

Harri Heinilä



50 Years of Hip Hop?

The Hip Hop Legacy of DJ Kool Herc,
Its Jazz Connection, and the Beginning
of the Hip Hop Scene in Finland

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Cover: DJ Kool Herc 2006 (photo: Wikimedia / Richard Alexander Caraballo)



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Introduction

This article explores the Hip Hop legacy of DJ Kool Herc who arguably created Hip Hop 50 years ago in a party on August 11, 1973. The 1520 block of Sedgwick Avenue in the Bronx where Herc allegedly started the “Hip Hop” was turned into “Hip Hop Blvd” by mayor of New York City Bill de Blasio who “signed [the] bill into law” which renamed the block in 2016.¹ The term ‘Hip Hop’ is in scare quotes because Hip Hop originally was known as “jamming” when early “Hip Hop” enthusiasts asked from each other where a DJ was jamming (playing music). The term ‘Hip Hop’ began to connote various activities around the DJ like music playing, dancing, MCing (Rap), and graffiti years later between the late 1970s and the early 1980s.²

I will look first into the beginning of two most essential parts of Herc’s Hip Hop legacy in their own chapters: Hip Hop music, and its dancing which became to be known as Breakdance. Then, the Hip Hop music and Breakdance are connected with earlier authentic Jazz and Jazz-related music styles and dances, and finally the beginning of the Finnish Hip Hop scene is examined until the end of 1984 when Rap music and Breakdance had made their breakthrough among the Finnish general public. The main idea of this article is to look critically into the essential features of those issues and bring the Hip Hop research in that regard up to date 50 years after the alleged beginning of Hip Hop. Thus, the article is not a comprehensive study of the issues that are examined in it, while those areas of Hip Hop which are not clearly connected with the Hip Hop legacy of DJ Kool Herc are excluded.

Especially, graffiti, which was important at the beginning of the Finnish Hip Hop scene in the 1980s (see chapter ‘The Beginning of the Hip Hop Scene in Finland until 1984’), is mainly excluded from this study because the connection between graffiti and Hip Hop has been argued in the US where some of the original representatives of graffiti have disputed the connection, and also some of the pioneers of Hip Hop like Grandmaster Flash have questioned the connection between graffiti and Hip Hop. Although Kool Herc was a graffiti writer before his Hip Hop DJ career, he was not the inventor of graffiti. On the other hand, according to Hip Hop historian Steven Hager,

graffiti was connected with Rap as late as in 1980³, which was years later after 1973 when Hip Hop was allegedly born.

I wrote a book about the connection between Hip Hop and authentic jazz dances, which Music Archive Finland published in 2021.⁴ This article uses parts of the book chapters. At this moment, the book is only in Finnish, which is one reason why this article is in English for disseminating the ideas of the book to a wider audience while this article also elaborates on the book chapters, especially regarding the jazz connection of the Hip Hop legacy of DJ Kool Herc and the beginning of the Finnish Hip Hop Scene until 1984. Music Archive Finland has kindly provided various music magazines and other sources for this study, for which I am very grateful to them. The Finnish music magazines like *Blues News*, *Soundi*, and *Suosikki*, which Music Archive Finland has archived, have been crucial in the chapter of the beginning of the Finnish Hip Hop scene. Also The National Library of Finland kindly provided some of those magazines, and, in particular, regarding my book, on which this article is partly based, materials from the New York Public Library (the NYPL) were crucial in writing the book, for which I am very grateful to the NYPL.

As always in research, there are more people involved in it than the one who writes the study. Therefore, I would like to thank those who have helped to make this article possible. First of all, I want to thank Music Archive Finland and especially its director, Juha Henriksson, for publishing this article. I want to thank the staff of Music Archive Finland, Maaret Storgårds, Jutta Ala-Äijälä, and Jouni Eerola, who were always very helpful when handling material requests and also suggested various materials for this research. I am very grateful to Mikael 'Pimpu' Kajander who kindly provided articles and information about the early Hip Hop scene in Finland he was part of.

I am very grateful to those who have researched and interviewed the early Hip Hop representatives throughout the years and provided their research and interviews to the general public. In that regard, I want, in particular, to thank Hiski Hämäläinen for interviews with the Finnish Hip Hop representatives, and Troy L. Smith, JayQuan, 'The Culture.. Since 1971' YouTube channel, and Sir Norin Rad for conducting interviews with the Hip Hop representatives in New York. Without any of you this would have

never happened. I want to thank also those with whom I have had a chance to talk about the authentic jazz dance and music scene throughout decades. But, in the first place, I want to thank DJ Kool Herc and all the other pioneers of Hip Hop who paved the way for the later Hip Hop generations. DJ Afrika Bambaataa is excluded from that because of serious allegations of child molestation. His name is mentioned in this article only for his musical importance in the past.⁵ If I forgot to mention you and you deserve to be mentioned, I am sorry about that and say thank you!

Harri Heinilä

Hip Hop Music

The birth of Hip Hop music goes back to the early and mid 1970s. Jamaican-born Clive Campbell, who is known by the stage name Kool Herc, is usually mentioned as the father of Hip Hop music. Arriving in the Bronx, New York in 1967, Campbell brought with him the idea of large sound systems with powerful bass accents that were popular in his former hometown of Kingston, Jamaica. His musical alter ego, Kool Herc, used a similar idea in the public events in the Bronx in the 1970s and succeeded because of the superiority of his sound system.⁶ Despite the Jamaican sound influences, the sound system of Amazing Bert, a Bahamian student at the Fordham University, worked ultimately as a blueprint for Herc who wanted his sound to be good and clear as if he had been “simulating a band”.⁷ However, Reggae music, which was popular in Jamaica, was not popular with his Bronx audience. At first, Herc tried to offer Reggae to his audience, but they were not receptive to it. He realized that the African American audience in the Bronx at the time had a much higher appreciation for James Brown and Funk music Brown represented.⁸

Observing the reactions of his audience, Herc found that the dancers responded enthusiastically to so-called break sections of his music, which were dominated by percussive instruments such as drums and other percussion instruments as well as a bass and rhythm guitar. After realizing the potential of breaks among dancers, he started playing these breaks in succession to keep his dancing audience engaged for longer. This led to a revolutionary DJ technique that Herc called the 'Merry Go Round'.⁹ "Hip Hop" thus began as dance music.¹⁰

Mixing as a DJ technique was already known prior to Kool Herc's invention.¹¹ From the end of the 1960s, there were DJs in New York, who continued the previous song by mixing it with the rhythms of the next song. One of them was Francis Grasso who pioneered the beat mixing technique. When the mix is done correctly, the listener will not notice any rhythmic interruptions in this transition between songs. The main difference between Herc and others' mixing of the songs was the rhythmic expression of the songs: Herc focused on the songs containing break parts, playing those breaks

and also repeated the same break continuously with the help of two record copies. This was exceptional among DJs of the time.

Two concepts have been created to illustrate the difference between the DJs Kool Herc represented and the other DJs: 1) Disco DJ is a DJ who focuses on the "whole" song, and 2) Hip Hop DJ is a DJ who focuses on the breaks. The Disco DJ concentrates on mixing songs together without rhythmic interruptions, and the Hip Hop DJ concentrates on joining the break parts of the songs together to create a groove, i.e., a continuous percussive rhythmic expression. Although these concepts were defined mainly afterwards, the terms 'Hip Hop DJ' and 'Disco DJ' / 'Disco Deejay' existed in the past. The former has existed since 1984 at the latest, and the latter was used in the middle of the 1970s to describe a music programmer who decided the songs by the popularity of the songs among the disco audience.¹²

Later, the importance of the Bronx and Kool Herc in creating the break beats phenomenon has been downplayed. On the one hand, it is argued that the Bronx DJs with their breaks only copied what DJs in Manhattan, Brooklyn, and Queens already did, and on the other hand, Kool Herc's central role as the father of Hip Hop is criticized. It is clear that DJs outside of the Bronx also played Funk music of the time, in addition to other styles of music such as Disco and Rhythm and Blues. Thus, there were no clear differences in musical genres between the Bronx and the rest of New York. There were also no significant differences between the boroughs regarding the size of the sound system equipment: like in the Bronx, powerful sound systems were used in Brooklyn and Queens as well.¹³

The difference between the Bronx and the other areas of New York was musically the break beats phenomenon that originated in the Bronx. Other areas of New York continued to focus on playing the song as such, while the break-based Hip Hop music was born in the Bronx.¹⁴ Other DJs outside the Bronx, especially Walter Gibbons, allegedly also mixed percussion breaks together at that time, and the aforementioned Francis Grasso allegedly picked up drum breaks from recordings already in 1969, but there is no evidence of that their "break beats" had become a significant phenomenon in the emerging "Hip Hop" scene in a similar way to the Bronx break beats.¹⁵

According to an original b-boy (dancer) Anthony 'Cholly Rock' Horne, the original 'going off' (later known as Breakdance) phenomenon was based on the breaks of specific recordings, such like James Brown's "Give It Up or Turn It Loose" (so-called live version), Incredible Bongo Band's "Apache", The Dynamic Corvettes' "Funky Music is the Thing", and Baby Huey's "Listen to Me".¹⁶ Although Funk music was played also outside the Bronx, for example in the form of the mentioned James Brown song, Kool Herc focused on Funk breaks and the Funk-like breaks in other recordings which featured "funkiness" in those breaks.¹⁷

The birth of Hip Hop has recently also been the subject of power struggles within the Bronx, especially between the East and West Bronx.¹⁸ Hip hop representatives of the former Bronxdale Houses, now Justice Sonia Sotomayor Houses apartment complex in the (South) East Bronx, have questioned Kool Herc's role as the father of Hip Hop and have claimed that Hip Hop was actually born on the grounds of their (South) East Bronx apartment complex. Thus, Kool Herc only copied their music culture. DJ Disco King Mario, Glynn Mario Halsey, is presented as the main evidence for the role of the Bronxdale Houses apartment complex in the creation of Hip Hop. He allegedly started his DJ career before Kool Herc and laid the foundation for Hip Hop culture, practically being the real father of Hip Hop.

Disco King Mario's role in creating Hip Hop is based mainly on oral memories which Hip Hop old-timers from the Bronxdale Houses have shared, and which have been brought out especially on the former Michael WayneTV (currently 'The Culture.. Since '71') YouTube channel since the 2010s, but also in the *True First – Disco King Mario* documentary from 2019. In those moments of recollection, the Hip Hop old-timers have reminisced about Mario's music playing indoors and in parks, in particular, in the Bronxdale Houses and its vicinity. Arguably, Mario was a notable DJ or even a "Hip Hop" DJ already in 1971.

Historian Seba Kwesi Damani Agyekum, who studied those interviews on the former Michael WayneTV YouTube channel, has suggested that either interviewees in the interviews wanted to present themselves more "authentically" as part of Hip Hop

culture and therefore they claimed almost systematically earlier dates for Hip Hop events than those events actually took place “[o]r they either just could not remember”.¹⁹

The evidence in the form of so-called flyers, which are written and illustrated event advertisements, suggests to the contrary that Mario was a Hip Hop DJ in the late 1970s and in the early 1980s between 1977 and 1981. This was years after Kool Herc's "Hip Hop" beginning on August 11, 1973 when Herc held allegedly the first "Hip Hop" event in the recreation room of his home building at 1520 Sedgwick Avenue in the Bronx. There exists an index card type of advertisement (an “flyer”) of this event and a movie of one of Herc's parties at the recreation room.²⁰

The “flyer” of the first “Hip Hop” party is claimed to be fake because Clark Kent, who was allegedly the “Klark K.” that is mentioned in the “flyer”, did not belong to Herc's crew at that point.²¹ This is supported by the Twins (Kevin and Keith Smith) who started to go to Herc's parties at 1520 Sedgwick Avenue in 1973 after hearing about them from their friends. At some point, they brought Clark Kent with them, which led Herc to pay attention to him. On the other hand, Clark Kent has described a dance contest which Herc brought to Kent's neighborhood for challenging Kent who won the contest by beating one of Herc's dancers and ended up joining Herc's crew.²² Therefore, either Herc started organizing events in the recreation room prior to the first "Hip Hop" event or Herc knew another person named "Klark K." at that time, who was not Clark Kent. Otherwise, the “flyer” is probably fake.

