's song tells the story, but adds the bridges describing unsalted beans (Ancelet, 1996, 132) Chenier's blues based accordion playing style in addition to the reference to the unsalted beans transforms the Acadian dog song into a Creole song in the zydeco style

The previous examples show how Cajun and Creole music share common factors Although each ethnic group may hold that their musical products are as definable as their ethnicity, that is not always the case The daily interactions and similarities in French speech allowed for ethnic blurring (Tentchoff, 90) We have examined instances of

Cajun and Creole ethnic blurring in musical products, now we move to other ethnic factors which have influenced Creole music

African and African American Influences

The most evident African influence in Creole music is rhythmic importance This influence can be seen in the jure music of the Creoles This section relies upon the comments of Alan Lomax who captured much of the early music of southwest Louisiana in *Cajun and Creole Music II, 1934-1937* Alan Lomax describes the jures he recorded in 1934 for the Library of Congress, saying that as he was setting up his recording device

> some of the boys and girls formed couples and began to dance round and round the church, in a shuffling, body-shaking fashion very much like the Sea Island shouts The music was made by a trio of singers and rhythm makers The lead improvised new lines, the accompanying duo responded in overlap with a repeated refrain Meanwhile all three clapped and beat a red-hot polyrhythmic accompaniment that at a distance sounded as though there were an African drum ensemble in the church (Lomax)

Lomax's description of the use of polyrhythmic figures indicates the importance of rhythm in Creole music The mention of the boys and girls dancing 'round and round the church" also suggests an association to African American ring dances although never stated Lomax goes on to describe all of the jures he recorded in 1934 in a quasi Cantometric analysis.

> All conform to the tradition of sung dance that is perhaps the principal musical style of West Africa and the West Indies where melodies are built around a refrain that has a danceable rhythmic shape and that enables the group of singers to make music for collective dancing (Lomax)

Figure 3 2 is an excerpt of a *jure* Lomax recorded, entitled, *"J'ai fait tour du pays "* It is in this specific *jure* which the phrase *les haricots sont pas sales* is used as a chorus Line

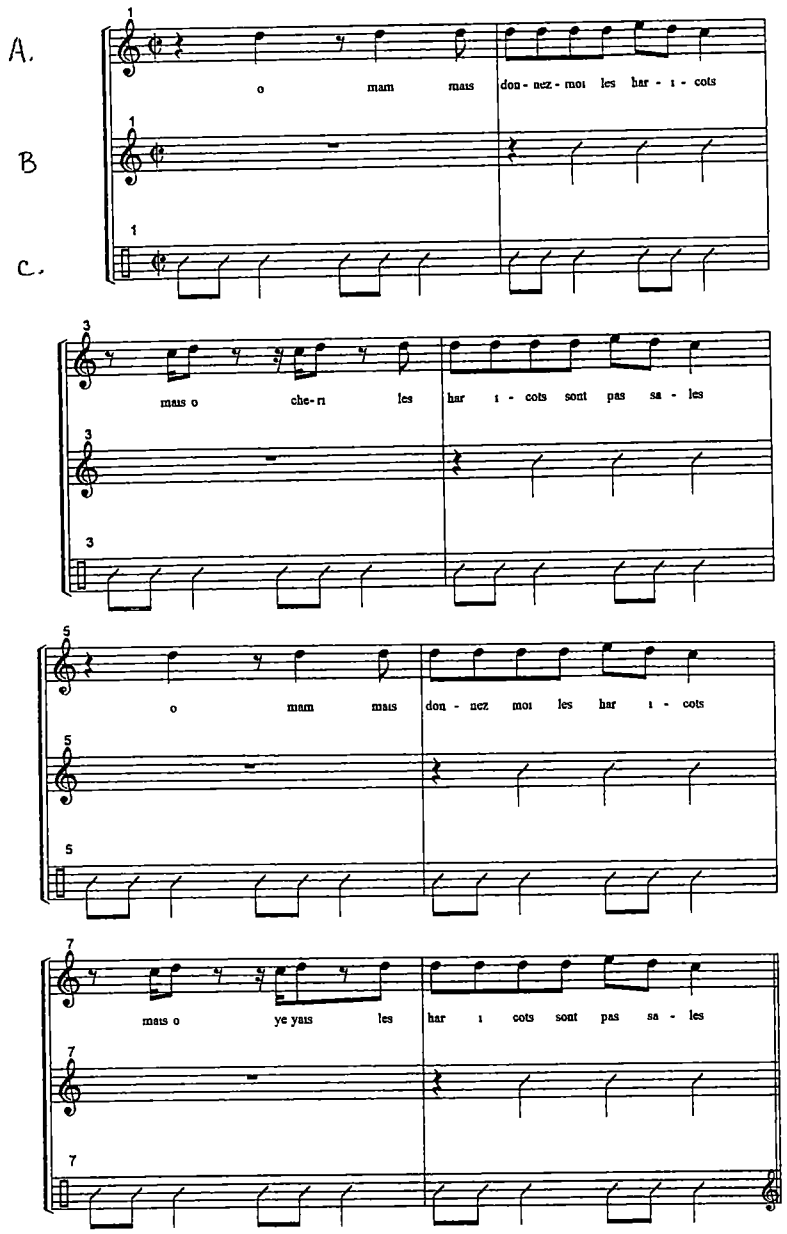

Figure3 2 "J'ai Fait Tout Le Tour Du Pays "

Transcribed by Kara Boyd and Paul Forsyth Lomax, Alan and Lomax, John

Cajun & Creole Music II 1934/1937 1999 Rounder Records CD 1843

A represents the vocal line and text of the singer Line B is an improvised vocal text and pitch with a constant rhythm The third line is a representation of the clapping which provides a rhythmic ostinato The relationship between lines A and B implies a call and response structure The polyrhythmic nature of the *jure* is evidenced by the interplay between the vocal lines, A and B, and the rhythmic ostinato of the clappers and stompers in line C This structure is further strengthened by the two measure structure of vocal line A The first measure of each of the two measure phrases utilizes a syncopated rhythm suggesting a more improvised expression in comparison to the straight rhythm in the second measure

Caribbean Influences

Ancelet, Tisserand, and Spitzer describe zydeco as including elements of Afro-Caribbean style (Ancelet; 1991, 20, Spitzer, 335, Tisserand, 2) However, these elements are not pointed out Ancelet states "European and Afro-Caribbean rhythms and sources produce haunting songs which function equally well as blues laments and as waltzes" (Ancelet, 1991, 20) Yet there is no more evidence presented then Tisserand describes the heritage of modern Creoles as a blending of diverse black groups and American Indians and Europeans, mainly that of the French and Spanish He then states, "zydeco, with its mix of European and African-Caribbean-derived song traditions, is the musical voice of experience" (Tisserand, 2) The song tradition he mentions could be referencing to the tradition of the sung dance music Lomax included that is characteristic of the West Indies (Lomax) This Caribbean influence most likely came from the large

population of Haitian refugees which fled to Louisiana during times of unrest in the French colony. Spitzer states that nearly 10,000 Haitian refugees fled to Louisiana between 1809 and 1810 (Spitzer, 35) As discussed earlier, among this group was a large population of Free Blacks (Spitzer, 35-6)

The closest connection to zydeco and Caribbean styles can be traced through Clarence Garlow's hit for the Macy label, "Bon Ton Roula " This tune features a direct reference to zydeco in the lyrics, which are layered over tenor sax riffs and a rhumba rhythm (Broven, 104) Broven describes Garlow's song as "the first important record for a zydeco performer" (Broven, 104) There is no accordion or washboard present in the song The absence of those two instruments weakens the argument that "Bon Ton Roulet" is a zydeco song

If the total reliance upon the statement of Caribbean influences is to come from the Alan Lomax Cantometric analysis of the Creole jure, I find it a substantially weak argument There should be musical evidence of Caribbean music which can be traced back to the Creole use of it after the Haitian migration and its continuance and presence in zydeco The mere fact that no one identifies specifically what gives zydeco the Caribbean influence leads me to believe that the justification for the claim of Caribbean influence is purely based on Alan Lomax's analysis In order to substantiate the claim to Caribbean influence, I include the similarities I have discovered between zydeco music and musics of the Caribbean

The notation of the drum beat in the chorus of "Bon Ton Roula" is provided in figure 3 3.

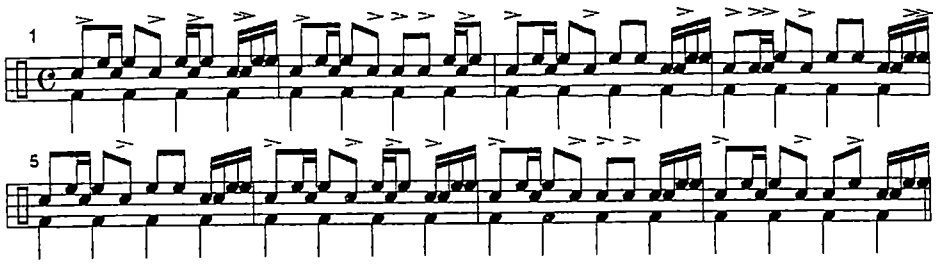

Figure 3 3 "Bon Ton Roula"

Transcribed by Paul Garcia and Kara Boyd Various Artists *Zydeco Volume 1: The Early Years 1949-62.* 1989 Arhoolie Productions CD 307

In *Caribbean Currents*, Peter Manuel describes the most popular type of rumba, the *guaguanco* The notation of the ostinato base of the rumba rhythm is included in figure 3 4 (Manuel, 25) Although the exact rhythm is not played on a drum set, the presence of this rhythm is felt throughout "Bon Ton Roula" Manuel describes the rhythms of African and Afro-Caribbean traditions as being "formidably more complex" than European based rhythms (Manuel, 7) Among these complex rhythms are syncopation and polyrhythm, which have both been addressed in the *jure* transcription

Another interesting use of Afro-Caribbean influence is the *guiro* This instrument does not appear in zydeco music, but the sound of the instrument does, through the use of the washboard The *guiro* is a striated gourd used as a percussion instrument Sound is made by scraping and tapping out rhythm patterns (Manuel, 3) The washboard follows the same use, being scraped with spoons or bottle openers However, the design of the frottoir as a vest allows for playing with both hands scraping and tapping out intricate



Figure 3.4.