Grandmaster Flash, another Hip Hop pioneer, described in his memoir from 2008 the textual content of a flyer of a DJ Kool Herc event at the Cedar Park Rec Center in the West Bronx in May 1974, but the memoir does not include a picture of the flyer. The flyer allegedly mentioned, in addition to Herc, his DJ partners at the time, Coke La Rock and DJ Clark Kent, and two girls to whose birthday celebration the party was dedicated. The flyer supports the idea that “Hip Hop” was originally mainly for teenagers because only those who were between 16 and 18 years old were allowed to enter the event.²³ There has also existed a flyer which depicts DJ Kool Herc and

Coke La Rock's event at Webster P.A.L. at 2255 Webster Avenue in the Bronx in December 1976.²⁴

Recently, more of those Kool Herc advertisements from his early years as a "Hip Hop" DJ have surfaced when the international auction house, Christie's, auctioned Kool Herc's memorabilia in August 2022. Among the memorabilia, there were a flyer and an index card type of invitation that attest to Kool Herc's DJ activity since 1974 if they are authentic. The earliest of them seems to be the index card type of "handwritten invitation to a rec room party at 1520 Sedgwick Avenue" in February 1974, which does not mention any others than Kool Herc, and then the flyer that advertises "A Kool Herc Production" at the Twi-Lite Zone Disco at 2003 Jerome Avenue in the Bronx on Christmas Eve 1974. Other flyers and index cards that mentioned Kool Herc were from 1975 onwards. Among them was an agreement to rent the Executive Playhouse for "a D.J. Kool Herc party" in July 1975. Supposedly, it was the Executive Playhouse at 1590 Jerome Avenue in the Bronx, although the address was not mentioned. The Executive Playhouse at that address was mentioned in a flyer of the memorabilia, which advertised "Another Boss Kool Herc Production" in November 1975.²⁵

It is unclear whether Kool Herc really played the breaks in his first "Hip Hop" party in August 1973 and when Disco King Mario began to play break beats. Original Bronx b-boy Anthony 'Cholly Rock' Horne remembered that Mario played the break beats music as early as in 1974–1976²⁶. There is no soundtrack from Mario's or from Herc's early "Hip Hop" parties. Herc as the inventor of the break beats (b-beats) was brought out in two Kool Herc articles in July 1978. One of them stated that the breaks occurred "about four years earlier", which referred to the time around 1974. Journalist Nelson George, who wrote the article, said that Herc gave him that fact. In another article from July 1978, Herc explained that he had "been spinning for five years" while the break of the Incredible Bongo Band's 1973 song "Bongo Rock" gave him the idea to play those breaks back-to-back.²⁷

The idea of the Bongo Rock song as the source of the break beats refers to 1973 as the year when Herc started to play the breaks. In journalist Steven Hager's originally in 1984 published study on Hip Hop, Herc stated that at the first "Hip Hop" event, he

played James Brown's "Give It Up or Turn It Loose", which featured the breaks the first generation of Hip Hop has used, but he did not mention that he played these breaks separately from the rest of the song. The Twins, Kevin and Keith Smith, who participated in Herc's events since 1973, remembered that Herc played the whole song in these first "Hip Hop" events and they had to await the break part of the song. According to Hager's study, Herc played breaks after breaks, and rarely the whole song, when Herc moved his music to the Hevalo nightclub in the Bronx in 1975.²⁸ The idea of Kool Herc as the creator of b-beats took hold to some degree because he was mentioned as "The Founder of B-Beats" in a flyer in 1980.²⁹

In 1982, when reporter Steven Hager wrote about the birth of Hip Hop for the *Village Voice* magazine, he emphasized Kool Herc's role in the birth of that phenomenon. Disco King Mario was mentioned only briefly in Hager's article without a reference to his "fatherhood" in inventing Hip Hop. In fact, "Kool [DJ] Dee", whose name is Anthony Dew and who lived in the vicinity of the Bronxdale Houses apartment complex, was named in Hager's article as the first major DJ in the East Bronx area who – according to the article – played Disco music. Kool DJ Dee has confirmed his original role as a Disco DJ in an interview that was published in 2015, although he said that he converted to a Hip Hop DJ by 1973. Dee claimed to have been a DJ before Disco King Mario. Dee got Mario to play music after Mario initially carried Dee's music equipment and acted as Dee's manager. Dee also gave weight to Kool Herc's significance in DJing and even in Hip Hop by stating that only Kool Herc and Pete DJ Jones DJed in the Bronx before him.³⁰ When asked later in an interview that was published in March 2017 whether Mario was already active (in music) when Dee started in the parks, Dee stated³¹:

No, no, no, [Mario] wasn't, he wasn't active at the time...You know people tell me that he was giving parties, so [he] probably had...some stuff and music giving in parties [in] the centers there...but...he wasn't really really active until he got with me, and then we started, you know, we started doing things together...Because at first we was playing, I was playing music...he was like get[ting] me like really jobs...He [got] me a job working at a bar, something like that. That he probably was doing for me, and then

[as] gradually as he came on, he started to pick up the mic, he started talking and stuff like this...

Mario's brother DJ Boogieman denied Kool DJ Dee's claim of bringing Mario, or him, into playing music and claimed that, regarding the Bronx, he and Mario started their DJ career there in the early 1970s, and actually earlier than Kool DJ Dee. However, DJ Boogieman stated that they were only part of the beginning of Hip Hop. DJ Ronnie Ron, who was present when DJ Boogieman was interviewed, even remembered that Kool Herc "used to come out to help us to carry the crates and dancing...before he got his own set".³² Kool Herc has not commented on the claims, and Disco King Mario died in 1994.³³ In another interview, DJ Ronnie Ron admitted that Kool DJ Dee and Dee's brother, Tyrone the Mixologist, got their "set" (music system) earlier than he and Mario.³⁴

Kool Herc has stated that he danced and listened to music at various events and was a DJ starting from the age of 16 (around 1971) before he began his Hip Hop DJ career, and he was allegedly even a b-boy³⁵, so he was influenced by the surrounding music and dance cultures. Like Kool DJ Dee's claims, DJ Boogieman's claims were based only on oral memories that were published in the 2010s, without substantiating the events in question³⁶. Thus, the reality and dates of the events they described are unclear.

In an interview that was published on YouTube on July 2017, Kool DJ Dee clarified that he and Kool Herc were the only Hip Hop DJs he knew of in the Bronx for a few years. He had stated in the interview from March 2017 that there were "a couple of other players" in the Bronx at the beginning, in addition to Herc and him. He did not specify who were these other players, but he made it clear that they were not Grandmaster Flash or Afrika Bambaataa. Dee stated in those two 2017 interviews that Mario took the 'Disco King' title from J. J. the Disco King who worked with Dee at that time. J. J. the Disco King left Dee after Mario hijacked the title, and J.J. started to work with Pete DJ Jones who focused on Disco music. If Disco King Mario took his 'disco king' title from J.J. the Disco King who left after that, it must have happened in 1975 at the earliest. That is because a flyer that was shown in Dee's July 2017 interview proves

that Dee still worked with J.J. the Disco King in 1975. Based on comments from Dee and others who were connected to Hip Hop in the Bronxdale apartment complex, Mario initially DJed just as Mario without the 'disco king' title. How long Mario was a DJ without the title is unclear.³⁷

David 'Busy Bee' Parker, who in the aforementioned *True First – Disco King Mario* documentary defended Mario's role as a significant pioneer of Hip Hop, described Mario more negatively in his interview in 2006. Parker gave credit to Mario for getting his start as a MC at Mario's gigs in the Bronxdale Houses area, which he attended in the latter half of the 1970s (and, according to flyers, between 1980 and 1981 as well). Parker claimed in the 2006 interview that Mario, like Kool Herc, was more of a sound system expert than an actual DJ, although both Mario and Kool Herc were DJs. According to Parker, Mario had another DJ playing music and Mario's contribution to Hip Hop culture was mainly related to the quality and volume of the sound. Parker also claimed that Mario got the idea for his sound system at Kool Herc's events where Mario visited and observed Herc in action.³⁸ Later, in the *Disco King Mario* documentary, Parker supported his earlier claim of Mario's interest in Herc's DJing by stating that Mario promised him to "buy all that same shit Herc got" when Mario asked Parker to join his crew.³⁹

Similarly, John 'DJ Jazzy Jay' Byas, who also worked with Mario for some time and defended Mario's Hip Hop legacy in the *True First – Disco King Mario* documentary, explained in his interview in 2009 regarding Mario's role in Hip Hop: "Disco King Mario...was never much of a deejay, he didn't really have much of a [record] collection, but he had the [music] system of doom...Mario was just more like a guy who came outside and he was a foundation of hip-hop, but he wasn't – he didn't lay down the groundwork".

When Dr. Mark Naison, who interviewed Byas then, asked whether Mario "didn't mix things together, he had the system but not the skills?" Byas said "[r]ight" and told that Mario "was a pioneer", but simultaneously he gave others, Afrika Bambaataa, Grandmaster Flash, and "Cool Herc", more credit for Hip Hop and even stated that Kool Herc "was the creator, if it wasn't for Cool Herc, you know we wouldn't be doing

none of this hip-hop stuff".⁴⁰ Also Master Ice, who worked as Afrika Bambaataa's MC, but knew Mario as well, has belittled Mario's role in the break beats. According to him, Mario used only 9–10 break beats recordings to play the breaks.⁴¹

In 1984, journalist Steven Hager published a study on Hip Hop culture, which briefly discussed Mario. Some of the Hip Hop pioneers, such as David 'Busy Bee' Parker and DJ Grand Wizard Theodore Livingston, who in the *True First – Disco King Mario* documentary described Mario's efforts as the central factor of Hip Hop culture or even the decisive factor in its birth, were quite silent on that in Hager's 1984 study.⁴² This was partly due to Mario's decline in importance in the 1980s whilst other key Hip Hop DJs such as Kool Herc, Grandmaster Flash, and Afrika Bambaataa were still heavily involved in Hip Hop culture.⁴³ At that time, Mario remained quite unknown to the mainstream audience. The scant mentions of Mario in Hager's 1982 article and in his 1984 study as well as interviews with Anthony 'Kool DJ Dee' Dew and David 'Busy Bee' Parker suggest that Disco King Mario's role in the birth of Hip Hop was less significant than it has recently been argued.

This does not deny that Mario was a Hip Hop luminary in the Bronxdale Houses apartment complex and its vicinity, being influential also elsewhere, as in the Co-Op City in the Bronx and in Manhattan in the 1970s. Along with his own performances, he got new DJs, MCs, and dancers involved in the emerging Hip Hop culture as the Hip Hop pioneers from the Bronxdale Houses and its vicinity have later recalled and flyers from the late 1970s and early 1980s suggest⁴⁴. However, the aforementioned evidence tips the scales in Kool Herc's favor. The Bronxdale Houses laid the groundwork for the future Hip Hop culture, so its role in this process cannot be ignored, but Kool Herc's DJing was a decisive factor in the transformation of a "Hip Hop" music culture into the real Hip Hop music culture with the break beats.

Some Hip Hop pioneers and researchers, such as Mark Katz and Joseph C. Ewoodzie Jr., have suggested that no single person can be named the father of Hip Hop because Hip Hop "was born" as a collective creation of the Bronx communities.⁴⁵ In the big picture of Hip Hop, this explanation sounds quite natural, but it also enables the influence of other communities outside the Bronx on the beginning of Hip Hop: the

Bronx may no longer be the original home of Hip Hop. Eliminating the Bronx's role in introducing the use of breaks in early "Hip Hop" music would likely end the Bronx communities' claim of their role as the musical originator of Hip Hop, as communities outside the Bronx, such as Brooklyn and Queens, allegedly played – like the Bronx DJs did – Funk music that was used in "Hip Hop" from the beginning.

Thus, the Bronx break beats phenomenon, confirmed and supported particularly by the two 1978 articles on Kool Herc, but also by the aforementioned flyers from Herc's early years (1974–76), the movie from one of Herc's parties, and oral accounts of Kool Herc's role as the initiator in 1973, is so far the best guarantee of the Bronx's decisive role in starting the musical part of Hip Hop culture – not forgetting the importance of his sister Cindy Campbell because the first "Hip Hop" event, after all, was organized to finance Cindy's school clothes shopping⁴⁶.

Burning – Going Off (Breakdance)

Resembling its position in Hip Hop music, the Bronx is traditionally recognized as the home of the “Breakdance” of Hip Hop, which includes as subdivisions the Burning (known also as Freestyle, Rocking, Uprock(ing), and Toprocking, et cetera) and Going Off (known also as Breaking, Break, B-Boying, Floor Rock, and Footwork, et cetera), although some of these terms like ‘Breaking’ and ‘Going Off’ have been used also interchangeably to describe the whole “Breakdance” phenomenon without any clear divisions. The term ‘Breakdance’ is in scare quotes because the break beats-related dancing allegedly was not called Breakdance at the beginning. The original idea of the Burning was to defeat the opponent by embarrassing him with pantomimic dancing and routines (sets of patterns). The opponent was ridiculed with various theatrical gestures, such as pretending to cut off the opponent's head and kicking it away, or pretending to eat potato chips and shoving a bag of potato chips in the opponent's face. The Burning phase of the “Breakdance” took place mainly between 1970 and 1974.⁴⁷

The change from the Burning to Going Off happened in the first half of the 1970s. This meant going down to the floor, and staying and dancing there longer than in the Burning, in which the dancer mainly stood upright. In “Going Off”, dance moves were done frequently close to the surface of the floor or the ground. Going down to the floor and doing so-called floor moves there longer than in the Burning has been linked particularly to the South Bronx and there to the Twins, Clark Kent, and the b-boy group known as the D-Squad, but also to James Bond, and to Anthony 'Cholly Rock' Horne and others from the North Bronx. From these dancers, the D-Squad – which included dancers like Tony 'Fuji' Lalande, Melvin 'Master Melvin' Glover, Scorpio (Mr. Ness), and Nathaniel 'Kid Creole' Glover – was connected with Grandmaster Flash, whilst the others were connected with Kool Herc, and some of them were also connected with DJ Smokey and with the Zulus (Zulu Nation). The change from the Burning to Going Off really took place when Kool Herc started playing music in the West Bronx's Hevalo Club at the corner of East 180th Street and Jerome Avenue. According to Steven Hager, this happened in 1975.⁴⁸

Kool Herc's events featured a group of mainly African American b-boy and female b-girl dancers who demonstrated early forms of the "Breakdance" with the help of Herc's break beats music. Graffiti artist and dancer Phase 2 as well as the regular visitors to Herc's events who were among his first b-boy dancers – the aforementioned Twins, Keith and Kevin Smith, and their friend Clark Kent – have stated that Kool Herc originated the term 'b-boy'. According to Clark Kent, Herc designated his best b-boys as "A1 B-Boy", although according to the Twins, it was Coke La Rock who gave the "A1" title and only to one of Herc's b-boy dancers named Sa-Sa.⁴⁹

Some of the early "break dancers" who frequented Herc's events like Trixie and Phase 2 have denied having been originally b-boys, but they have admitted that they actually were b-boys when considered from the standpoint of later break dancers. Herc himself has explained ambiguously the term 'b-boy' by saying it originally meant the "boys that break...on somebody" by going to "the breaking point" until he and others began to apply the term to dancing. Herc's statements suggest implicitly a violent nature of the term in its original context. This is supported by Grandmaster Flash and Afrika Bambaataa, who stated that these dancers sometimes hurt other dancers.⁵⁰

Anthony Horne, also known as Cholly Rock, who was a regular participant in Herc's events in the 1970s, has emphasized the significance of Kool Herc and the term 'b-boy' in creating a positive image of this dance culture. Horne has seen the "aggressive" and unapologetically energetic style of the "Breakdance" as a counterculture of its time, which also created negativity in the surrounding Bronx communities. Dancing b-boys were called by the derisive terms like "floor sweepers", "yo-yos", "rabbits" and "hippidy-hoppers", which described especially the vertical movement of these dancers. Horne's comments on the original negativity of "Hip Hop" are supported by its other central figures like Kool Herc, who have underlined how outsiders looked down on the emerging "Hip Hop" scene. Horne has stated that the first generation of "break dancers", the b-boys, became famous through their dance in their communities which at first did not understand the glory of the "Breakdance". Also other early b-boys and "Hip Hop"-related dancers have confirmed that they succeeded in the local

communities, especially in Kool Herc's events.⁵¹ Kool Herc, by using the term 'b-boy' in dancing, thus helped to put the emerging Hip Hop culture on the right track.

While most of Kool Herc's dancers have recognized the importance of Herc's events in the emergence of the "Breakdance" in the Bronx, Herc's role in the birth of the "Breakdance" has been questionable among them. Some of these dancers, such as Trixie, Pixie, Kevin and Keith Smith (the Twins), and Clark Kent, have stated that they started dancing prior to going to Herc's events. Clark Kent has emphasized that they were already experienced "break dancers" at that point. According to Kent, before participating in Herc's events, they went to dance competitions and danced especially at DJ Smokey's events in the Bronx and at the Chuck Center in Harlem.⁵² DJ Smokey later recalled that he started organizing his events in 1972, and MC Almighty KG, who started his career as a "break dancer", remembered having seen the "Breakdance" at DJ Smokey's event around the same time. Therefore, the "Breakdance" was not necessarily born at Herc's music events.⁵³ In any case, these dancers attended Herc events and thus recognized the suitability of these events for their dancing. As Clark Kent put it, Kool Herc's events were the kind of "Super Bowl" for the "Breakdance".⁵⁴

The '(Get on) the Good Foot' and 'Black Spade' dances have been suggested as a precursor of the "Breakdance". James Brown published "Get on the Good Foot" song in 1972⁵⁵. After that it was possible to have a dance to this song. Hip Hop expert Michael Holman, editor Kristy Montee, Afrika Bambaataa, and the second generation b-boy Jorge 'Popmaster Fabel' Pabon have considered the role of 'the Good Foot' dance crucial in the beginning of the "Breakdance".⁵⁶ Holman has described the 'Good Foot' as a "freestyle" dance with spins and drops, in which a dancer [took] "steps raised high at the knee but [kept] the leg raised at the knee in the air for a beat before [dropped] it down and simultaneously [raised] the other leg, like a stop action drum majorette on beat."⁵⁷

Some Hip hop activists and b-boys who have been connected, like Bambaataa, to the Black Spades gang in the Bronx have seen that the "Breakdance" was inherited from the Black Spade dance which the members of this gang danced, for example, to James Brown's "Soul Power" song, by using so-called heavy and hard-edged

"engineer boots".⁵⁸ Anthony Horne, who has belonged to the original b-boys and the Black Spades gang, has demonstrated the Black Spade dance in an interview, and his example resembles 'the Good Foot' Michael Holman described.⁵⁹ Therefore, the Spade dance is likely the same dance as the 'Good Foot'. As far as those Kool Herc's dancers who did not belong to the Black Spades are concerned, they likely did not know about the Goot Foot / Black Spade dance. However, it is possible that the Good Foot / Black Spade dance was part of those dancers' "Breakdance", who belonged to the Black Spades.⁶⁰

Perhaps unsurprisingly, also the Bronx's role as the "Breakdance" innovator is questioned. Historian Joseph G. Schloss, with support from Brooklyn-related dancers, has challenged the Bronx's claim of innovating the "Breakdance" by suggesting that, at the end of the 1960s, Brooklyn's dancers of Latin American origin created the so-called Rocking / Uprocking dance which, like the Burning, focused on embarrassing the opponent. Based on oral memories, Schloss has argued that Brooklyn dancers at that time danced to the Funk recordings which included breaks and they even dropped to the floor during the breaks in those songs when they did so-called "downrock" moves. Therefore, Kool Herc and his dancers allegedly, either by accident or even on purpose, copied the "Breakdance" culture the Brooklyn dancers had brought forth.⁶¹ Schloss has claimed that Uprock(ing), which was originally called Rocking, was created in the Bushwick area of Brooklyn by Puerto Rican dancers in 1968. Uprock was based on "burning", and mocking or even fighting with the opponent, which clearly resembled the Burning in the Bronx.⁶²

Hip Hop historian and dancer Jorge 'Popmaster Fabel' Pabon has also claimed that Brooklyn's Rocking dance, later known as "uprocking", was born between the end of the 1960s and the beginning of the 1970s, and the Toprocking dance, which corresponds to the previously mentioned Burning, although Pabon did not mention that, possibly originated from Rocking, or Rocking at least influenced Toprocking. Pabon's description matches Schloss' description of this dance, but unlike Schloss, he has seen Toprocking and Uprocking as separate dances.⁶³

Evidence from newspapers does not support Schloss' and Pabon's ideas of the beginning of Rocking / Uprocking. The terms 'uprock' and 'toprock' in their various forms and in connection with Brooklyn's Hip Hop dancing appeared with reference to the "Breakdance" for the first time in the American press likely in the early 1980s when the "Breakdance" was already quite well known.⁶⁴ The claim of the "Rocking" dancing that Brooklyn dancers had allegedly developed in the late 1960s do not also receive direct support from the newspapers of that time.⁶⁵ However, Rock and Roll dances like the Twist, Jerk, the Mashed Potatoes, and Boogaloo, which were danced solo or separately from the partner, were in fashion during the 1960s.⁶⁶ This enables the existence of the alleged "Rocking" at that time, but does not strictly substantiate it.

Otherwise, it is difficult to verify the veracity of Pabon's claims because there are no exact references to sources in his article on the subject, whereas Schloss' evidence is based solely on oral memories, which were brought out decades later after the alleged birth of the Uprock dance culture in the late 1960s.⁶⁷ Schloss' analysis of the Uprock dance culture also contains internal contradictions that suggest that the birth of this culture took place later than Schloss has claimed. First of all, the Uprock-related Funk music songs he points to are all from the early 1970s except for one.⁶⁸ If the Uprock dance culture was already born at the end of the 1960s, it is quite unlikely that Uprock was danced only to one song for two years.⁶⁹ Even the Bronx's alleged Spade Dance from the same era was not danced only to one song⁷⁰.

Secondly, Joseph G. Schloss' claim that the Bronx's Burning and "Breakdance" culture was inherited from Brooklyn's Uprocking is questionable according to the memories of the Brooklyn dancer he quoted. This dancer stated that he saw a Burning dance in Manhattan, New York in 1975. The Burning in Manhattan was clearly different from Brooklyn's Uprocking. In Manhattan, the dancers did a "burning", similar to the Bronx's Burning dance, in a circle formation without the Jerk dance pattern that was part of Brooklyn's Uprocking. In fact, Schloss has admitted that the beginning of Brooklyn's Rocking dancing is controversial.⁷¹

Of course, it is possible that a phenomenon similar to the Bronx's Burning dance culture would have arisen in Brooklyn between at the end of the 1960s and the

beginning of the 1970s. It could have been part of Rock and Roll dances of the time, for example in the form of the previously mentioned Boogaloo, which was possibly later compared to the Bronx's Burning. This connection between Boogaloo and the Burning was implied by the Bronx-based graffiti artist and b-boy Phase 2 who stated that they knew about Boogaloo.⁷² In any case, connecting Brooklyn's Uprock dance culture with the Bronx's Burning dance culture is quite speculative, given only recollections after decades without clear evidence of the early days of this culture.