Transcription taken from Manuel, Peter *Caribbean Currents: Caribbean Music from Rumba to Reggae* Philadelphia Temple University Press, 1995 25

rhythm patterns that the *guiro* player would be unable to do because the instrument is held in one hand

Another connection to Caribbean influence can be seen by zydeco performers and the content of their songs Peter Manuel lists five themes present in Caribbean music common to African diasporic musics, one of which describes the relationship between music, sexuality, and gender Manuel notes that the music of the Caribbean region relates common themes of love, betrayal, and loss He goes on to say, " songs throughout the region display an uninhibited delight in sexuality, typically expressed in whimsical, thinly disguised puns, and double entendres" (Manuel, 238) Zydeco songs often do the same thing examples being, "Banana Man," by C J Chenier, "You're My Mule," by Nathan and the Zydeco Cha-Cha's, and "Hot Tamale Baby," recorded by various artists including Buckwheat Zydeco (Rounder 11566, Rounder 11579, Arhoolie 328) Manuel continues on to point out the music of the Caribbean area reflects predominantly male viewpoints (239) He speaks of Caribbean culture, but he could very easily be describing zydeco music Very few women are involved in zydeco groups as

instrumentalists or singer A few exceptions exist, most noticeably, the music of Queen Ida. She grew up in Louisiana then moved to California with her family at age eighteen (Tisserand, 208) Queen Ida and her brother Al Rapone are prominent in the West Coast zydeco circuit (Ibid , 213-6) Women are becoming more visible to zydeco Zydeco nouveau performer Rosie Ledet, is the most current female in the Louisiana zydeco scene (Tisserand, 320-2) Tisserand and Spitzer both note the reason for the absence of women in zydeco is based in the traditional role of Creole women participation by a woman would be seen as vulgar (Tisserand, 212)

This chapter set out to explain Cajun and Creole music and what tied the music to the corresponding ethnic group, and to illustrate other ethnic influences in these musics which contribute to ethnic identity problems Cajun music is identified as "Cajun" by the use of the accordion and fiddle, predominant French lyrics and white musicians Creole music is identified as "Creole" by the use of the accordion, rhythmic intricacies, blues sound, and black musicians The influences upon Cajun and Creole music from each other produce similarities in the musical products of these groups So close are the musical similarities that writers are forced to rely upon skin color as the distinction Ben Sandmel's article published in the March 2000 Delta Airlines Sky magazine states "Cajun music refers to white bands, and contains some elements of country [music] Zydeco is a closely related style played by the Cajuns's black neighbors, the Creoles" (Sandmel 2000, 59) Sandmel continues to describe the music as centered around the accordion featuring the French language, and played for dancing (Sandmel 2000, 59) My quest to find the differences in these musics led me to include other ethnic influences

and their expression in Creole music By exploring African American influences, the rhythmic complexity of Creole music expressed in the jure as well as zydeco can be used to help distinguish it from Cajun music The lack of substantial claim to Caribbean influence in zydeco music led to discoveries linking the washboard to the *guiro* and sexism in the music These discoveries substantiate the claim to Caribbean influence in zydeco music As with the African influence, the Caribbean influence in zydeco music, helps to distinguish it from Cajun music Although Cajun and Creole music share similarities, they are different as well, both musically and socially Chapter four takes a look at the lives of performers and how their music was influenced by their ethnicity

CHAPTER IV

INFLUENCES DEFINING PERFORMANCE

Ethnicity is a dynamic process Internal and external pressures shift and influence ethnic groups A parallel phenomenon occurs with music Ethnic music is influenced by internal and external forces that shape the product of ethnic group members This chapter investigates the life and music of Creole performer Amede Ardoin, zydeco performer Clifton Chenier, and his son, C J Chenier Their music is ultimately the object of study, but the inspiration for their music comes from their lives "The sound may be the object, but man is the subject, and the key to understanding music is in the relationship existing between subject and object" (Blacking, 26) Examining the lives of the three performers will provide insight into issues of ethnic blurring and ethnic identity and a link to their music, thereby providing an ethnic perspective into the relationship between each man and his music

Amede Ardoin
1896 ca -1941

Amede Ardoin's life as a singer and accordion player involves questions of ethnic identity and evidence of ethnic blurring Questions of ethnicity occur in relationship to Ardoin's singing style, the crowds for whom he performed, and musicians he performed with Ardoin, a Creole musician, grew up around Basile, Lousiana where he frequented the homes of Creole accordionist Adam Fotenot and fiddler Alphonse LaFleur (Savoy, 66) Ardoin's singing and accordion playing styles are described by John Broven as "very much white Cajun" (102) This is not surprising since Cajuns were the dominant cultural group in southwest Louisiana, from their establishment in the area

around 1750 (Spitzer, 175) Due to excessive acculturation, which produced an intermingling of the two cultures, Nick Spitzer writes, "rural black Creoles are not radically different in terms of culture traits from the European derived Cajuns" (157) The musical product of the two cultures are not radically different either. The similarities to the music of the two groups in the 1920's are evident They both utilize the accordion and fiddle with some sort of percussion instrument providing a rhythmic accompaniment Cajuns typically use the triangle with Creoles typically using the washboard, however, there are exceptions to this use Creole and Cajun utilize a French based language and both groups sing about their struggles and their successes They both share group dancing, initiated in their homes through Cajun *balls de maison* and Creole *la-las*

The music of Ardoin developed during a time when awareness of ethnic difference was keen The similarity in Ardoin's Creole music to Cajun music is easily explained by the overwhelming dominance of the Acadian culture and its foundation of the music traditions of the Cajuns and Creoles Sady Coureville, a Cajun fiddler, who backed many of the great musicians of the 1920's and 1930's including Ardoin, comments upon the performances Ardoin attended "I played a lot of music with Amede for white and black In those days there was a lot of tenant black people and they loved Cajun music, they loved good times" (Savoy, 40). This statement strengthens the view that Cajun and Creole music of the 1920s and 1930s was quite similar in the fact that Creoles liked Cajun music as much as their own

Amede Ardoin's musical product was influenced by the ethnic association of the crowds he played for and the musicians he played with Although Ardoin played with Cajuns such as Wade Fruge and Sady Courville, Ardoin was most often accompanied by Cajun fiddle player Dennis McGee (Broven, 102, Savoy, 38-54) The two men met when they were working as sharecroppers for Celestin Marcantel, who encouraged the two to play together (Savoy, 67) The talent and popularity of Ardoin and McGee allowed them to cross ethnic barriers and play for both Cajun and Creole dances (Tisserand, 53) Grace Lichtenstein and Laura Danker note that the two men were playing for dances at a time when segregation was in force. Some of the dances were restricted to whites, some for blacks only (198) Savoy notes that they played mostly white dances because the pay was better than that of the Creole dances (66). Perhaps the most interesting thing was the friendship that developed between the two men McGee told Barry Jean Ancelet, "We were making good music in those days" (Tisserand, 57) Both men found a talent and personality to match his own, joining forces allowed them to cross barriers of ethnicity Wade Fruge points to the fact that dances were often a precarious situation for Amede because "A lot of them old Frenchmen would start drinking home brew and they'd try to cause trouble for Amede He'd leave the accordion and he'd run across the fields many a time" (Savoy, 46) Ardoin and McGee were first recorded in 1929 and continued performing together until 1934 (Savoy, 68) The 1934 recording is the last for the accordion-fiddle pair, due to an attack on Ardoin's life from which he would never recover (Tisserand, 51-3, Savoy, 67)

Amede Ardoin's personal impact upon Cajun playing is noted by Ancelet He says, "Black Creole musicians such as Amede Ardoin and Adam Fotenot played an important role during the formative period at the turn of the century" (Ancelet, 1987, 23). Ancelet credits the stylistic playing of these two men as contributing a highly syncopated accordion style and the introduction of the blues to Cajun music (Ibid) Notable Cajun musicians such as Iry LeJeune and Creole accordionists such as Bois Sec Ardoin and Clifton Chenier became students of Amede Ardoin's His songs remain traditional standards of Creole an Cajun music alike Examples include "Les Blues de la Prison" and "Eunice Two-Step" (Ibid) Although Amede Ardoin's social life may have been restricted by the volatile ethnic climate of the early twentieth century South, his music lifted some of those restrictions allowing for his popularity with Cajuns and Creoles Amede Ardoin's ability to cross the barriers of ethnicity through the music he made influenced Cajun and Creole musician for years to come.

Clifton Chenier
1925-1987

Clifton Chenier's music provides an example of the decline in strong identities to Creole culture and a move towards an alignment with African American culture Clifton Chenier was a farmer's son in Opelousas, Louisiana He grew up hearing his father play the single row accordion and attending neighborhood Creole *la-las* (Broven, 111-112) By age fifteen, he had mastered the piano-key accordion, and he began to follow local accordionist Claude Faulk (Tisserand, 93, Savoy, 371)

The discovery of oil in Louisiana in 1907 had brought a "flood of new money and Anglo-Americans into French Louisiana" (Ancelet, 24) Money and education were seen as the way to escape rural life (Ancelet, 24) Clifton saw an opportunity and left rural Louisiana to find work in the bustling oil town of Lake Charles, Texas He worked for an oil refinery during the day, and played for tips at the gate after work Clifton and his brother Cleveland began playing for local dances Weekend gigs started in southwest Louisiana towns such as Basille and back to Beaumont Texas for Monday and Thursday night gigs at the Bon Ton Roulet, owned by Clarence Garlow (Tisserand, 98)

Chenier was still working in Houston when he was introduced to Chris Strachwitz. Strachwitz formed Arhoolie records, based in California in 1960. His motivation behind the formation of the company was the preservation of the unique sounds of performers and regional musics (Tisserand, 108-111) Strachwitz was following blues man Sam Lightnin Hopkins when he was taken to a little tavern where Chenier was playing Strachwitz recalls, "I couldn't believe it Here was this light skinned black man with this huge accordion on his chest, and just a drummer, playing the damnedest blues I ever heard, and singing it all in French" (Lichtenstein, 222)

It was the association with Strachwitz and Arhoolie Records that made Chenier's career It began a partnership between Arhoolie and Chenier that would be beneficial to both for many years However, the partnership was not always smooth.

> Strachwitz knew the tastes of white college-educated blues fans like himself, and he knew there was a market for the sounds that he had heard in that French town bar But Chenier had his crowd, too. And he knew that if he wanted to attract black dancers in Louisiana and Texas, he had to take on the hits of the day and put them on his accordion (Tisserand, 109)

Chenier wanted to be successful He felt the only way he could win a large following was to record popular songs on his accordion (Tisserand, 109) "[Strachwitz] told Chenier he didn't come all the way to Texas to record warmed-over radio hits Chenier answered that he wasn't going to do any more of that goddamn old French" (Tisserand, 110) The two each made concessions and produced a bilingual record, half sung in French and half sung in English (Tisserand, 109) The album, *Louisiana Blues and Zydeco*, was recorded in Houston for Arhoolie in 1964 and 1965

By recording this bilingual album, Chenier shows evidence of two musical and cultural influences in his life The first is the Creole influence of the *la-la* tradition Chenier was playing in the *la-la* style before recording for Arhoolie On the previous page, Strachwitz describes seeing Chenier play for the first time The description of Clifton's performance is very similar to *la-la* performances The similarities exist between Chenier's performance and *la-la* performance in the following areas: performance by a Creole singer, French language, the use of the blues, and accordionist backed by nothing but a drummer (Lichtenstein, 202, Sacre, 92-93) This *la-la* music of Chenier's was different from earlier *la-la* in that the blues sound was no longer masked, it became the signature of Chenier's sound Another difference comes from the type of accordion the performer played. *La-la* performers typically used the single or double row diatonic accordion which limited the harmonic capabilities of the songs (Savoy, 373) Chenier used the piano key accordion which opened up the harmonic possibilities that had restricted other *la-la* accordion players (Savoy, 302)

The second of the two musical influences Chenier shows evidence of on *Louisiana Blues and Zydeco* is the influence of African-American popular music styles of the day Chenier's desire to record the popular songs like those of Fats Domino and Ray Charles is a direct example of the growing popularity of African-American popular music (Tisserand, 109) Chenier's love of these musicians and their styles comes from his association with them. For example, Chenier toured at one time with Lowell Fulson, Jimmy Reed, Etta James, The Midnighters and the Five Royals He says, "You know, I been on the road with all them fellas, and I learned a whole lot from them" (Savoy, 377) Being on the Houston club circuit with blues men like Lightnin Hopkins helped strengthen the blues style in Chenier's sound. By covering songs that were already popular, Chenier provided the listener with a familiar tune simply recast for his instrumentation. "Hot Rod" is a prime example off of the album *Louisiana Blues and Zydeco* On practically every album, Chenier includes a familiar song that he has recast for his zydeco sound Covering of songs seems to have become a common practice for zydeco performers to follow and will be discussed further in chapter six "Zydeco Est Pas Sale" was one of the most important recordings Clifton Chenier ever made It was in this tune that the jure style of Creole singing was recalled Tisserand adds, "it set the pace for zydeco to come" (111). Chenier's sound and style became the model for zydeco players such as Buckwheat zydeco and Wayne Toups of ZydeCajun (Lichtenstein, 226).