Brooklyn's role as the creator of the Rocking dance has been disputed by one of the Bronx's original Rock dancers, Willie "MB" Estrada, who danced the Rock with other Puerto Ricans in the Bronx in the 1970s. He has claimed to have witnessed Vietnam War veterans' aggressive combat Rock dancing in the Bronx in the late 1960s. According to him, this "Rock Dance" developed into a new version in the early 1970s, which resembled a "tribal dance". Estrada claimed that the Breakdance-like "floor moves" were associated with the Rock dancing as early as the end of the 1960s, and he has considered that the "Breakdance" of the 1980s developed from this dance.⁷³ Also the Bronx-based Phase 2 claimed to be responsible for a "Rocking" dance. He told journalist Steven Hager that he developed the "Battle Rocking", in which they fought each other with imaginary knives, and sometimes dropped down into a squat, which was similar to how Joseph Schloss described the Jerk pattern in Brooklyn's Rocking. According to Phase 2, the "Battle Rocking" disappeared, but years later it was called "Up Rocking".⁷⁴

These views and memories of Rocking and the Rock dancing refer to the Rock and Roll dances of the 1960s, of which Boogaloo as an intermediate form between Mambo and Salsa was probably the most crucial.⁷⁵ It is possible that even three separate pre-phases of the Hip Hop dance culture developed in the Bronx and Brooklyn at the same time: the Burning / Freestyle culture of African Americans and the Rock culture of Puerto Ricans, both in the Bronx, and the "Rocking" / Uprocking culture in Brooklyn. Similarly, Joseph Schloss speculated that there could have been three separate pre-phases of the "Breakdance" in the Bronx and Brooklyn, but the Bronx's African American b-boying, as he called dancing to the break part of the songs, was possibly

influenced by the Uprocking or was even “a confluence of Latino and African American traditions”.⁷⁶

In the battle between the Bronx and Brooklyn, however, the scale tilts in favor of the Bronx. Just like in the break beats music, also in dancing to that music, the Bronx’s “b-beats” culture and its dancers were referred to in the 1978 Kool Herc article at the latest (see page 26), and Brooklyn’s “break dancers” were not in newspaper articles until in the 1980s (see page 20). The role of the Bronx as the originator of dancing to the break beats music is also supported by dance historian Thomas Guzman-Sanchez, who studied Brooklyn’s Rock dancing: He has considered that the basic step of Brooklyn’s Rocking was “definitely different” compared to the Bronx’s “Top Rock” (the Burning), and the basic step, “a variation of the [Bronx’s] Rock dance step”, became a trend in Bushwick, Brooklyn “by 1977”.⁷⁷

The role of the Bronx’s African American Burning and “Breakdance” culture has also been downplayed within the Bronx. Willie Estrada has emphasized the importance of Rock dance and at the same time also the Latin Hustle partnered dance as the essential Bronx culture of the 1970s by stating that Kool Herc and Afrika Bambaataa were unknown to many of Puerto Ricans in the Bronx in the early 1970s⁷⁸, which was possible considering Herc’s start as a “Hip Hop” DJ in 1973 and Bambaataa’s similar start a few years later⁷⁹. Estrada’s claim that there was no “Breakdance”-related b-boy culture with floor moves in the Bronx in the early 1970s is also acceptable as the Burning dance culture of that time favored moves that were done in an upright position, but his claim that the “Breakdance” evolved from the Rock dance in the latter half of the 1970s is contradictory.⁸⁰

Willie Estrada questioned his own claim of the origin of the “Breakdance” by explaining how the Rock dancers he knew were doing floor moves in 1974, which resembled the later break dancers. If that type of dance moves were increasingly used in the Rock dance between the late 1960s and mid-1970s, as Estrada described, the “Breakdance” could be considered to have begun prior to the latter half of the 1970s. He has stated that some of his 1974 Rock dancing friends could be considered the first b-boys by concluding from the floor moves they did.⁸¹

Estrada's claims about the origin of the "Breakdance" are opposed to the aforementioned statements from the original Bronx-based African American "break dancers" and other Hip Hop activists regarding the origin and partially contradict how the Bronx-based Puerto Rican "break dancers" have considered it. Among the latter, Aby from The Bronx Boys crew has pointed out that the Bronx's Rock dancing influenced their dancing alongside the original "break dancers" who represented the Bronx's African American "go-off" style.⁸² Members of the Bronx's Puerto Rican "Breakdance" groups have stated that they were taught by the Bronx's African American "Breakdance" groups as early as the mid-1970s, and the African American "Breakdance" groups also included Puerto Ricans.⁸³ Thus, the African American "Breakdance" in the Bronx was already happening in the mid-1970s.

The Jazz Connection of the Hip Hop Legacy of DJ Kool Herc

As suggested in the previous chapters, the essence of the Hip Hop legacy of DJ Kool Herc comprises his roles in three phenomena: First, he is the creator of Hip Hop music, which means the Bronx's break beats, known also as b-beats. Second, his break beats played an important role in the emergence of the "Breakdance" when the Bronx's Burning was changing to the Going Off dancing, which meant going down to the floor, and staying and dancing there longer than in the Burning. Third, he allegedly created the term 'b-boy', which presumably helped b-boys (b-girls) to win fame in their communities that did not appreciate the "Breakdance" at the beginning. The jazz connection of this legacy is discussed next.

Jazz dance is based on Jazz music and Jazz-related music styles.⁸⁴ Kool Herc's break beats were either derived from Funk music or they otherwise expressed "funkiness" in them as stated earlier. Overall, the "Breakdance" and also other Hip Hop-related dances are mainly danced to African American Funk music.⁸⁵ Funk is based on African American Jazz, Soul, and Rock and Roll music, while Soul music is based on Gospel and Rhythm and Blues, from which Rhythm and Blues in turn formed the basis for Rock and Roll music that was also derived from Jazz-based Swing music, and from Country.⁸⁶ Therefore, Funk is clearly part of the continuum of African American music styles. Herc has confirmed the jazz connection by stating that he was into Bing Crosby's "White Christmas" and knew about Ella Fitzgerald, Nat King Cole, Nina Simone, and Louis Armstrong because his family had recordings from those artists in their household.⁸⁷

Dance researchers, and also old-time jazz and Tap dancers, have been aware of connections between African American dances and the "Breakdance" since the 1980s. Dance historian Sally Banes published a pioneering article about the emerging Breakdance in 1981. She wrote also other articles on this subject and was followed by studies from Hip Hop and culture historians like Michael Holman, Steven Hager, David Toop in 1984, and Robert Farris Thompson later in 1986.⁸⁸ From the researchers, especially Sally Banes, Michael Holman, David Toop, and Katrina Hazzard-Donald

have agreed that Hip Hop-related dances are based primarily on earlier African American dances.⁸⁹ According to dance historian Serouj Aprahamian, Tap and jazz dancer Charles 'Honi' Coles explained in the *Dance Magazine* in 1984 that Breakdance was "old stuff except for the fast spinning" and wondered where "the current break dancers discovered" the old steps,⁹⁰ while jazz dancer Albert 'Al' Minns argued elsewhere that they did all the Breakdance steps at Harlem's Savoy Ballroom in the 1930s, but maybe spinning on their heads.⁹¹

Thus, it has been clear that the "Breakdance" and other Hip Hop-related dances at the very least resemble or even were inherited from earlier African American dances, which have been collectively called jazz dance since this term appeared by 1917 and was established by the end of the 1920s. In general, historians and cultural researchers, who have studied the connections between the "Breakdance" / other Hip Hop-related dances and African American dances, have agreed with earlier jazz dance researchers about the central importance of American slavery in the birth of African American dance: along with American slavery, European and African dance influences began to merge.⁹²

The present writer in this article uses the qualifier / prefix 'authentic' with the term 'jazz dance' to describe Jazz-related dances that have originated from the transatlantic slave trade that took place between Africa and the Americas, and from its ongoing aftermath. This relates to authentic jazz dancers like Al Minns, Leon James, Charles 'Cholly' Atkins, and Pepsi Bethel, and researchers like Marshall Stearns and Mura Dehn, who used the qualifier / prefix 'authentic' with the term 'jazz dance' for distinguishing their jazz dancing from so-called 'modern jazz dance' which is also known as 'theatrical jazz dance' and 'show dance'. The "modern jazz dance" has been based on Modern (Contemporary) dance and Ballet, although it has borrowed moves and steps from authentic jazz dances. The "modern jazz dance" with its Modern (Contemporary) dance and Ballet-like dance expression has represented very different dance forms compared to authentic jazz dances.⁹³

David Toop has found similarities between the music authentic jazz dancers have used for their dancing and the terms 'break' and 'breaking'. Likely, by utilizing jazz historians

Marshall and Jean Stearns' ideas of the "stop time" expression as the base for his interpretation, Toop argued that break dancers danced to the break points in music, in a similar way to authentic jazz dancers improvised dancing to "silent" points in music or to "a solo instrumental break" in it. "Stop time" means a deliberate pause in music when the accompanist(s) plays "a chord every four or eight counts" to maintain the continuity of the rhythm for the dancer. Mainly Tap dancers danced to the "stop time",⁹⁴ but also, in particular, Lindy Hoppers and Mambo dancers did both improvised and choreographed steps to these musical breaks.⁹⁵

Correspondingly, break dancers have danced to the break beats music containing consecutive breaks. Cultural historian Robert Farris Thompson considered that the break in music was inherited from the African Kongo, from where this idea was transferred to Haiti and Cuba along with slavery. In those areas, people danced enthusiastically to the drum-filled breaks without melody.⁹⁶ On the other hand, Sally Banes has suggested that the idea of "break" originated either from the improvised solo part of jazz, or from Haitian voodoo in which the term referred to "both drumming and dancing", or from French Guiana where the "body-breaking" 'cassé ko' dance has existed.⁹⁷ In the Bronx, in addition to Puerto Ricans, there were Cubans of Spanish origin, for whom Mambo was of the great importance.⁹⁸ This supports the idea of the Cuban origin of the breaks.

Recently, dance historian Seroul Aprahamian has challenged the idea of the "Breakdance" had emerged from the musical breaks. Aprahamian argued that the term "breaking was simply the latest African American vernacular term applied to the dynamic movement of *dancers*." (The word '*dancers*' is in italics in the original text.) Regarding the testimony of practitioners of the "Breakdance", Aprahamian's argumentation is based on oral memories that have been recalled years later since the early versions of the "Break dance" like the Burning began to emerge between the late 1960s and the early 1970s.⁹⁹ In one of the previously mentioned articles of the "b-beats" in 1978, Herc explained that "the young dancers of the Bronx loved "breaks" in records" referring to the breaks as "sections" with "energetic Latin percussion work."¹⁰⁰ Therefore, Herc confirmed that the musical breaks were connected with the young dancers in the Bronx. In other words, those dancers danced to the breaks.

The percussive and polyrhythmic dance style has been part of African American jazz dance, including Hip Hop-related dancers.¹⁰¹ This also goes to Mambo music and its dancers that have been part of Jazz and jazz dance. Mambo music was based on a powerful percussion group, which created the groove for Mambo dancers.¹⁰² Similarly, Lindy Hoppers of Harlem's Savoy Ballroom in the 1950s danced to Mambo, and also to Be Bop music in so-called Be Bop Lindy dance, although some of the original Lindy Hoppers like Frankie Manning criticized the excessive use of drums in Swing music.¹⁰³ Tap dancers, such as 'Baby' Laurence Jackson and James 'Jimmy Slyde' Godbolt, worked with Be Bop musicians. Tap dancer Earl 'Groundhog' Basie emphasized the importance of percussion instruments in dancing by stating that tapping and playing drums were the same thing. In Be Bop, the drummer does not play a swing-like steady flow of rhythm with the bass drum, but the drummer can use the bass drum to strike accents in the middle of the flow of rhythm and add other accents and polyrhythms to it, which emphasizes the role of the drums in Be Bop music.¹⁰⁴

Other basic principles which both jazz dances and Jazz music share are particularly improvisation, call and response, and rhythm. Both authentic jazz and Hip Hop-related dancers have improvised and done choreographies in their dancing. For example, in the Charleston and Tap dances, this has happened when dancing solo while Lindy Hop and Mambo / Salsa dancers have done a Breakaway move, which means a separation of the partners when they first have danced as a couple in a closed position. This separation has allowed the partners to dance independently without directly depending on their dancing partners until the partners have returned to the couple formation.¹⁰⁵

Authentic jazz dancers have acted as part of the orchestra responding to music with the help of their dance steps and patterns. Music has told them how to dance.¹⁰⁶ Traditionally, jazz dancers danced to live music. In Hip Hop, dancers dance mainly to recordings.¹⁰⁷ This has led to a clear distinction between authentic jazz dancers who preceded the Hip Hop phenomenon and Hip Hop-related dancers. In live music, communication (call and response) between the orchestra and the dancers has been possible. They have been able to respond to each other when the dancers have done

steps to the music played and when the musicians have responded with their playing to the dancers' steps. As jazz dancer Sonny Allen has said: "There is no life in records." When dancing to recordings, the only communicator is the dancer, although it could be argued that a Hip Hop DJ with the break beats is the kind of live orchestra which communicates with the dancers via the breaks the DJ chooses.¹⁰⁸

Rhythm has been the starting point in authentic jazz dance. Jazz dancer Pepsi Bethel summarized this in a nutshell: without rhythm, there is nothing in jazz dance. The rhythm must be consistent¹⁰⁹; it does not change randomly. Lindy Hoppers, Mambo dancers, Tap dancers, and break dancers (b-boys) have all emphasized the importance of rhythm in their dancing.¹¹⁰ In general, there have not been differences between authentic jazz dances and the "Breakdance" in other crucial features either. These features include several simultaneous movement centers in the dancer's body, which means moving different parts of the body independently of each other, asymmetry and angularity in dance moves, mimetic expression when copying, for example, animals like snakes in authentic jazz dance Snakehips and spiders in the "Breakdance" move called the Spider, while martial arts were imitated in both authentic jazz dance and the "Breakdance". Dancers did moves either towards the dance floor or along / close to the dance floor in both of them. Moving towards the ground has been typical in African dancing.¹¹¹

Sally Banes has found characteristics of the Charleston and Breakdown dances in Breakdance. According to her, both the contemporary Breakdance and Breakdown from the time of American slavery used fast and complex steps while Rock Steady Crew's Richard 'Crazy Legs' Colon's rubberlegs style of walking in Breakdance was inherited from the Charleston dance.¹¹² Indeed, Marshall and Jean Stearns considered the rubberlegs-like use of feet, which included particularly "a variety of high kicks", to be part of the eccentric, distinctive but unclassified jazz dancing.¹¹³ Furthermore, Banes saw aspects of the Lindy Hop and Caribbean dances in Breakdance, although she did not elaborate on these similarities.¹¹⁴

Michael Holman and David Toop have based their ideas of the similarities between Breakdance and earlier African American dances on Marshall and Jean Stearns'

descriptions of those dances in the *Jazz Dance* study. Michael Holman contended that the drops in the old Bullfrog Hop jazz dance are related to Hip Hop because they resemble drops in Brooklyn's Rocking.¹¹⁵ Both Holman and David Toop referred to Dewey 'Pig Meat' Markham's claim in the *Jazz Dance* about the spin on the backside in the Black Bottom version, which jazz dancer Jim Green created. The spin clearly resembled the similar spin in Breakdance.¹¹⁶

They have also found similarities between other Hip Hop-related dances like Popping, Locking, Electric Boogie, and authentic jazz dances. David Toop pointed to jazz dancers Ananias Berry from the Berry Brothers, who froze and melted "like frames in a film strip", Brady 'Jigsaw' Jackson, also known as "the Human Corkscrew", who could twist his body to almost impossible contortions, Tip Tap and Toe, a dance trio who "could slide in any direction", and Albert 'Pops' Whitman who "spun like a top".¹¹⁷ Similarly, Michael Holman considered that the Moonwalk is reminiscent of the 19th century African American "Virginia Essence" and "Stepping on the Puppy's Tail" dances, in which the dancer moved forward in the former and backward in the latter in a Moonwalk-like fashion.¹¹⁸ It is also known that Tap dancer Bill Bailey used the Moonwalk-like step as his signature step decades before singer Michael Jackson popularized it.¹¹⁹

David Toop probably referred to the jerky type of movements in Popping and Locking, and to the freezes in Breakdance, when he compared them to authentic jazz dances: the Itch which imitates scratching, the Shake dance in which the dancer moves exotically, and the Legomania that emphasizes angular movements of the legs and high kicks.¹²⁰ Katrina Hazzard-Donald has pointed out that Popping and Locking have utilized the technical expression of the Jerk dance of the late 1950s and the Snakehips dance, decades older than the 1950s Jerk, was inherited from the time of slavery in the American South.¹²¹

Holman has equated the circle formation of the Juba dance, from the time of American slavery, and its dancers, who danced in the middle of the circle, with the later circle formation break dancers and also Lindy Hoppers have used, although Holman did not mention Lindy Hoppers in this context. African American jazz dancers copied Russian

dancers they saw in the early 20th century, taking from the Russian dancers various acrobatic "drops, squats, sweeps, splits, tumbles, and flips". These jazz dancers also copied the quick leg movement that the Kazotsky dancers did in a squatting position, but the jazz dancers moved their legs even faster than the Kazotsky dancers. Holman claimed that this borrowing from Russian dance had clear connections to many aspects of Breakdance: especially to the "top rocking, drops, [and] footwork" of Breakdance.¹²² On the other hand, Toop considered that the acrobatic aspect of Breakdance was inherited from the flips, spins and other similar patterns of African American acrobats from the 19th century.¹²³

Sergei Ivanov, who studied Russian break dancers, has claimed that the American tour of Russian folk dance choreographer Igor Moiseyev's dancers in the late 1960s led to the adoption of "Russian Steps" dance style in the United States.¹²⁴ However, the connection between these dancers and American break dancers is unclear, and secondly, Moiseyev's dancers toured the United States already in the early 1960s.¹²⁵ Nor was Russian dance completely unknown in the United States at that point. African American dancers like Ida Forsythe and Dewey Weinglass used Russian dance steps decades before that in the early 1920s.¹²⁶

The Berry Brothers, the Nicholas Brothers, and Albert 'Pops' Whitman and Louis Williams among others represented jazz and Tap dancers who used spectacular and surprising "flash steps", especially splits, drops, spins, and flips, which was called "flash dancing". The "flash steps" resembled the acrobatics of Breakdance. African American singers like James Brown and Jackie Wilson utilized these acrobatic, showy "flash steps" in their performances.¹²⁷ Particularly, James Brown, the Nicholas Brothers, and also one-legged Tap dancer Clayton 'Peg Leg' Bates served as role models for the early "break dancers" starting from the Burning era and continuing into the Going Off era, whilst contemporary break dancers have looked up especially to James Brown, which shows a clear continuity between flash dancing and Breakdance.¹²⁸

Over the years, Breakdance and jazz dance-related enthusiasts, and various organizations like libraries have uploaded old film clips to the Internet, especially to

YouTube.¹²⁹ These film clips show similarities between earlier jazz dances and Breakdance. The oldest of the film clips that show the similarities is probably *The Pickaninnies* that was filmed in 1894. In it, three African American dancers danced the Buck Dance, which was the general term for the African American "tap dancing" of that time. In the case of the film clip, this meant Jig and Breakdown. The dancers executed steps that resembled the time step of Tap dance and movements similar to the floor moves that were done in the Burning and Breakdance. It may have been the first short film to feature African American dancers.¹³⁰ In another short film, *A Street Arab*, filmed in 1898, a young boy performed a head spin in the style of Breakdance, in addition to other acrobatic moves he did.¹³¹ Later, in 1963, jazz dancer Sterling Bough from the Norma Miller and Her Jazz Men group did a similar head spin.¹³²

A prime example of a dance sequence that was based on "flash steps" and clearly resembles modern Breakdance is The Mills Brothers' short film *The Caravan* from 1942.¹³³ In *The Caravan*, the "break dancer" moved to the middle of the circle the spectators formed. The dancer started with the Charleston-like movement resembling Toprocking / Uprocking, continuing into a back flip until he dropped face down to the ground, and proceeded into spins he did by rotating his body horizontally with the help of his hands and feet. Then, he got back up, spun, and did an Eagle Rock type of jazz dancing until he finally left the middle of the circle.¹³⁴ Decades later, b-boy Lil' Boy Keith from the Zulu Kings group did the similar continuous horizontal spins on the ground in a film clip that was probably filmed in the 1980s. He called it "The Spinning Top" and claimed to have created it.¹³⁵

James Berry of the Berry Brothers did several spins on his rear end in the *Lady Be Good* in 1941. The Berry Brothers did also spectacular splits in this movie. James Berry repeated his backside spin in the *Boarding House Blues* movie in 1948, resembling the similar Breakdance spin. Fayard and Harold Nicholas, also known as the Nicholas Brothers, did spectacular splits in many of their appearances, but in the *Down Argentine Way* in 1940, Fayard Nicholas did repeatedly those splits on the floor, spinning between them, which resembled the floor moves of Breakdance.¹³⁶

Pops Whitman and Louis Williams performed challenging acrobatic patterns and vertical multiturn spins which led into quick splits and drops to the floor, but they did the Breakdance-like “floor moves” only for a short time in the early 1940s film *Hit Parade of 1943*. Apart from those brief moments with splits and drops, they did not do prolonged “floor moves” by staying down on the floor as it was done in Breakdance, although, based on written descriptions, especially Pops Whitman otherwise did prolonged “floor moves”.¹³⁷

The Four Step Brothers, an acrobatic Tap dance group, did splits and got back up quickly between the splits, in a similar way to other groups did their “flash steps”, as well as they did spectacular acrobatic flips, but also a pattern in which the members of the group fell backwards to lean on the floor with the help of their hands and feet while their bodies moved and spun around to the beat of fast music, as they did in the *Shine on Harvest Moon* movie in 1944.¹³⁸ Earlier, in the *Pardon My Sarong* movie in 1942, one of the members of the trio Tip Tap and Toe did a similar pattern without spinning, while another member of the trio did a Breakdance-like continuous pattern, in which he danced on his knees on the floor.¹³⁹

The “falling backwards to lean on the floor with the help of hands and feet” pattern, in which the dancer could also drop down first before (s)he fell backwards, was well known because also other “flash dancing” groups and jazz dancers did it: A dancer in the *Smash Your Baggage* short movie in 1932 (Another dancer who jumped rope in the movie did “the knee-drop” which was called later as the “Pin Drop” in the “Breakdance”), Sweets of Slim and Sweets in 1943, Gene Kelly and the Nicholas Brothers in 1948, Sammy Davis Jr. from The Will Mastin Trio both in 1947 and in 1954, and the group called The Four Little Step Brothers in 1965. Later, b-boy Lil’ Boy Keith from the Zulu Kings group did the pattern in the aforementioned 1980s film clip.¹⁴⁰ This also bore resemblance to the dance pattern that original b-boy Clark Kent and the Twins used to do years earlier than Lil’ Boy Keith. In their pattern, Kent and the Twins dropped down and fell backwards to lean on the floor with the help of their hands and feet while their bodies moved up and down.¹⁴¹ In the pattern, which the other groups and dancers did, including Lil’ Boy Keith, it was more hands and feet than the dancer’s torso which bounced.¹⁴²

Sweets of the Tap dance and acrobatic duo Slim and Sweets in a short film performance in 1943 did a “flash step” type of pattern, in which the dancer dropped to the floor and leaned on her hands while she did a circle-shaped movement with the help of her right leg, which clearly resembled the later Breakdance pattern called Helicopter.¹⁴³ The similar movement can be seen in *The Pirate* movie in 1948, in which the Nicholas Brothers and Gene Kelly did the pattern continuously. In the 1950s, orchestra leader Tito Rodriguez did the Breakdance-like “helicopter” pattern to Mambo music in the short movie *Mambo Madness* that was filmed at Manhattan's Palladium Ballroom.¹⁴⁴

Authentic jazz dancers in the past likely knew the “Helicopter” as the “Around the World” or “Double Around the World”, which originally was copied from Russian dancers. Dance historian Serouj Aprahamian has connected the “Around the World” pattern with the Twins who have been said to “have popularized” the similar “sweep” pattern in the “Breakdance” while “some early [“Breakdance”] practitioners” have referred to it as “around the world footwork”, connecting the “sweep” directly with the jazz dance legacy.¹⁴⁵ On the other hand, “The 1st original b-boy” Sa-Sa has claimed that he got the “helicopter” move from the aforementioned one-legged Tap dancer Peg Leg Bates who taught him to dance,¹⁴⁶ which also underscores the connection between the original “Breakdance” and authentic jazz dance.