Chenier's career was boosted by the success of his work with Strachwitz and Arhoolie Records Strachwitz had an affect on Chenier in that he became a crusader for

Creole traditions including the use of the Creole French language and the use of the accordion-rub board combination (Tisserand, 111)

After Chenier left Arhoolie in search of a larger company, he recorded with several different labels Chenier's album, *I'm Here*, produced by Alligator Records received a Grammy in 1984 in the category of "Best Traditional or Ethnic Recording " Tisserand quotes Chenier as saying, "Rock and Roll didn't get me that Grammy Zydeco got me that Grammy" (135) Chenier's outlook on zydeco has changed over the years partially due to the influence of Strachwitz, but also due to the success Chenier had experienced with zydeco

An interview with Ben Sandmel printed in Ann Savoy's *Cajun Music. A Reflection of a People* notes Chenier as saying, "there's a lot of people holding back on French, you know, but me, I never was ashamed of French and I never will be" (Savoy, 381) Based on Savoy's discography of Chenier's recordings starting in 1954 up until recording for Strachwitz in 1964, only one song was in French This was "Ay-tete-Fee,"[1] captured by Specialty records in 1955 Otherwise all of Chenier's early recordings were in English (Savoy, 382-3) From this information, it is impossible to tell if Chenier was ashamed of the French language, but it points to the fact, that he did not record in French often Chenier's inclusion of African -American popular styles and his reluctance to record his music in French show a different side of Chenier A side that was pulling away from his base in Creole music and exploring avenues of new musical sources.

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[1] "Ay-tete-Fee" by Clifton Chenier is a phonetic spelling of the French, "Eh, petite fille," meaning, "hey, little girl "

C J Chenier
b 1957

C J Chenier's career is evidence of the effort to carry on traditions of Creole musicians such as that of his father despite his minimal experience with the Creole culture C J Chenier's story begins not in southwest Louisiana, but in Port Arthur, Texas Raised by his mother, he knew very little about his father except that he was a musician He was sixteen the first time he ever saw his father perform (Lichtenstein, 233) C J. grew up playing tenor sax throughout school and eventually in a garage band influenced by jazz fusion groups (Tisserand, 150-151) Then one day, out of the blue, C J 's father called up and told him to pack his bags He needed another tenor sax player on the road with the Red Hot Louisiana Band (Tisserand, 150-151, Lichtenstein, 234)

C J had no background with the type of zydeco style music his father sang In fact, C J and his friends had actually shunned the old style music and turned to more modern sounds of popular music (Lichtenstein, 233) Lichtenstein and Danker note that "C J went more frightened than excited He figured the regular sax player could show him the ropes" (234). However, C. J was the saxophone player He didn't know any of the Creole French language his father sang in The drummer for the Red Hot Louisiana Band taught C J the song lyrics phonetically (Lichtenstein, 234) This became C J 's initiation into zydeco music and Creole culture

C. J began to take interest in the accordion "By 1983, the elder Chenier judged that his son had won a unique role for himself Clifton had been sick, and even after he recovered he was too weak to play an entire set" (Lichtnestein, 234) It became C J 's job to warm up the crowds on the road until Clifton could join the band on-stage C J

became the official leader of the Red Hot Louisiana Band as his father's health was continually declining Clifton Chenier died in 1987 C J was left his father's legacy and leadership of the Red Hot Louisiana Band (Tisserand, 154-155)

C J Chenier's zydeco today is largely an extension of his father's music, continuing the legacy the elder Chenier began This is evident upon attending a performance by C J Chenier I saw Chenier in Knoxville, Tennessee in October during a House of Blues, Texas Bands Tour. Although Cheniers portion of the show brief, two songs of five he performed were made popular by his father, "You Don't Call Me," and "Zydeco Cha Cha" (Savoy, 382-3) In my interview with C J after the performance, he admitted the presence of his father's influence "One of the main reasons for continuing on with zydeco was to make sure nobody forgot Clifton Chenier If they can remember [him] through [me] that's fine I have no problem with that" (Chenier, 1999)

Even though trained by Clifton Chenier, C J.'s sound is different from that of his father. C. J. credits his uniqueness of sound by saying, " In my early career with my dad, it was like all blues, Big Walter, you know, just a whole lot of blues artist I listen to a lot of jazz I am a saxophone player converted to accordion, so I still hear saxophone licks" (Chenier, 1999) Also contributing to the difference of C J.'s sound is the fact that most of his lyrics are in English. Chenier attributes this to where he was raised "[I] grew up in Texas, didn't grow up around no French culture I didn't learn to speak the Creole language" (Chenier, 1999). Although his lack of knowledge of Creole French may separate his music from Creole culture, he still occasionally includes the French He

explains that in the music, "I don't try to fool nobody, so I just do what I know When I know it, I sing it" (Chenier, 1999)

Being born and raised outside of the Creole culture, C J Chenier's involvement with Creole music came from membership in his father's band Not only did his father introduce him to the Creole language and zydeco music tradition, but also his family's legacy tying him to zydeco music Therefore, C J 's continuance of performing zydeco music -- Creole dance music -- is directly attributable to Clifton Chenier's influence and dedication to Creole dance music.

All three performers, Amede Ardoin, Clifton Chenier, and C J Chenier have challenged notions of Creole ethnicity in specific ways. Ardoin's accordion playing with the white-Cajun singing style and sound, in conjunction with his partner, Cajun fiddler Dennis McGee, allowed for popularity with crowds of whites and blacks at a time of heightened racial sensitivity The fact that Ardoin's music was an influence to Cajun and Creole accordionists alike gives evidence that his music was able to transcend the ethnic differences between Cajuns and Creole Clifton Chenier's music took the Creole *la-la* music and added African-American popular musical styles Chenier's first bilingual album produced for Arhoolie records would come to define the zydeco sound His concession to record French music for Arhoolie produced one of his biggest hits, "Zydeco est pas Sale." Chenier's success with zydeco would influence the next wave of zydeco performers including his own son, C J Chenier C J Chenier's knowledge of zydeco came not from his association with the Creole culture, but from the Creole and zydeco tradition of Clifton Chenier Much of C J 's music shows his admiration and

respect for the music of his father, evident by the recording of Clifton Chenier's songs Each performer's interaction with ethnicity has shown how their music has responded to it The reason for exploring these challenges to ethnicity shows that a music such as zydeco cannot be simply categorized and expected to remain static There is a process of continual change in relation to the people whom it represents In the case of zydeco, it started with the French music of the Creoles and Cajuns continuing through the years, changing in response to social forces Creole performers then took their experiences and molded them into sound

CHAPTER V

CREOLE ALIGNMENT WITH AFRICAN AMERICAN IDENTITY

The cultural identity of the Creoles has gone through different stages of metamorphosis from eighteenth century Louisiana to the entrance into the twenty-first century. The alignment of Creole ethnic identity to a dualistic relationship with African American identity has become evident in zydeco music The opening section of this chapter describes the conditions that precipitated the reshaping of Creole ethnic identity to align with that of African Americans The musical response to this alignment will be shown through the incorporation of African American musical styles, specifically zydeco nouveau

As previously stated in chapter two, Louisiana Creole identity and terminology has changed The earliest identity associated with the term Creole was that of a person born on Louisiana soil regardless of color The Civil War heightened ethnic difference, which moved toward a new ethnically distinct definition of Creole white French descendants as a group of people This limited use of the terminology now left colored French people to use Creole as an adjective describing their nativity to Louisiana soil With the end of the Civil War, emancipation, and the following period of reconstruction in the South, the issue of ethnicity was once again redefined In matters of law there were only two choices, white or black The distinction of Creoles as a free caste between whites and blacks was gone Yet emancipation did not weaken Creole identity, it actually strengthened it James Dorman writes, "Creoles maintained their sense of identity and belonging, their basic group identity, as well as their conviction of their own

superiority over the mass of the black population" (168) As a part of the new free black population that had little education, Creoles naturally assumed leadership roles in the fight against "segregation, discrimination, and subordination, for themselves and of the 'Negro' population as a whole" (Dorman, 169) The law now saw two castes, white and black In order for Creoles to ensure the freedoms they had before emancipation, it was necessary for them to champion the cause of all blacks The alliance sought political and social equity with whites (Spitzer, 53) In 1864, two Creoles were contracted to deliver a petition for universal male suffrage to Congress and Lincoln himself, representing the Louisiana black republicans (Logsdon and Bell, 224) The importance of this event lies in the fact that this is the first instance where Creoles and blacks adopted a "United, we stand! Divided, we fall!" attitude in fighting for their civil rights (Logsdon and Bell, 228)

The fourteenth and fifteenth amendments granted universal male suffrage as of 1870 Creole leaders were so prevalent and influential in Louisiana's Republican party that the 1868 Louisiana Constitution mandated integration of all public state and government facilities (Logsdon and Bell, 241) After 1874, growing violence engulfed northern Louisiana, which kept black voters from participation in local and state elections (Ibid , 251) Federal troops would no longer intervene in such situations, and due to this fact, white Democrats gained control of Louisiana in the 1876 election (Ibid) The Democrat majority set forth Jim Crow laws "to undermine the laws black Louisianans had made during Reconstruction" (Ibid) Logsdon and Bell point out that, "Before long, black Creoles stood virtually alone" in the fight for equal rights and

provided almost all of the financial support involved in the fight against Jim Crow legislation (Logsdon and Bell, 257)

With the domination of a governing majority of white democrats, the hope for equality in New Orleans was dashed by segregation, which affected the black and Creole communities Logsdon and Bell comment that, "In the face of such rarity, even the black Creoles of the city turned inward" (260) Following that statement, they add, "Creoles and Americans still maintained their own distinctive churches and benevolent societies in different neighborhoods, both groups had conformed to the American color line" (Ibid) This passage is curios in that the maintenance of distinctive Creole and black American churches and benevolent societies would indicate that perhaps the two had not conformed as a group into a single American color assignment James Dorman writes, "while in many respects [Creole] circumstances did not differ radically from those of black freed persons, their sense of group identity within the various communities gained strength from their very need to seek solace with in the group" (Dorman, 168) Here Dorman parallels the circumstances of the Creoles and black freed persons Hence, the maintenance of "their own distinctive churches and benevolent societies" could simply be due to the need to find group support and comfort there (Ibid) The distinctions of the Creole and American churches as Catholic and Protestant respectively, should lend evidence to the fact that these were still two uniquely different people that were sharing a single caste It is my belief that claims of the two groups as having conformed to the singular black ethnicity at this time can be debated The belief that Creoles were different than the blacks and sought solace in communities of their own

kind can be supported by evidence of the practice of endogamy Endogamy was often used to maintain wealth and land holdings to Creole proprietors (Dorman, 168) Evidence affirming the practice of endogamy is seen from two separate cases, the Cane River Creoles and the Donato family of the St Landry parish In both of these cases, families married within other Creole families to maintain heritage and familial assets If family members married outside of the Creole group, they were considered to have demeaned their social status (Woods, 347-9, Brasseaux, Fontenot, and Oubre, 114)

Dorman's statement that group identity was strengthened by the need to seek solace within the group supports Logsdon and Bell's comment that the Creoles "turned inward" (Logsdon and Bell, 260, Dorman, 168) Arnold Hirsch continues in the same vein as Dorman and Logsdon and Bell He states that by immersing themselves in their neighborhoods, New Orleans Creoles perpetuated their own since of distinctiveness through their unique history, language and religion Hirsch continues, "Their concerns for respectability, family values and even -- for some -- a pronounced color consciousness provided coherence, stability, and certain rewards" (Hirsch, 265) Evidence of endogamy and strength found through solidarity of their own groups promoted distinction between Creoles and blacks

In the rural areas, as Creoles assumed leadership roles in the Republican party, many drew violent opposition from whites Nick Spitzer writes, "whites caused violence to be done to those who joined the Republican party or were associated with the Opelousas newspaper, the *St. Landry Progress*, that was the champion of both the freedmen and Creoles of Color" (Spitzer, 53) Riots, executions and vigilante attacks

upon black people and Creoles were common Such violence corresponded with the formation of a vigilante group, The Knights of the White Camelia "[This group] was responsible for intimidation of and violence toward blacks and People of Color who were considered to be socially out of line for seeking new economic freedoms or the restoration of their former status" (Spitzer, 54) It is violence of this nature that led to the rural Creole hesitance to align with the blacks and their social causes The rural Creoles, in a similar manner as the New Orleans Creoles, turned inward to their own communities (Spitzer, 54) This Creole unity did not insure escape from violence at the hands of whites, however it allowed the perpetuation of their separate status despite the social atmosphere surrounding them (Spitzer, 54)

By the 1920's Creoles and black Americans in Louisiana remained engrossed in their own distinct groups, but in the urban setting, neighborhood churches and social clubs of both groups became active in community affairs Although the churches and social clubs at this time were representative of the differences between Creoles and black Americans, they began to work on the behalf of all colored people The churches came to represent a safe haven for black Americans, this trend continued in the Baptist and Methodist churches throughout the South (Hirsch, 266) Eventually these churches would play an instrumental role in the Civil Rights movement (Thernstrom, 51) Social clubs worked to improve black schools as well as other public facilities (Hirsch, 266) New Orleans first civic league arose from the Autocrat Club in a largely Creole area of New Orleans (Hirsch, 266) The growth of such leagues led to the Federation of Civic leagues, which became a supporter of the NAACP, National Association for the

Advancement of Colored People, drawing together the separate black and Creole groups under one cause (Hirsch, 267)

The activity of New Orleans Creole clubs and Benevolent Societies have been well documented, the opposite is true in the case of rural Creoles Nick Spitzer indicates the scrutiny of the rural Creoles has been relatively ignored compared to that of the New Orleans urban Creole community (Spitzer, 58) Spitzer's work focuses on rural Creoles and mentions the role that benevolent societies played in rural Creole life However, no correlation has been made between the benevolent societies association to African American groups

The most overwhelming evidence of the alignment of the Creole identity with that of the African American identity has occurred in the urban setting Sister Francis Jerome Wood's 1972 study in the history of Letoyant[1] Creoles includes Creoles that had migrated from rural to urban centers When asked to ethnically identify themselves, most Creole out-migrants (out of the rural area) describe themselves as colored Woods explains, "To them, being colored is a way of saying that they have mixed racial background, for they do not regard colored as synonymous with either Negro or white" (Woods, 361) Spitzer attributes the self scrutiny of Creole ethnicity to out-migration, to use Wood's term, the movement from relatively isolated rural communities to larger towns and cities in and outside of Louisiana (Spitzer, 253) Spitzer lists reasons for the decline of Creole identity and a move toward that of the African American identity in urban areas which includes, being categorized by others as African American, and the

[1] Woods's study focuses on the members of the Letoyant family and their Creole identity

national media's portrayal of social order (Spitzer, 523) He goes on to delineate the role of the media further, "the national media provides black American entertainment genres and projects a social order in which to be black is to be African American" (Spitzer, 524). Wood's study further distinguished the alignment of African American identities with Creole in the formation of identity of young Creoles Woods states, "Confusion about identity on the part of the Letoyant child could be expected to occur most frequently when his family resides in a place where there are few opportunities to associate with fellow Creoles" (Wood, 366) In rural areas, Creoles remained closely associated where as in the urban setting, Creoles came into contact with a wider variety of people This led to a diminished occurrence of association with other Creoles and the maintenance of distinct Creole identity Thus rural settlements versus metropolitan areas are more conducive to Creole ethnic identity given the fact that other Creole reside and interact there as well

Movement towards an African American identity culminated in the 1960's Civil Rights movement According to Arnold Hirsch, Creoles were part of the political scene who demanded the enforcement of Civil Rights laws Dutch Morial was one of these prominent Creoles which reflected an urban identity He was a very affluent Civil Rights attorney, State Representative, and New Orleans mayor Although his Creole history was intact, he knew no French and identified himself with African Americans However Virginia Dominguez notes that rural Creoles were seemingly untouched by the Civil Rights movement of the 1960's due to their rejection of the terms "Negro" and "Black" for the preferred term "colored" (Dominguez, 163) Spitzer notes as well that in the most

heavily French areas of Louisiana, the usage of the term Creole was never replaced (Spitzer, 130)

As the differences between rural Creole communities and black urban cities become more apparent, a dialectic relationship between urban and rural seems to open up Rural Creole communities still held onto their associations as Creoles, while urban area Creoles were caught up in the 1960's Civil Rights and 1970's black power movements On one extreme, the rural Creole communities which drew themselves together and maintained their Creole identity On the opposite extreme, urban Creoles aligned with African American identity and secondarily (if any at all) to their Creole background Zydeco music, as rural or urban, reflects this dialectic with both Creole and African American identities The following section deals with the musical transformation from Creole identity to African American identity in zydeco

As mentioned previously in chapter three, the inclusion of African American musical influences into the sound of zydeco music is not uncommon Barry Jean Ancelet explains, "Cajun music, zydeco, the blues, jazz and rock and roll all came from basically the same parents European and African influences that met in the New World" (Ancelet 2000) Ancelet's simplistic look de-emphasizes the process of syncretism at work in Creole and African American music The strength of the movement of Creole music toward African American styles, such as rhythm and blues, made it possible for the emergence of zydeco nouveau, a hip-hop and rap influenced version of zydeco.

The first use of rhythm and blues music by a Creole musician could be seen in the release of "Bon Ton Roula" by Clarence Garlow in 1955 Garlow began his career

playing zydeco, but due to audience constraints, had to cater to the wider spectrum of black music to make a living (Broven, 108) As mentioned in chapter three, "Bon Ton Roulet" features a rhumba rhythmic figure laced with tenor saxophone riffs The literal translation of the tune is "Let the good times roll " In 1946, Louis Jordan had released a Rhythm and Blues tune entitled, "Let the Good Times Roll" It is plausible to say that Garlow knew of the tune and recorded his own Louisiana spiced-up version of it Support to this is evident by John Broven pointing out that the next recordings Garlow did included remakes of Louis Jordan songs (Broven, 107)

The Louis Jordan, Clarence Garlow "Bon Ton Roulet" is one of the most recorded song titles for zydeco performers Another Louis Jordan tune "Choo, Choo Ch'Boogie" has been recorded by Clifton Chenier, C J Chenier, and Lynn August and the Hot August Band The Lynn August version of "Choo Choo" is similar to the Louis Jordan version in sound and style, particularly in the use of the blues form and the arpeggiated base line Jordan's lyrics reference the railroad and African American migration North to industrial towns in the 1940's while August's lyrics deal with the party atmosphere often used to describe Louisiana

Figure 5 1 is a transcription of the Louis Jordan version of "Choo Choo Ch'Boogie " Figure 5 2 is a transcription of the Lynn August version of "Choo Choo Ch'Boogie " Even though both performers use the same basic frame of the blues form, their treatment of it is different. Both versions use an eight bar and twelve bar blues forms within the songs In the examples, the chorus is labeled "A," the "Choo Choo"

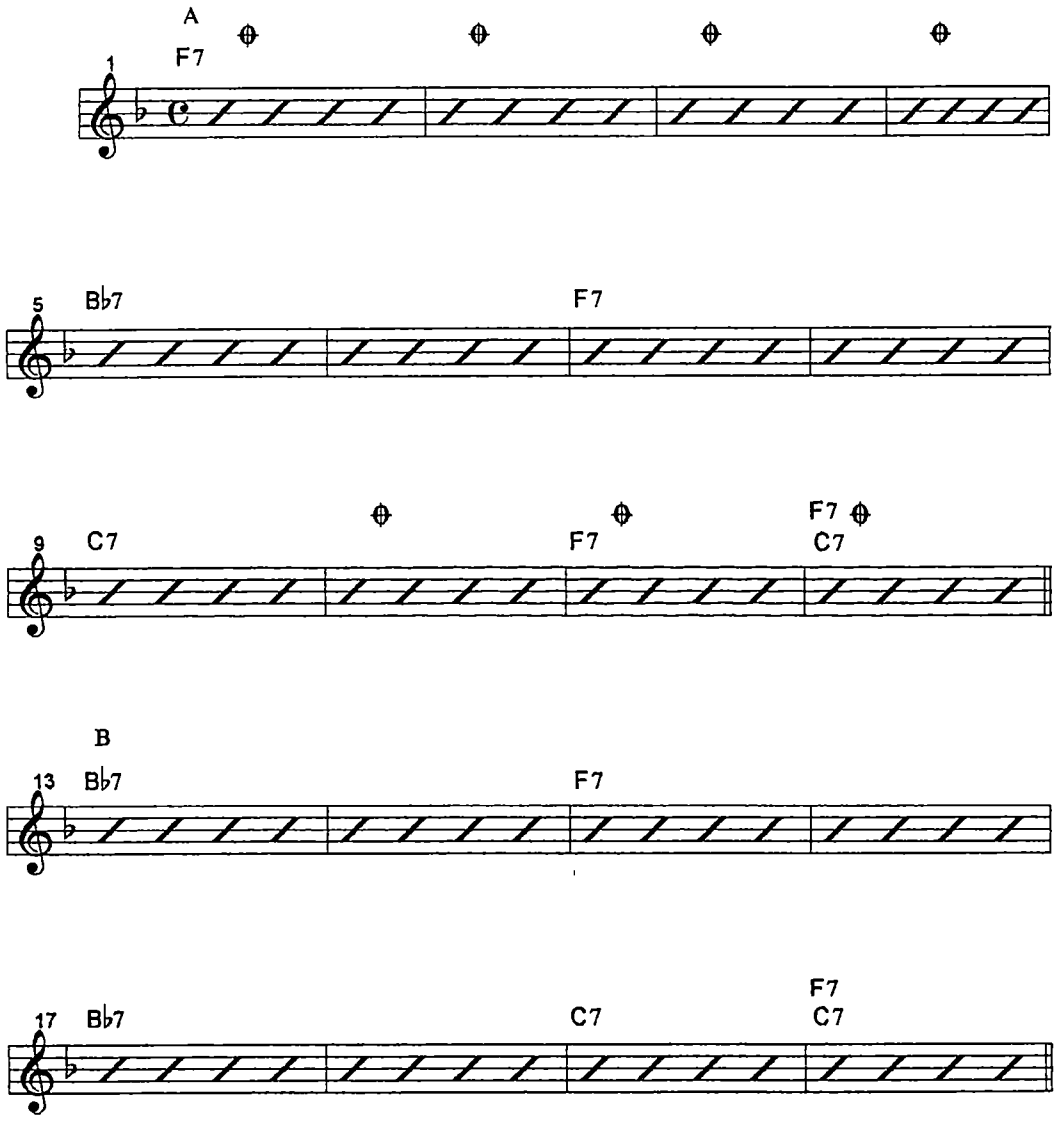

Figure 5 1 "Choo Choo Ch'Boogie," Louis Jordan

Transcribed by Kara Boyd and Paul Forsyth Louis Jordan *The Best Of Louis Jordan* 1975 MCA Records MCAD-4079