Another Russian dance-influenced group was the Will Mastin Trio including Sammy Davis Jr. who did the “falling backwards to lean on the floor with the help of hands and feet” pattern when they performed in *Sweet and Low* movie in 1947 and then in the *Milton Berle Show* in 1954. In both performances, one member of the trio did also Russian dancing with kicks in a squat position, whilst another member with his hand leaned on the floor in the center of a figurative circle while his feet rotated in the circle, which clearly resembled Breakdance.¹⁴⁷

The Four Little Step Brothers, which modelled their dancing on the style of the Four Step Brothers group, toured the United States in the 1960s and 1970s. This four-piece African American dance group, which was led by Al Williams of the Four Step Brothers,

appeared in the *Ed Sullivan Show* on the US TV in October 1965. The members of the very acrobatic group did a large number of splits, cartwheels and even flips, while actual Tap dancing was displayed to a much lesser extent. Towards the end of the show, they also did the “falling backwards to lean on the floor with the help of hands and feet” pattern. It is also worth noting that two members of the Four Little Step Brothers did the footwork type of movement of Breakdance when leaning on the floor with the help of their hands. Especially, one of these two members moved his feet very rapidly in that footwork-like movement.¹⁴⁸ Thus, this group worked as the kind of link between the older acrobatic jazz dancers and the future “break dancers”, although there is no evidence of their influence on the “break dancers”.

Robot-like body movements, which original b-boys used in their dancing, were done in the *Soul Train* TV program when Michael Jackson demonstrated the Robot moves as early as in 1973. Robot-like moving was also used in the Electric Boogie / Electric Boogaloo dance that was based on the Popping / Pop Locking dance from the West Coast of the US. The Electric Boogie was known in New York at the beginning of the 1980s at the latest. Original b-boy Anthony ‘Cholly Rock’ Horne has strictly denied that his generation of b-boys danced the Electric Boogie, although Hip Hop historian Steven Hager in his originally in 1984 published study hinted that some of the original b-boys moved to the Electric Boogie after they left the floor moves-based “Breakdance”.¹⁴⁹

By 1983, the new generation of b-boys had taken the Electric Boogie as part of their dance repertoire. From these new b-boys, Jorge ‘Popmaster Fabel’ Pabon has stated that the Locking and Popping dances they saw on TV at the end of the 1970s influenced his generation. On the other hand, Anthony Horne and another 1970s b-boy Imperial JC have pointed out that Robot dancing in the *Soul Train* affected them remarkably, thus admitting that robot-like moves were part of their “Breakdance” as well.¹⁵⁰ However, robot-like dancing was known years prior to 1973. Jazz dance historian Mura Dehn’s *Spirit Moves* documentary shows a Be Bop dancer who moved like a robot in a scene that was filmed at the PS 28 in Brooklyn in the 1950s. In the *Spirit Moves*, there is also a scene from Harlem’s Savoy Ballroom at the beginning of the 1950s, in which a dancer came up and went back on the floor a few times in a row

as if he “was shooting a slingshot” as b-boy Wallace Dee from Kool Herc’s dancers did his move a couple of decades later.¹⁵¹

When considering the aforementioned similarities between authentic jazz dances and Breakdance, including the late 1960s and the 1970s forms of the “Breakdance”, it is very clear that Breakdance has been a continuation of earlier African American dances. Those African American dances can be called ‘jazz dance’ because of their combination of African and European features, and when they are danced to Jazz music and its related musical styles like Funk. Jazz dance is a collective term of the dances that have originated from the transatlantic slave trade and the still ongoing aftermath of the transatlantic slave trade. This collective term emerged starting from the latter half of the 1910s and was established by the end of the 1920s.¹⁵²

The Beginning of the Hip Hop Scene in Finland until 1984

Some Finnish Hip Hop researchers have claimed that Hip Hop came to Finland around 1983 with the help of graffiti and Breakdance, which could be seen in movies like *Flashdance*, *Wild Style*, *Style Wars*, and in a TV documentary on the Rock Steady Crew, all of which included also Rap music, while unspecified sky channels also played a significant role in this process. Among these researchers have been Jani Mikkonen, Nina Tuittu and Anne Isomursu, including a few Finnish graduate students who had completed their master's theses, and Rap musician Karri 'Paleface' Miettinen who did a study of Finnish Hip Hop.¹⁵³ The latest studies, which have discussed the beginning of Hip Hop in Finland, have shown that Rap music was known in Finland even years earlier than 1983. These studies have been, in 2017, Mikko Mattlar's history of Finnish discotheques particularly in Helsinki, Antti-Ville Kärjä's musicological study from 2020, which includes a discussion of the Finnish Rap and how Rap music and Breakdance were perceived in the Finnish music magazines in the 1980s, and the present writer's study from 2021, which discusses the relation between jazz dances and Hip Hop, but includes also a discussion of the beginning of Hip Hop in Finland.¹⁵⁴ Especially, conclusions from these three latest studies are clarified and elaborated on this chapter.

Rap goes way back. As early as in 1975, a music critic for a Finnish music magazine, the *Blues News*, noticed the rap Millie Jackson used in her songs by mentioning her occasional "speaking, i.e., rap parts" that appeared even "in the middle of the songs" in Jackson's "Still Caught Up" album. The critic paid attention to the rap also in 1976 when he reviewed both Millie Jackson's "Free and in Love" and Isaac Hayes' "Groove-A-Thon" albums for the magazine. He lamented that there were not those "excellent rap parts" in Hayes' new album, which Hayes had had in his songs earlier, and Jackson would have needed "more good rap, i.e., spoken parts" for the "Free and in Love".¹⁵⁵ After listening to Millie Jackson's both albums, it becomes clear that she did not say rhymes to the beat of music; she only spoke in a casual manner without any rhythmical accentuation unlike it was done in the later Rap.¹⁵⁶ Therefore, the rap in this context meant only speaking. Jackson and Hayes were not the first known singers with monologues, whom Finns were aware of. Humoristic Finnish singers who sounded as

if they were talking instead of singing were known much earlier starting from the 1960s at the latest ¹⁵⁷.

The roots of Rap can be tracked down to West African lampoons griots (male storytellers / musicians) and griottes (female storytellers / musicians) told and sang.¹⁵⁸ This tradition has continued in various forms of African American entertainment: Muhammed Ali's insulting rhymes in boxing, similar insulting rhymes in the kind of poetry contests called the 'dozens', musician Bo Diddley's "street-talk boasts", "rap"-like rhymes from Swing musicians like Cab Calloway and Slim Gaillard, and especially from the "gospelharmony (sic) tradition"-based group, the Jubalaires, whose members clearly said rhymes in a "rap" fashion in their "Noah" and "The Preacher and The Bear" when the group performed these songs in soundies in the 1940s.

The list of early "rap" examples include also rhymes from comedians like Moke and Poke, and from DJs like Daddy-O Dailey, Douglas 'Jocko' Henderson, and Frankie Crocker, not to forget authentic jazz dancer Pig Meat Markham whose "rap", the "Here Comes the Judge" sketch, was published as a song in 1968, which Mike C. from the Rap group Fearless Four considered "the first rap song" he "ever heard", and James Brown with his half shouted catch phrases, in addition to the ones like H. Rap Brown, Gil Scott-Heron, Last Poets, George Clinton, and the poetic soul singers of the 1970s such as Barry White, and the aforementioned Isaac Hayes and Millie Jackson. Fundamentally, rap was not invented along with the break beats. The 1970s new Rap generation only modernized the earlier "rap" to the form which was defined later in 1983.¹⁵⁹ When it is needed in this article to distinguish the earlier "rap" form from the later Rap, the present writer describes the latter with the phrase 'modernized rap'.

At the late 1970s, with the help of commercially successful Rap records, the focus on the emerging "Hip Hop" moved from DJs and early "break dancers" to MCs (master of ceremonies, mic controllers) who said rhymes to the beat of music. A New York DJ, Gary Byrd, defined this rhyming as "Rhythmical[ly] Accentuated Poetry" in 1983. The MCs' rhyming at that time differed from the early "Hip Hop" MCs like Coke La Rock, who worked with Kool Herc, and Keith 'Cowboy' Wiggins, who worked with Grandmaster Flash. They originally said more short phrases than long rhymes unlike

another MC from Grandmaster Flash's MC group, Melvin 'Melle Mel' Glover, began to do at the end of the 1970s prior to "Hip Hop" moved to the records in 1979. Melle Mel is credited with being the first "Hip Hop" MC who said long Rap rhymes by telling stories about his own personality, which fitted DJ Gary Byrd's definition.¹⁶⁰

The Sugarhill Gang's "Rapper's Delight" was the most successful Rap record when the early "Hip Hop" in the form of the modernized Rap made a commercial breakthrough at the very end of the 1970s. "Rapper's Delight" peaked at number four on *The Billboard* magazine's Hot Soul Singles chart in December 1979, while another successful modernized Rap record at that time, the Fatback Band's "King Tim III", ended up only 26th on the chart.¹⁶¹ Earlier, in October 1979, *The Billboard* reported on the "tremendous excitement" "Rapper's Delight", about one month after its release, had created around the US. The *New York Amsterdam News* argued that "Rapper's Delight" was "[p]robably the fastest selling record in the history of the record industry" because it allegedly had sold more than one million copies in four weeks.¹⁶² "Rapper's Delight" was successful also outside the Americas. According to the *Billboard* Hits Of The World chart, it peaked at number one in European countries like Belgium, Holland, Spain, number two in France, Norway, Sweden, and number three in Britain and West Germany between December 1979 and May 1980.¹⁶³

The song succeeded in the US discotheques as well when it peaked at number 14 on the *Billboard* Disco 100 chart in December 1979. The Finnish Rock magazine *Suosikki*, which published a monthly chart of top 10 Disco songs in England, listed "Rapper's Delight" as number two on the chart in January and number one in February 1980.¹⁶⁴ The success of "Rapper's Delight" on the Disco charts suggests a disco connection of the early modernized Rap. On the other hand, the song was based on a break beat from the disco band Chic's "Good Times" song. The 'Good Times' break was a favorite of early "Hip Hop" DJs. Musicologist Mark Katz has argued that "[m]ost of hip-hop's anti-disco rhetoric came years and even decades after disco peaked", although he has admitted that originally Disco DJs were hostile to early b-boys by denying "break dancing" in discos, whilst some of early "Hip Hop" DJs utilized the word 'disco' in their advertisements.¹⁶⁵ However, the early researchers of Hip Hop like