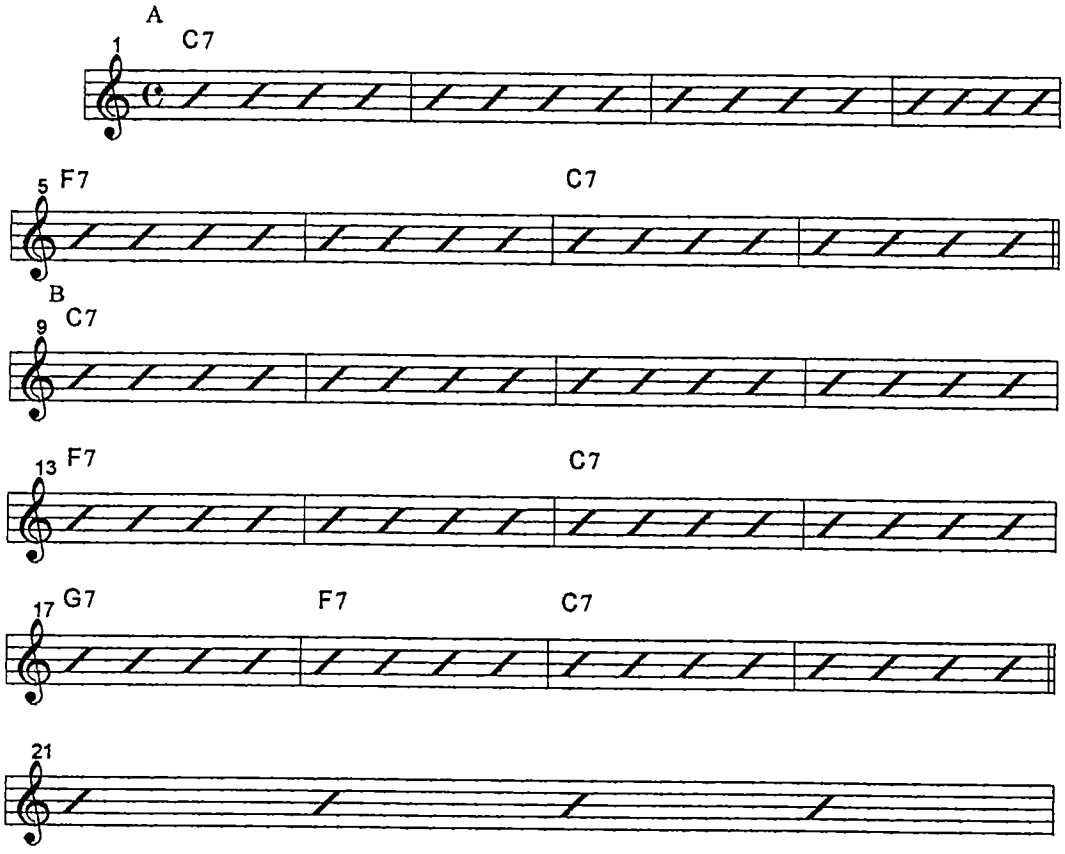

Figure 5 2 "Choo Choo Ch'Boogie," Lynn August and the Hot August Band Transcribed by Kara Boyd and Paul Forsyth Various Artists *Stomp Down Zydeco* 1992 Rounder Records CD 11566

refrain is labeled "B " Louis Jordan's version (figure 5 1) uses the chorus in the twelve bar form and the refrain in eight bars Lynn August's version (figure 5 2) inverts this relationship by using an eight bar chorus and twelve bar refrain The symbol (⊕) above certain measures in the Louis Jordan version represent riffs played by the instruments to mimic the sound of a train whistle These train whistles are not included in Lynn August's version of the song

Clifton Chenier took the idea of the Rhythm and Blues instrumental band and built it around his accordion and rub board changing the face of the zydeco band forever The instrumentation came to include a drum set, electric guitar, electric bass, saxophone, keyboard, and occasionally trumpet Chenier's ability to adapt songs from other African American styles to zydeco opened a wider pool of songs for zydeco performers Chenier has recorded a version of Ray Charles' "That's What I'd Say," "I Can't Stop Loving You," and Louis Jordan's "Caldonia" (Ancelet 2000, Savoy, 382-391)

The practice of adapting the music of African American styles into zydeco allowed for the latest trend signified by the descriptive phrase *zydeco nouveau*, a rap and hip hop influenced zydeco Zydeco nouveau performer, L'il Brian Terry recalls his association as a young man with the music of rap musicians from Snoop Doggy Dog to Tupak Shakur Terry explains his incorporation of rap styles into his music by the following quote, "I started to feel, if they can do it, why can't I do it with zydeco music, something I was brought up with" (Sandmel, 158)

Although zydeco nouveau performers personalize their music in their own unique ways, they share commonalties Most noticeably, the pounding bass lines that are locked

into a bass drum beat, called a "double kick" This feature is often found in rap and hip hop, along with the obvious use of rap's staccato, declamatory vocals (Sandmel, 152) Most of the lyrics in zydeco nouveau are quite sparse Typically, the few lines are repeated and combined with additional spontaneous shouts to create the tune Other nouveau lyrics are more basic than the previous, repeating only the title of the song (152-3) L'il Brian Terry's first release album, *Fresh* includes an example of the scarcity of nouveau lyrics in the tune, "It's A Zydeco Groove" The majority of the lyrics come from two phrases "Let's zydeco It's a zydeco groove" Beyond this phrase and a few embellishing shouts, new lyric material is not introduced (Terry, 1998) Figure 5 3 is a transcription of "It's A Zydeco Groove" This transcription shows the involvement of the sparse vocals of the song, its funk influenced bass line, and basic form Notice the bass line in measure ten There the bass drum is playing the same rhythm as the electric bass This doubling of electric bass and bass drum is an example of the "double kick," a characteristic of hip hop music

Zydeco nouveau still holds on to the regional associations to the Creole culture by the use of accordions and the references Creole dances and trail rides The regional references do not automatically make the music popular in rural areas Spitzer notes in his fieldwork that older country people often complained about the African Americanization of their music This older generation viewed this process as turning away from the Creole culture to "hook up" with the city sound (Spitzer, 351). Critics of zydeco nouveau voice questions of artistic health, maintenance of integrity, and fear of assimilation both musically and culturally are voiced (Sandmel, 151)

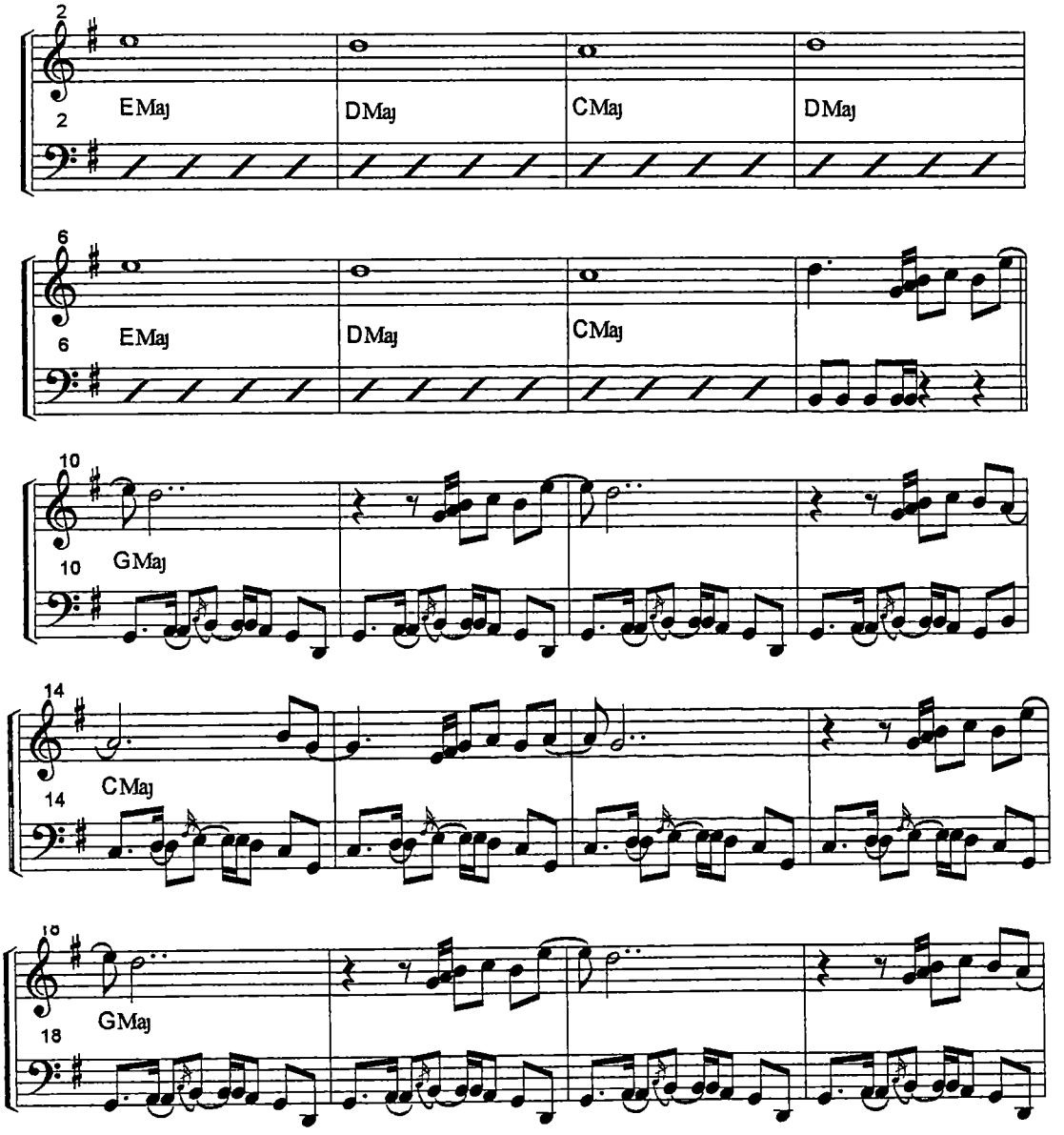

Figure 5 3 "It's A Zydeco Groove "

Transcribed by Kara Boyd and Paul Forsyth L'il Brian and the Zydeco Travelers

Fresh. 1995 Rounder Records CD 2136

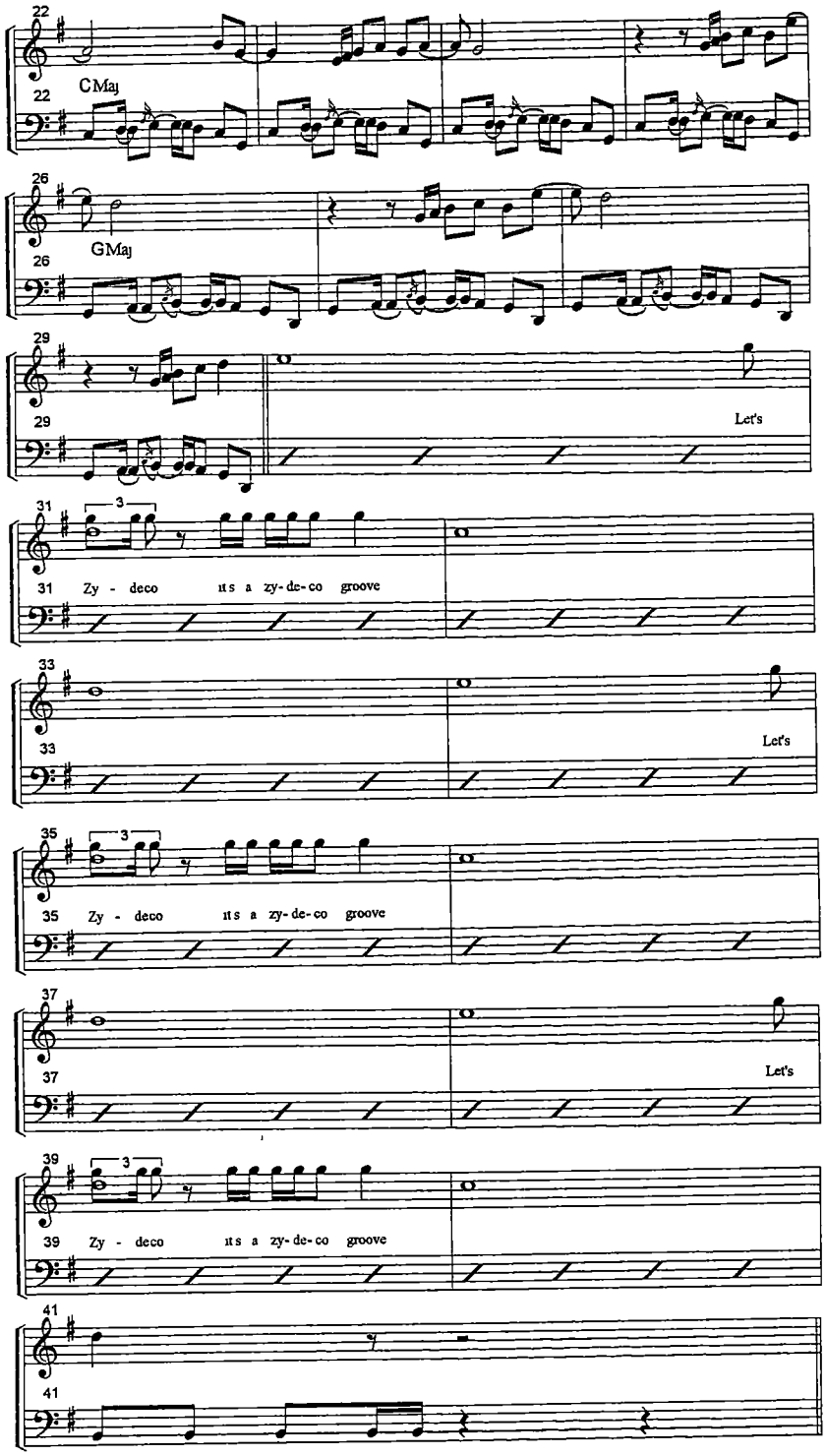

Figure 5 3 (continued)

Transcribed by Kara Boyd and Paul Forsyth L'il Brian and the Zydeco Travelers

Fresh 1995 Rounder Records CD 2136

Debates between zydeco modernists and traditionalists, bring the issue of ethnic dualities between Creole and African American identities to the musical realm (Sandmel, 151) James Dorman speaks of this duality in reference to the Creole cultural rebirth, a Creole renaissance in the 1980's, and the process of shifting Creole ethnic identity to a dualistic one "They were Creoles, but they shared a secondary identity with the larger African American population" (Dorman, 176) This is evident from the founders and the promoters of the Creole movement Wilbert Guillory and Ruth Foote Guillory states in *Creole Magazine* "We lost the identity of blackness of Afro-Americans It is through the black Creoles that we capture that -- through unity" (Dorman, 176). In a later interview with Ruth Foote, Dorman notes the existence of the shift of identity when Foote was asked if she considered herself a Creole She acknowledged her qualification as a Creole, while adding, "but no, I am an African American, and African Americans do not need anything that would divide them any further" (Dorman, 176) This viewpoint is shared by many younger Creoles. It is a outlook dominant to those whose primary political commitments serve the promotion of African American interests and unity (Dorman, 176) Dorman states, "It would appear that their primary purpose was to offer to the Creole population some sense of their cultural particularity, but only as a variant of black culture, even as it was a variant of frankophone Louisiana" (176) The Creole renaissance celebrated the uniqueness of the Creole people, but only as a larger part of black American culture (Dorman, 176) An indication of the inclusion of black American culture can be seen by the use of the term black Creole The terminology signifies the presence of dual ethnic identities "Black" refers to the African American

identity while "Creole" maintains the French Creole heritage. Not all Creoles describe themselves by these terms Rural Creoles take great pride in their unique heritage and often minimize their role as an African American (Dorman, 176, Spitzer, 130)

Zydeco nouveau appeals to the dualistic nature of this shift in ethnic identity, Creole and African American By incorporating aspects of the larger African American culture, zydeco opens up doors to those who felt the Creole culture was pretentious and elitist, as a sign to other African Americans that the Creole culture is quite rooted in the African tradition (Dorman, 177) To Creoles, zydeco nouveau is a chance to explore the popularity of the African American styles that are being heard by mainstream African American consumers, while being able to relate to the messages the music carries. The inclusion of rap into the urban zydeco sound signifies the movement beyond the ethnic boundaries of the Creole culture, satisfying the emerging ethnic duality of Creole culture and African American culture

CHAPTER VI

FIELDWORK

The following information comes from fieldwork done in Louisiana January 5-10, 2000 The information presented here is a culmination of the conclusions drawn from the dances I attended and interviews conducted during that time An breif ethnographic description of each dance precedes an analysis of the performances and their relationship to the rural/urban dialectic Rural/urban differentiation emerges as an factor directly influencing the zydeco performances

Ethnography

The first dance I attended was held in Lafayette, Louisiana at El Sido's Zydeco club Friday, January 7, 2000 Lafayette is the largest city in southwest Louisiana and also serves as a cultural center for French Louisiana I had been trying to contact someone at the club to see who was performing that weekend After two days with no response, I decided to drive to Lafayette and check things out It was hard to get a feel for the city under the cover of night But when I returned during my next trip, I realized Lafayette is much bigger than I expected From the books I had read, I expected a rural setting with a courthouse square and family owned business lining main street What I found was a town large enough to support a regional college, The University of Louisiana, Lafayette, formerly known as Southwest Louisiana State University, and a thriving tourism industry that feeds mostly off Cajun culture of the area

As we approached the club, I noticed the wrought iron bars on the outside of the doors, and suddenly questioned my own judgment of coming to this place It was located in a sporadically populated area Honestly, I was a little scared of what was to come after I got out of my car This feeling was not due to fear of my safety so much as fear of the unknown, this was my first visit to a zydeco club I had no idea what to expect once I crossed the threshold of the club We paid the five dollar cover and selected a table against the back wall, yet in plain view of the stage The band had just finished setting up as we arrived It was dark inside the dance hall, with the exception of the stage area and the bar. Very few people were present at that time The dance hall probably held between seventy five and eighty people, but less than ten people were in attendance as the band opened the show Most of the patrons gathered around the bar area were male and wearing cowboy hats and boots A couple I estimated to be in their late fifties sat at a table in the middle of the room

The group at El Sido's was Nathan and the Zydeco Cha-Cha's This group is led by accordionist Nathan Williams, the brother of the club owner, Sid Williams The instrumentation of the band members included two guitars, electric bass, drums, washboard, saxophone, and piano key accordion To my surprise, the group opened up with a funky instrumental version of "Long Train Running" by the Doobie Brothers They used this song to call up accordionist Nathan Williams and initiate the show. Williams wore blue jeans and a shirt that was in a style similar to a Brush Popper, a very popular style Western shirt He topped off the look with a Cowboy hat, dark glasses, cowboy boots, and of course, an accordion strapped to his chest It was often difficult to

identify exactly what was going on vocally because the group was so loud and there were not enough bodies in the room to absorb the sound being bounced off of the concrete block walls It was clear that he was using both French and English Williams would throw French phrases around such as, "Eh, la bas," and "C'est Bon Ton " Close to half of the songs were sung in French

As my assistant and I were discussing what we were seeing and hearing, occasionally one of us would hear a familiar tune We made a list of recognizeable tunes as the band played Among those were "Get a Job," by the Sillouhettes, "Brick House," by the Commodores, and "The Right Time," by Ray Charles Rather than keeping the song intact and adding new lyrics, these songs were "recycled" somewhat by adding a new melody over the recognizable component, in this case, the bass lines Other than these recast songs, the lyrics to some of the French songs were recognizable, such as "Jolie Blond," "Eh, tite fille," and a version of "Bon Temps Roulet "

The crowd did not grow larger than twenty to twenty-five people to my disappointment A few of the gentlemen in cowboy hats remained at the bar, but somehow I expected the dance floor to be full and there to be very limited seating However, that was not the case A few couples dotted the landscape of empty tables throughout the room The dance floor was kept moving by a young group of dancers, doing two steps and swing moves to the lively beat Despite the small crowd, people were having a good time moving to the music Nathan and the Zydeco Cha-Cha's played straight through from 10.15 to 12 30 without a break Most of the songs were quick

tempo dance tunes, a few were ballads As we left the club at 12 30 am, the band was still playing.