Steven Hager and David Toop in 1984 brought out the distaste for Disco music, which early “Hip Hop” DJs felt despite their use of breaks from Disco songs.¹⁶⁶

Because “Rapper’s Delight” succeeded in Europe, it seemed natural that it ended up in Finland as well. Mikko Mattlar, who has researched Finnish discotheques and Disco DJs, has claimed that “Rapper’s Delight” introduced “rap music” to Disco DJs in Helsinki, most of whom “had not heard about [Rap] ever before” including their customers. Mattlar in his discotheque study brought out those DJs’ song lists from the late 1970s and the early 1980s. One of the lists suggests that “Rapper’s Delight” was played in the Harald’s discotheque in Helsinki in March 1980. As based on interviews he conducted with the Finnish Disco DJs, “Rapper’s Delight” was played also in other discotheques in Helsinki at the time.¹⁶⁷

The success of “Rapper’s Delight” in the Harald’s discotheque is confirmed by the April 1980 issue of the Finnish *Diskosusi* magazine, which reported on the Finnish Disco scene. It had the Harald’s March 1980 song list Mikko Mattlar depicted in his study. There was also another early modernized Rap song on the song list, “Rhythm Talk”, in which Jocko Henderson said rhymes to the beat of music. “Rhythm Talk” succeeded in the Botta discotheque in Helsinki in April 1980. Furthermore, the *Diskosusi* published monthly charts which listed the ten most popular songs people danced to in Finland. One of the charts was based on the votes from multiple Finnish DJs around the country and another was based on the votes from their customers. Joe Bataan’s modernized Rap song called “Rap-O-Clap-O” was on those charts between April and May 1980.¹⁶⁸ It was popular outside Helsinki likely longer because DJ Tapani Ripatti, a Disco DJ from a Finnish town called Lahti, listed “Rap-O-Clap-O” on his top five Disco songs chart in June 1980.¹⁶⁹ A longevity of Rap in Finnish discotheques outside Helsinki is supported by the fact that, almost one year later in March 1981, a DJ played the Sugarhill Gang’s “Eight Wonder” song in the Kustaa III discotheque in another Finnish town called Tampere.¹⁷⁰

Other successful early modernized Rap records in discotheques in Helsinki were Kurtis Blow’s “The Breaks” and DJ Hollywood’s “Shock, Shock, The House”, both from 1980.¹⁷¹ At least, “Shock, Shock, The House” was released in Finland, but it did not

appear on the chart of the 30 most popular singles in the country, which the *Suosikki* magazine published monthly, unlike “Rapper’s Delight” did by entering the chart at number 28 in March and fell one place to number 29 in April 1980.¹⁷² Similarly successful Rap-related singles on the chart were Joe Bataan’s “Rap-O-Clap-O”, and Blondie’s “Rapture” which partly consisted of Rap. The former was number 27 for one month in July 1980 and the latter was number 30 for one month exactly one year later in July 1981. The fact that the chart was based on the sales of at least 46 record stores in at least 29 towns around the country suggests strongly that ordinary Finnish record buyers bought these songs¹⁷³. The *Suosikki* magazine connected “Rapture” with the Disco phenomenon by describing it as a proper choice for those on the dance floor when “Rapture” entered, in March, and topped, in April 1981, both the US and England (Britain) parts of the magazine’s monthly “Disco Top 20” chart that combined the top 10 Disco songs in those two countries.¹⁷⁴

Ismo Tenkanen, a *Blues News* music critic, but not the one who noticed the rap between 1975 and 1976, reviewed Kurtis Blow’s “The Breaks” album in March 1981. He mentioned the “Rapper’s Delight” song and called it as “juttelufunk” (“chat funk” in English) while he called rhyming as “rapping”. The ‘rapping’ as a term meaning rhyming was used also in the US press at that time. Tenkanen did not like much about Blow’s album, but later he was noticeably more positive about Rap. However, he stated in the review that the members of the Finnish Blues Society association, which was one of the associations the *Blues News* magazine represented, liked the album and especially its title song “The Breaks”. Because the association was located in Helsinki,¹⁷⁵ he lent credibility to the later, memory-based claim of the success of “The Breaks” in discotheques in that area.

Tenkanen in his review did not associate Kurtis Blow with the *Blues News*’ earlier mentions of Millie Jackson / Isaac Hayes’ rap¹⁷⁶, which suggests that he might not have understood the continuum between these rap forms. If so, he was not the only one in Finland who initially did not understand what the modernized Rap music really was about. According to a Finnish Disco DJ, people even wondered whether the word ‘rapper’s’ in “Rapper’s Delight” actually meant ‘raper’s’, while the song was otherwise popular among the audience. Another Disco DJ, who worked in the Monopoli

discotheque in Helsinki, claimed that a consequence of the success of “Rapper’s Delight” was “a new genre”, probably in music playing, although he did not clarify this. It is not also clear whether he meant that the success of the song created the genre only in the Monopoli discotheque or in the discotheques in Helsinki and elsewhere in Finland. Mikko Mattlar, who interviewed the DJ and brought this out in his discotheque study, did not elaborate on this issue.¹⁷⁷

In order to find out whether “Rapper’s Delight”, or any other early Rap record, created a new musical genre in Finland or affected Rap’s popularity in Finland, we have to take a closer look at the following years after 1980 when Rap had already broken through in Finnish discotheques and also among Finnish record buyers. For that purpose, the present writer will look particularly into three Finnish music magazines and their presentation of the Hip Hop phenomenon regarding Rap music and Breakdance. These three magazines are the *Blues News*, *Soundi*, and *Suosikki* between 1981 and 1984. The three magazines are chosen for a closer inspection because, based on Antti-Ville Kärjä’s observations about *Soundi* and *Suosikki*, and on the present writer’s observations about *Blues News*, these magazines, especially *Blues News* and *Suosikki*, discussed Rap and Breakdance in their issues.¹⁷⁸

Unlike *Soundi* and *Suosikki*, which were mainly Rock music-oriented magazines during the observation period, the *Blues News* represented the Afro American music genre including Funk and Rap.¹⁷⁹ In addition to these magazines, occasional mentions of Rap and Breakdance, which can be found from other Finnish music magazines, are included in this discussion as well. The year 1984 is chosen as the end year of this inspection because Kärjä has argued that Breakdance made a breakthrough in Finnish “music and youth magazines” like in *Suosikki* in 1984.¹⁸⁰ This indicates the end of the initial phase of the Finnish Hip Hop phenomenon.

When looking into those magazines after Ismo Tenkanen’s dismissive Kurtis Blow review in March 1981, Rap was discussed only briefly in reviews and articles until 1983. First of these reviews was published at the end of 1981 when Juhani Kansi in the *Soundi* magazine reviewed Tom Tom Club’s self-titled album. Kansi discussed Rap only briefly and superficially regarding lyrics of the band’s “impressive rap-single”

“Wordy Rappinghood”, in which “it is swung with the meaning and meaninglessness of words”.¹⁸¹ In retrospect, two of Tom Tom Club’s songs in the album, the “Wordy Rappinghood” and “Genius of Love”, had Rap-like parts in them, but they sound more like the spoken parts in the earlier rap form. Indeed, Steven Hager in his Hip Hop study called the “Wordy Rappinghood” as “an intellectual rap single”.¹⁸² However, it seems unlikely that Kansi’s brief and ambiguous review led to any real understanding of what Rap music was about.

A much more illuminating Rap review appeared in *Soundi* at the very beginning of 1982 when Mikko Montonen reviewed Grandmaster Flash and The Furious Five’s “The Wheels of Steel” from the Sugarhill Records. Montonen considered it as one of the “brightest singles” from 1981, in addition to Coati Mundi’s “delightful” “Me No Pop I” song, which contained the modernized Rap, although Montonen did not mention the word ‘rap’ in the context of Coati Mundi. However, it was Grandmaster Flash who was the most brisk and best “in furious rap talking”. Flash was also depicted as a skillful DJ who spun “simultaneously two or three turntables”. Montonen referred to the Sugarhill Records’ other releases in general except for the “Disco Dream” song from the group called The Mean Machine which Montonen considered “a relative of Coati Mundi in American Latin Funk”. In retrospect, the “Disco Dream”, in spite of its name, was purely a modernized Rap song with MCs saying rhymes to the beat of music.¹⁸³

The fundamentals of the modernized Rap music were not fully clear to Finnish music critics by the beginning of 1982 when taking into account Ismo Tenkanen’s earlier mention of “Rapper’s Delight” as “chat Funk”, and Mikko Montonen’s claims of the “Disco Dream” song as “American Latin Funk” and Grandmaster Flash as a “rap talker” while in reality it was the Furious Five including five MCs who rapped.¹⁸⁴ Tenkanen and Montonen correctly associated Rap with Funk music, but they did not yet classify Rap music as a distinct music genre. On the other hand, Montonen in his review pointed out that there was “a lot of Rap available”, but probably outside Finland because he stated in another record review that the “Sugarhill’s recordings” were not released in Finland at that time.¹⁸⁵ Ultimately, this should not have been a problem for Rap aficionados, at least in Helsinki, where there was the Diskeri record store, which imported recordings from abroad by request.¹⁸⁶

The *Blues News* magazine explored Rap in its August–September 1982 issue when Ismo Tenkanen wrote briefly about the Sugarhill Gang in an article that introduced Funk bands in a nutshell to the readers of the magazine. Tenkanen explained that the Sugarhill Gang “started the rap craze at the end of 1979 with their single ‘Rapper’s Delight’”, which suggests that he had studied what was Rap since his previous Kurtis Blow review, and this time he portrayed “Rapper’s Delight” as a “funny rap story” instead of “chat Funk”. Therefore, he acknowledged the Sugarhill Gang as part of the Rap phenomenon, which he did not specify because he did not elaborate on it in the article, while he still classified the Sugarhill Gang as part of the Funk music phenomenon and its bands. Furthermore, Tenkanen claimed that “rap fever” had already gone and the popularity of the Sugarhill Gang was in decline at the time of the article without clarifying whether he meant Finland or other countries in this case.¹⁸⁷

Ismo Tenkanen’s claim of a decline in Rap’s popularity was contradicted in the same *Blues News* issue by Jorma Riihikoski who reviewed Grandmaster Flash & Furious Five’s “It’s Nasty” and “Greatest Rap Hits Vol. 2” from the Sugarhill Records.¹⁸⁸ Riihikoski pointed out that “Rap recordings were hard to get via big record importers except for the Sugarhill Gang”. He claimed that the Sugarhill Gang by then was “commercially number one group in rap”, whilst he agreed with Tenkanen about the Sugarhill Gang’s role in starting the Rap craze. He gave credit especially to Grandmaster Flash’s “Wheels of Steel” and the Sugarhill Gang’s “8th Wonder” songs while he considered “It’s Nasty” as “one of the hardest-hitting party recordings of the year”. Riihikoski described how the “king of two turntables” Flash had practiced for two years to use “three turntables simultaneously”, whereas also he mistook Grandmaster Flash as a rapper by stating that in the “Wheels of Steel” Flash threw in “his sharpest rap phrases”. However, he defined “the term rap” appropriately as “rhythmic vocal gymnastics” over strong Funk music. Early MC G.L.O.B.E. described his Rap style, which he allegedly originated in 1978, as an “acrobatic way of saying words”¹⁸⁹, which practically corresponded to Riihikoski’s definition of Rap.