The next day in New Orleans, I read the advertisement in the *Gambit Weekly* for a performance of Rockin' Dopsie Jr and the Zydeco Twisters (Saturday, January 8) at the Mid City Rock 'n' Bowl. The Rock 'n' Bowl is a unique establishment It is essentially a bowling alley with a full service bar, dance floor, stage, and game area The Rock 'n' Bowl is located in a small shopping center in the section of New Orleans referred to as Mid City As we drove up, my assistant noticed that the parking lot was nearly full, even though the place didn't look that busy from the outside There we were, at the Rock 'n' Bowl at 11 00 p m As we climbed the stairs to the bowling alley, we realized why the parking lot was full, because the Rock 'n'Bowl was packed with people Just for fun, we thought we might bowl while listening and observing. However, there was an hour and a half wait for a lane There was no room near the dance floor or the bar, so I sat near the back of the room Luckily, I could still see the group on stage, Rockin' Dopsie Jr and the Zydeco Twisters

Two things immediatley distinguished Rockin' Dopsie and the Zydeco Twisters from the performance the previous night First, the accordion player is typically the front man for the group as was the case with Nathan and the Zydeco Cha-Cha's. In this case, however, the front man, Rockin' Dopsie Jr , was the *frottoir* player Another difference came in the type of accordion being played Urban zydeco typically features the piano-key accordion Here, at the Rock 'n' Bowl, the accordionist with the Zydeco

Twisters played a triple row accordion, not a piano-key It was the first triple row I had ever seen played in a zydeco group before

As we listened to the performance, neither my assistant nor myself, heard any French lyrics I somehow expected all zydeco bands to use French, but not this group on this particular night Just as with the previous performance of Nathan and the Zydeco Cha-Cha's, I noticed a strong association with popular music In this case, however, the popular songs were not turned into zydeco songs, they were simply covered The second set Dopsie's band played included three immediately recognizable tunes "Sexual Healing," by Marvin Gaye, "Whiter Shade of Pale," by Procal Harem, and "Love the One You're With," by Steven Stills, all of which had a heavy rhythm and blues sound My assistant even made the comment, "This isn't zydeco " Dopsie did play a few zydeco numbers near the end of the second set, the only way I recognized them as zydeco, was due to the fact that I was paying attention to his announcements between tunes Before he would play a zydeco song, he would introduce it as a "zydeco tune "

Discussion of Musical Observations

Nathan and the Zydeco Cha-Cha's performance at El Sido's in Lafayette, used popular songs that had been modified and used in a new form, transformed into a zydeco sound The bass line or similar guitar riffs may be present from the original tune, but not the entire tune itself Figure 6 1 is the bass line for "Brick House" by the Commodores which was one such recast as a zydeco song This bass line was the distinguishing figure for this tune, even with a new melody on which zydeco lyrics had been cast

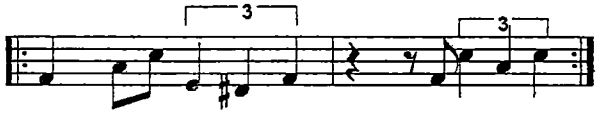

Figure 6 1 "Brick House," The Commodores

Transcribed by Kara Boyd and Paul Forsyth The Commodores *The Commodores* 1977 Motown Record Company 374635222

Understanding the text of the new lyrics was virtually impossible due to distortion, speed of vocal delivery, and the use of the French language In fact French and English were used equally in the songs The use of indistinguishable lyrics is normal in zydeco, reaching back to the *la-la* tradition In *la-la* music, as with Nathan and the Zydeco Cha-Cha's performance, the lyrics are not nearly as important as the rhythmic groove of the music because the music was for dancing

The use of borrowed songs or covers by Rockin Dopsie Jr and the Zydeco Twisters at the Mid City Rock 'n' Bowl is not a novelty in zydeco either. Practically every performer from Clifton Chenier to Beau Jocque has released songs made popular by other musicians in a different style This practice began with Clifton Chenier in zydeco with the cover of the "Peter Gun Theme" as "Hot Rod" on Louisiana *Blues and Zydeco* (Tisserand, 111) The use of a recognizable tune in a new format allowed for listeners to identify with the music, moving past the format differences This is especially helpful to urban audiences who may not be familiar with traditional zydeco Perhaps this is the case with Dopsie's use of the covers with an urban audience to reach out to a crowd that just wanted to dance and have a good time

Rural/Urban dialectic

The rural/urban dialectic comes into play from this research in three ways, advertising, crowd size, and performance practice The Mid City Rock 'n' Bowl is located in New Orleans and keeps a well publicized schedule in *Offbeat Magazine* as well as the *Gambit Weekly*, both New Orleans entertainment scene magazines Music stores in and around the French Quarter also advertise groups playing at different venues during the week throughout New Orleans Advertising in such ways helps attract the local and tourist crowds

El Sido's Blues and Zydeco club is in the heart of the "Crawfish Circuit," the area best known for zydeco music in southwest Louisiana Most advertising for dances is done by fliers and billboards outside the dance halls because they cater to a local crowd The dance halls themselves may open only for the Friday and Saturday night dances, local patrons know and expect this As previously stated, I tried to call two days in advance to find out who was playing that weekend There was no answer to the phone number I was given between the hours of 5 00 pm and 9 00 p m. Since I knew there was a dance on Friday night, I got in my car and drove until I was able to reach someone at the club to give me directions Lafayette is one hundred and thirty miles from New Orleans I doubt that many people in New Orleans know about the clubs where zydeco is most popular in southwest Louisiana While I was staying in New Orleans I could not obtain any information as to club listings outside the city

The advertising of zydeco performances highlights the rural urban dialectic Urban areas produce entertainment guides to promote performers and venues Rural venues promote performances by the use of fliers and sign boards on their property Most rural Creoles know that zydeco dances are held Friday and Saturday nights, and just go to their favorite venues to see who is playing

From the research completed, I have come to the conclusion that performance venue affects the sound of the performer, which is connected to the urban/rural dialectic Variability in the amount of French used in the performances and the demographics of the crowd reflect the dialectic Nathan and the Zydeco Cha-Chas used a heavily French song base for their crowd Even though the crowd was small, the people came from the strongly French rooted rural identity base The instrumentation of the Zydeco Cha-Chas's may have fit the urban description set forth in chapter three, but his sound was essentially zydeco The recycled bass lines which he used to set his zydeco songs may not have been noticed by others in the crowd Because of this, some Creoles may identify Nathan and the Zydeco Cha-Cha's as a more urban group This identification could explain the poor showing for a Friday night dance in Lafayette Herman Fuselier points out that oftentimes rural Creoles feel that the music of urban zydeco groups is too progressive for them and thus they are poorly supported when they play venues in southwest Louisiana Fuselier further points out that Keith Frank, a nouveau zydeco performer, experienced this sort of snubbing by rural Creoles and has begun to change his style of music (Fuselier 2000)

Rockin Dopsie Jr 's situation is the opposite of Nathan Williams' Dopsie's crowd was made up by a white majority in the urban area of New Orleans As a result his song choices were heavily based in Rhythm and Blues style with mainly English lyrics and nearly no French Dopsie is a familiar face to the venues in New Orleans I discovered this by investigating the performance schedules listed in *Offbeat Magazine* for the month of January (*Offbeat*, January 2000) Performers which are oriented to urban areas such as New Orleans are largely unpopular in the southwest Louisiana

The relationship of the rural/urban dialectic to zydeco and Creole identity directly influences the performers and the crowds which come to hear them, because people identify performers by the context of their performances The relationship between the dialectic and the producers and consumers of zydeco is evident from the cases presented here Further investigation could lead to a greater understanding of the dialectic and how it affects the popularity of rural performers in urban settings and vice versa In this study, if the performers had been placed in the situation of the other, would the outcome have been different? Would Nathan and the Zydeco Cha-Chas have played less French tunes and sang more songs influenced by popular music styles while playing in an urban area to a non-Creole crowd? Would Rockin' Dopsie Jr have used more French lyrics and less Rhythm and Blues covers? Would Rockin' Dopsie be able to play in a southwest Louisiana dance hall and draw a crowd like that at the Rock 'n' Bowl? These are questions worth investigating In this area, this study is largely incomplete without the analysis of a rural style performer such as Boozoo Chavis or Geno Delafose in his

environment and in an urban venue This would provide equal representation of the urban and rural groups, which would only stand to strengthen the validity of this study

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

The focus of this work has been upon the internal and external pressures, the shifting boundaries and identification factors of Creole culture, and the development of zydeco music as a signification and identification factor of the Creole culture itself Other important points involve the importance of Cajun culture and how it helped to define the zydeco sound and the role of the Creoles of color in the emergence of zydeco

The examination of the ethnic origins of the Cajuns and Creoles in chapter two, showed the changing definitions of the from it's Spanish origin through the antebellum definition to the post-Civil War definition Furthermore this chapter outlined the origins of Creole and Cajun ethnic establishment in Louisiana due to the cultural similarities of the two groups Distinguishing between Cajun and Creoles became problematic for outsiders This is especially true of the music the groups produce

The ethnic music of the Cajuns and Creoles is influenced by the similarities that the two groups share The review of early musical styles in chapter three point out the existence of similarities between traditional Cajun music and the *la-la* style of Creoles Ancelet has pointed out that Creole music of the 1920's was as influential upon Cajun music as Cajun music was to Creole music (1991, 20) As Cajun music turned to incorporate Western swing music, Creole music began to incorporate the use of the blues into *la-la* As Cajun music went back to the traditional style of music based in twin fiddles and accordion, Creole musicians continued to use the blues along with the African American Rhythm and Blues that was becoming popular on black radio stations

It was this incorporation of African American musical styles that provided the impetus for the shift in Creole music leading to the emergence of zydeco Originally, I had expected the Cajun musical styles to be the most influential aspect to the emergence of zydeco However, the research here points to African American styles as the *raison d'être* of zydeco

Chapter four examined ethnicity and issues of ethnic blurring in their roles in the musical life of Creole performers and non-Creole performers of zydeco music Two histories of influential performers, Amedee Ardoin and Clifton Chenier, both show issues of ethnic blurring from societal issues projected in their music and lives These two cases along with that of C. J Chenier illustrate Reyes Schramm's statement that "music, actors, and their environment are intrinsically related" (16) The manifestations of these ethnic interactions do, in fact, appear in the music produced

Chapter five explored the movement toward the alignment of Creole identity to that of African American identity in the social and musical setting The role of Creole migrants moving from rural Creole communities to urban communities intensifies the process of shifting identities, and best illustrates the process as well Further study of the movement toward identity with the African American culture revealed an urban rural dialectic relationship Rural areas never fully aligned their Creole identity with African American identity where as in urban areas, many Creoles began to prefer the identity of African American culture This alliance with the African American culture and community is evident in nouveau zydeco The inclusion of rap and hip-hop aspects of African American musical style into nouveau zydeco allows for young Creoles to express

the cultural duality they experience as black Creoles The identity shift can be seen by the examination of the terminology used as self descriptors, for example, consider the term "black Creole " "Black" serves as a badge of African American identity, while "Creole" signifies their identity as Creoles Black Creoles are one people serving two identities However, this is not exactly the case with all Creoles Creoles who fall into the rural side of the dialectic, take great pride in their Creoleness and minimize their role as an African American

The final chapter deals with the field work done for this research Ultimately, the most prominent trend is that of the urban/rural dialectic which was mentioned previously in chapter five This dialectic relationship affects performers, venues, and crowd demographics at zydeco performances Interviews with zydeco radio host, Herman Fuselier and *Offbeat Magazine* columnist, Danielle Bias, both mentioned the urban/rural split often apparent in zydeco music Musical trends of the performance groups also follow the urban rural/dialectic The choice of songs performed at a particular club and the amount of French used in the songs depend greatly on the crowd, which is often subject to the urban/rural dialectic The examples of the field work presented were from, El Sid O's in Lafayette and the Mid City Rock 'n' Bowl in New Orleans The first club's location is centered in the rural area of Louisiana The Rock 'n' Bowl is located in New Orleans, thus we have an urban and a rural venue The two groups were basically urban groups. The urban zydeco band that played in the urban venue drew a large crowd The urban band that played in the rural venue had a slim turn out, attributed to the musical preferences of the rural crowd.

Throughout this paper, I have struggled with different aspects of this research The discontinuity between Creoles, blacks, and whites as to the use of *Creole* confuses the focus of study Guiterez noted in her study that people claimed there was no such group of people as the Creoles Or that the term was simply a ploy to split black against black (Dorman, 176) However, Spitzer notes that those communities maintaining a sense of Creole identity were deeply rural and heavily French influenced The Cajun cultural dominance of the nineteenth century and the movement towards a single black community in the twentieth century divided the Creole population, as members were acculturated into new identities as contact with the groups resumed

Early on in the background study for this discussion of zydeco music, I came across a statement that skin color was the only difference between zydeco and Cajun music (Ancelet 1991, 18) This is not the case Urban zydeco is heavily influenced by African American musical styles such as blues, Rhythm and Blues, hip hop, and rap, color is a minimal distinction Further color is problematic due to the crossing of ethnic boundaries between the Cajun music, as performed by Creole musician Amedee Ardoin and others Relying solely upon color as a way of differentiating between Cajun and Creole music becomes suspect

I also find a problematic relation to the statement describing zydeco music is the traditional dance music of the Creoles of southwest Louisiana (Tisserand, 3) I believe that zydeco is a syncretic form of traditional Creole dance music established from jure and *la-la* These two forms are the original dance music of the Creole culture Zydeco's added African American music simply added a new twist to something that was

considered old and tired by Creole young people who were coming into contact with the wider world beyond their hometown, the southwest region of Louisiana, or Louisiana itself To call zydeco the traditional dance music of the Creoles would be inaccurate in regard to the fact that it developed from the syncretism of two different styles Moreover, zydeco itself has different styles Rural zydeco has maintained the connection to *la-la* and the identity of the Creole culture. However, urban zydeco with its expanded use of African American styles followed the cultural identity shift of urban Creoles to that of African Americans

This study has served to highlight musical change as it resulted from human interactions within the specific environment of Louisiana (Reyes Shramm, 17) Creole *la-la* and traditional Cajun music shared great similarities until the influences of Western swing and African American styles were added into the music causing a break in the musical style, or a shift Again a shift can be noticed with the emergence of zydeco and the use of Rhythm and Blues styles in zydeco The incorporation of rap and hip hop styles into zydeco nouveau points to yet another shift in Creole musical style These shifts that are noticeable in the music, were precipitated by social pressures upon the groups who made the music This follows Reyes Schramm's statement, "Ethnicity is a set of dynamic processes generated by interaction within the group, between the groups of the same order, and the larger society" (8)

This study explores musical change and cultural identity There are, however, several issues that deserve further exploration The establishment of zydeco festivals and the participation of zydeco musicians in Cajun music festivals both deserve further study

Moreover, the importance of recordings made by record industry representatives, musicologists, and preservationists from the 1920's to the present date, has yet to be fully researched Ann Savoy's *Cajun Music: A Reflection of A People* included an informational discography for Cajun musicians and a somewhat limited version of zydeco musicians This study would have been greatly assisted by a complete discography of zydeco recordings to date with a corresponding index of song titles Transcriptions of early Creole *la-la* music as described by Sacre, Tisserand, Spitzer, Ancelet, and myself would be beneficial to a study of early Creole music Finally, my own interests lie in further studies into the use of African American popular music styles incorporated into zydeco How will zydeco continue to progress past the most recent inclusion of rap and hip hop styles? Perhaps further study into the use of covers and borrowed bass lines could reveal unique motivations I had yet to consider

This study presents the findings of the research I have completed in the process that led to the emergence of zydeco Barry Jean Ancelet, you were right, there are no easy answers Let me suggest that if you are unfamiliar with this style of music, listen to a recording, or even better, attend a live zydeco performance The music is truly unique and the people who are involved in it are always willing to share their zydeco experiences with new faces

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Various Artists *Music From the Zydeco Kingdom* 2000, Rounder Records, CD 11579

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

SELECTIVE DISCOGRAPHY

Amede Ardoin "Two Step de Eunice." *Music From the Zydeco Kingdom* Rounder Records, CD 11579, 2000

"Two step de Eunice" is a great example of the Ardoin's talent as an accordionist and his work with Cajun fiddler Dennis McGee Listen for the syncopated style of accordion playing and the vocal lines which sound very similar to Cajun music of the same time

Canray Fotenot and Bois Sec Ardoin "Hack a 'tit Moreau" (Bonsoir, Moreau) *Music From The Zydeco Kingdom* Rounder Records, CD 11579, 2000

These two men are responsible for bringing the blues into Creole *la-la* music The selection listed above is a version of "Bonsoir Moreau," a blues waltz Both men have recorded as solo artists and as a part of the group the Duralde Playboys

Clifton Chenier. *Zydeco Dynamite: The Clifton Chenier Anthology*. Rhino Records, 1993

Clifton Chenier's zydeco sound is the best example of urban zydeco This compilation presents a wide variety of Clifton Chenier's music from "Eh, Petite Fille" to "What I'd Say," in a two disk set "Zydeco Cha Cha" is included on *Zydeco Champs*, produced by Arhoolie records, 1992, CD 328 The Arhoolie track gives the listener a real sense of Clifton Chenier's live performances

Boozoo Chavis "Grand Mary's Two Step " *Music From the Zydeco Kingdom* Rounder, CD 11579, 2000

Chavis is a zydeco performer whose zydeco is of the rural style Despite Chavis' use of English lyrics, his style is rural versus urban in the use of mostly acoustic instruments and the use of a single row button accordion

John Delafose and the Eunice Playboys "Joe Pitre Got Two Women" (Joe Pitre a Deux Femmes) *Zydeco Champs* Arhoolie, CD 328, 1992

This selection is a zydeco version of Canray Fotenot and Bois Sec Ardoin's original song Despite the title in English on the CD cover, the lyrics are in French

Delafose is considered a rural zydeco performer mainly due to his use of single button accordion and use of French lyrics

Nathan and the Zydeco Cha-Cha's "Everything on the Hog " *Stomp Down Zydeco* Rounder, 1992, CD 11566.

This group is included in chapter six, Fieldwork "Everything on the Hog" provides a connection to the Creole *boucherie,* or hog butchering that the people still practice today The lyrics of the song say, "Everything on the hog is good," meaning, the people didn't waste anything but also reflects the use of double entendres in zydeco music mentioned in chapter three

Queen Ida with Al Rapone "La Femme de Doight " *Music From The Zydeco Kingdom* Rounder, CD 11579, 2000

Queen Ida represents the West Coast zydeco circuit She is also one of the very few women involved in zydeco This specific song uses French and English lyrics that explain her connection to the zydeco sound

C J Chenier. *The Big Squeeze* Alligator, ALCD 4844, 1996

The Big Squeeze is C J Chenier's most recent release It includes his father's "The Moon is Rising" along with a zydeco version of "Teddy Bear " Chenier provides a variety of ballads with a heavy blues sound as well as faster paced dance songs.

Rosie Ledet "I'm Gonna Take Care of Your Hog " *Music From the Zydeco Kingdom* Rounder, CD 11579, 2000

Rosie Ledet is a nouveau zydeco performer whose music is highly influenced by Boozoo Chavis Although associated with the nouveau sound, her music does not strongly reflect the African American musical styles, such as hip hop. "I'm Gonna Take Care of Your Hog" is Rosie's response to the sexual double entendres present in male dominated zydeco music

L'il Brian and the Zydeco Travelers *Fresh.* Rounder, CD 2136, 1995

Fresh is L'il Brian's debut album It includes tracks that illustrate the use of African American musical styles from funk to rap "It's A Zydeco Groove" is used in chapter five to illustrate the nouveau sparsity of lyrics. "FuNkABlUeSaDeCo" includes a zydeco rap

See Also

Buckwheat Zydeco. *Buckwheat's Zydeco Party* Rounder Records, CD 11528, 1987

He won a Grammy award for his hit "Waiting for my Ya-Ya" in the eighties, and since then has been working to incorporate new sounds into his style of zydeco

Geno Delafose and French Rockin' Boogie. *La Chanson Purdue*. Rounder Records, CD 2151, 1998

Son of John Delafose, Geno is currently one of the most popular rural zydeco performers in Louisiana Although I do not have a CD reference for him, finding his releases should not be a problem

Chris Ardoin and Double Clutchin'. "Turn the Page " *Gaga for Ya-Ya* Winter and Winter, 910 041-2, 1999

Chris Ardoin is the latest performer to come from Ardoin family tradition in music However, his music does not follow tradition, he is one of the nouveau zydeco performers

Beau Jocque and the Zydeco Hi-Rollers "Come Go With Me " *Gaga for Ya-Ya*. Winter and Winter, 910 041-2, 1999

Ben Sandmel credits Beau Jocque as being the innovator of nouveau zydeco. His deep booming voice and accordion playing are reflected on most of his recordings

APPENDIX B

TIMELINE

1682	Louisiana claimed as Spanish land.
1604	French settle in Acadia
1719	Importation of African and Caribbean slaves to Louisiana begins.
1755	English deportation of Acadians to colonies begins
1757-1800	Acadians begin to settle in Louisiana
1803	Louisiana Purchase makes Louisiana a part of the United States and more Americans move into the area
1804-1810	Revolution in Haiti causes mass migration to Louisiana of both whites and free blacks
1860-1865	American Civil War.
1865-1867	Reconstruction forces the binary social system on Louisiana which recognizes only two distinctions, black or white
1875	*Jewell's Crescent City Illustrated* notes change in *creole* terminology to post-Civil War definition
1885	Charles Guyarre's speech "The Creoles of History and The Creoles of Romance" at Tulane University
1901	Oil discovered near Jennings, Louisiana bringing new money and more people into southwest Louisiana, initiating the process of Americanization
1928	Creole musicians Douglas Bellard and Amede Ardoin make their first recordings
1930's	African American migration North begins
	Use of blues in Creole *la-la* music becomes apparent.
1934	Alan and John Lomax record unaccompanied music of Cajuns and Creoles in southwest Louisiana

1960's	American Civil Rights Movement begins
1964	Clifton Chenier records *Louisiana Blues and Zydeco* for Arhoolie Records using African American musical styles
1968	Celebration of Cajun culture is established through CODOFIL, Council for the Development of French in Louisiana
1971	Louisiana State Legislature passes a resolution naming specific parishes in southwest Louisiana "Acadiana"
1975	The first Acadian Music Festival is established and includes Creole musicians
1980's	Creole renaisance occurs in response to Cajun pride
	Grammys go to Clifton Chenier, Queen Ida, and Buckwheat Zydeco
1987	Clifton Chenier passes away
1990's	Associations to African American hip hop styles begin to appear in zydeco

VITA

Kara Boyd was born in Hopkinsville, Kentucky on August 1, 1975 She resided in Cadiz, Kentucky where she attended Trigg County Elementary, Middle, and High School, she graduated in May, 1993 She entered Murray State University, Murray, Kentucky, during August 1993, where in May 1998 she received the Bachelor of Music Education with teaching certification in music for all grades She entered the Master's program in Music with a concentration in Musicology at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville in August of 1998, officially receiving the Master's degree in August 2000