Despite his appropriate comments, much of Jorma Riihikoski’s review consisted of seemingly nonsensical, allegedly humoristic statements, which suggest, in addition to

his “sharpest rap phrases” statement, that the fundamentals of Rap were not totally clear to him either, or he just took Rap as a joke. He suggested to use the reviewed Rap recordings in parties where drunken people tried to express themselves, for example, by growling rhythmically into microphones to the beat of music and over the sounds of those Rap recordings. He assumed that Rap was invented among Black people in New York by “some smart guy” who tried to have better parties and get women by expressing himself emotionally “with the help of a microphone over dance music”, whilst he admitted that “Reggae toasters” might have had something to do with it. Anyway, in Rap, it was all about partying, he claimed.

Jorma Riihikoski’s nonsensical statements could have stemmed from a long Finnish tradition of excessive alcohol drinking,¹⁹⁰ from which he derived booze-fueled fantasies and superimposed them in the name of humor on the alleged images of Rap. But substance abuse was part of Hip Hop as well. Some of Hip Hop activists even died for drugs. Grandmaster Flash told in an interview a few years after Riihikoski’s review that in order to depict Hip Hop correctly in a movie, there had to be “scenes of drug abuse, sex, and violence”, and Flash confirmed that “hip-hop culture involved a lot of partying”, although Hip Hop activists also had to be socially conscious and talk about reality.¹⁹¹ Therefore, Riihikoski’s alcohol and party fantasies about Rap were not totally fictional.

Rap activity was displayed on the music charts in the Finnish music magazines at the time of Ismo Tenkanen and Jorma Riihikoski’s Rap remarks. The *Blues News* republished the “Top American Soul Albums” and “Singles” charts, which were taken from the British *Blues & Soul* magazine. Felix & Jarvis’ “Flamethrower Rap” (at number 53) and Afrika Bambaataa & the Soul Sonic Force’s “Planet Rock” (at number 11) could be found from the (Soul) Singles chart in the August–September 1982 issue of the *Blues News*.¹⁹² Both “Flamethrower Rap” and “Planet Rock” contained the modernized Rap rhyming over the electronical Funk music background.¹⁹³

Between August and October 1982, the *Suosikki* magazine listed “Planet Rock” on its monthly “Disco Top 20” chart. “Planet Rock” peaked at number two in the USA part of the Disco chart in the September issue and at number 10 in the England (Britain) part

of the Disco chart in the October issue. *Suosikki* even recommended the song in its comments on the chart in September, but misidentified it as “space soul” music.¹⁹⁴

“Planet Rock” peaked at number five on the (Soul) Singles chart in the October–November 1982 issue of the *Blues News*. Other Rap songs on that chart were the Sugarhill Gang’s “Lover in You” (number 55) and Grandmaster Flash & The Furious 5’s “The Message” (number nine), although the Sequence’s “I Don’t Need Your Love” (number 61) had some talking parts in the vein of Millie Jackson. The December–January issue at the end of 1982 listed on the (Soul) Singles chart the Pressure Drop’s “Rock The House” (at number 64), which had Rap-like phrases, and Grandmaster Flash & The Furious Five’s “Scorpio” (at number 54) while Grandmaster Flash & The Furious Five’s “The Message” album (number seven) succeeded on the “Top American Soul Albums” chart.¹⁹⁵

Thus, it was possible to spot Rap songs on those charts, particularly, because Jorma Riihikoski believed that the Sugarhill Records had specialized only in Rap, which was not fully true because they released also other recordings while they were responsible for the recordings from Grandmaster Flash and The Furious Five, the Sugarhill Gang, and the Sequence.¹⁹⁶ Therefore, it was likely that Riihikoski and probably also other Finnish music critics associated the Sugarhill Records’ singles and albums with Rap by default.¹⁹⁷ On the other hand, it should have been hard to miss song titles with the word ‘rap’ like the “Flamethrower Rap”.

The success of Grandmaster Flash & The Furious Five’s recordings affected Finnish music critics. Mikko Montonen wrote an article about Grandmaster Flash and his MCs for the *Soundi* magazine in January 1983. He noted that other successful recordings from Flash and his group, which followed “Wheels of Steel”, were “It’s Nasty”, “The Message”, and “Scorpio”. The last two songs had succeeded on the aforementioned charts not long before the article. The article was based on an interview Montonen had conducted with Grandmaster Flash & The Furious Five, particularly with its member Eddie ‘Mr. Ness’ Morris in New Jersey. Montonen implied in the article that Grandmaster Flash & The Furious Five’s “The Message” album was available in Finland unlike their singles which only a couple of record stores had imported to

Finland because Finnish music consumers allegedly did not buy singles.¹⁹⁸ An advertisement for the “The Message” in *Soundi* two issues later confirmed that the album was distributed in Finland.¹⁹⁹

The article pointed out the contradiction between ordinary Rap songs which were “usually happy and full of partying” and “The Message” which was a socially conscious song showing “urgent problems of the concrete jungle...in a similar way to the American activist group Last Poets [had done] ten years ago.” Montonen seemed to criticize the Disco connection implicitly when he suspected that the “controversial content” of “The Message” could have affected its “international success outside Disco charts”: he claimed that the song reached the “Top Twenty” in England and the US Pop music charts. He did not dispute the Disco connection because the roots of Rap could be found to some degree from those Disco DJs who were “more lively and youthful” than other Disco DJs without specifying these DJs, and he claimed that Finnish DJs in discotheques played “The Message”,²⁰⁰ which suggests that Rap still was connected with the Finnish Disco scene.

Mikko Montonen connected correctly the earlier rap form with the modernized Rap by mentioning Millie Jackson who recorded the rap “already at the beginning of the 1970s, but today’s rap was really born in [New York] at the end of the 1970s”. “Toasters of Reggae” also bore some relation to Rap, although he downplayed the alleged connection between Reggae and Rap when he stated that rappers were “passionate and lively” unlike Reggae DJs. Rap was connected with dancing because it was “uptempo [music] with a rambunctious dance beat”. Although Montonen considered Rap as “uncompromised music from ghettos in the vein of Reggae”, Rap music in general was depicted as “rap-funk” and as “a hot street beat with raw funk-rhythm”.²⁰¹ Therefore, Rap still was considered rather as part of the Funk phenomenon than being a distinct music genre.

Grandmaster Flash was depicted as an innovator of Rap music, or even as its creator, when Montonen cited Eddie Morris who explained how they, including Flash, had noticed that Disco music-related DJs outside the Bronx mixed recordings without rhythmic interruptions, while DJs in the Bronx mixed them randomly without caring

about whether people were able to dance to them because of those interruptions in rhythm. Therefore, Flash began to mix those records in a similar way to those DJs in the Disco scene did, and he succeeded in it.²⁰² This associated the beginning of Rap with the Disco scene, but also with dancing. However, Grandmaster Flash has not claimed responsibility for the beginning of Rap music. He has acknowledged Kool Herc as the innovator, but criticized Herc for poor record mixing skills, which was why Flash developed his own mixing technique.²⁰³

Mikko Montonen's article presented the history of Grandmaster Flash & The Furious Five and Rap music in great detail, which had no precedent in the three music magazines, the *Blues News*, *Soundi*, and *Suosikki*, between 1981 and 1983. Furthermore, Montonen claimed that there had been "an influx" of Rap recordings one or two years earlier. If so, there was no sign of the influx in articles and reviews of those three magazines between 1981 and 1982.²⁰⁴ It is possible that Montonen referred to other countries than Finland, where Rap recordings were made and sold since 1979. Arguably, merely between 1979 and 1980 there came out almost 250 Rap recordings.²⁰⁵

Approximately at the same time with Mikko Montonen's article, Ismo Tenkanen in the *Blues News* took a stand on "The Message". While Tenkanen commented on the best songs of the year 1982, he gave recognition to Grandmaster Flash for discussing socially important issues in "The Message" instead of using the previous "clap your hands" type of "rap-lyrics". Despite its alleged lack of musical values, Tenkanen considered "The Message" as a "significant work" which discussed "ghetto life, the social position of Black people", and the rottenness of the society. The Grandmaster Flash & The Furious Five, which represented "rap-funk" to the *Blues News*, as it did to Mikko Montonen, was popular among its readers who voted it as the 20th best Funk act on the list of the 30 best Funk acts in 1982.²⁰⁶

Rap as a phenomenon was in the ascendancy in March 1983 at the latest, according to Leena Lehtinen who in the *Soundi* magazine discussed the British music scene where dance music at the time of her article "was mostly funk, rap, scratch". Although she did not elaborate on this, the scratch probably meant a DJ technique Hip Hop DJs

used because, elsewhere in her article, she referred to Malcolm McLaren's "Do Ya Like Scratchin'?" song which utilized the technique.²⁰⁷ The *Suosikki* magazine two months later in May claimed erroneously that McLaren had invented the scratch technique, whereas Hip Hop DJ Grand Wizard Theodore has usually been acknowledged as its inventor who created it at the end of the 1970s.²⁰⁸ Rap in the form of Grandmaster Flash & The Furious Five was in the ascendancy also in Finland in March 1983 when "The Message" album entered at number 11 on the list of the 20 most popular LPs, which *Soundi* published monthly. "The Message" album peaked at number 10 on the list in April, and remained on it until May. The list was compiled from the sales of albums in six record stores in four Finnish towns: Helsinki, Jyväskylä, Tampere, and Turku.²⁰⁹ From them, the first and the last two were the three most crowded towns in Finland, which suggests that Finns really heard "The Message".²¹⁰

Rap music could be heard also from the radio. Some of early Finnish Rap enthusiasts have recalled having heard and recorded Rap from international radio stations between 1981 and 1982.²¹¹ Heikki Hilamaa and Seppo Varjus have claimed without substantiating their claim that the early US Rap music was heard occasionally on the Finnish radio among Rock music songs. Their claim was repeated later in Finnish academic Hip Hop studies like Elina Westinen's doctoral dissertation and Mira Willman's master's thesis, but Hilamaa and Varjus did not mention DJ Tapani Ripatti, who started a radio DJ career in the Finnish Yleisradio in 1980. Ripatti has argued that he was the first DJ who played Rap music on the Finnish radio.²¹² He played Rap music occasionally in his radio program in the spring of 1983. Probably, the earliest example of Rap music in his radio program is from the very beginning of that year when he played Malcolm McLaren's "Buffalo Gals" and Hurt 'Em Bad & the S.C. Band's "Monday Night Football". Both contained rhyming in the form of the modernized Rap. The present writer, who began to listen to DJ Ripatti's radio program actively in the spring of 1983, became interested in Hip Hop when DJ Ripatti played Grandmaster Flash & The Furious Five's "New York New York" around June.²¹³ Other Hip Hop songs that the present writer remembers having heard from DJ Ripatti's radio program in 1983 were Whodini's "Magic's Wand", Melle Mel & Duke Bootie's "The Message II", Sugarhill Gang's "Kick It Live From 9 to 5", and possibly Run-DMC's "Hard Times".

According to the pictures of recordings, which the Discogs has published on its Internet site, “New York New York” and “Kick It Live From 9 to 5” were republished by the Finnish Polarvox record company in 1983.²¹⁴ However, in 1983, these Polarvox singles did not appear on the chart of ‘the top 30 singles in Finland, which the *Suosikki* magazine published monthly, although “New York New York” entered at number 17 on the chart in September 1983 and remained on it for one month, but it was the version that Sound of Scandinavia released.²¹⁵ Hip Hop on the radio seemed to be more effective than the alleged Polarvox singles because there was also another Finnish radio listener who became interested in Hip Hop with the help of DJ Ripatti’s radio program²¹⁶. Considering the fact that the present writer and another radio listener were not aware of each other in 1983, it seems likely that there were also others whom DJ Ripatti got interested in Hip Hop. Therefore, Elina Westinen and Mira Willman’s claim of that early Hip Hop on the Finnish radio did not really affect “the audience” is not convincing.²¹⁷

Finnish artists who utilized the modernized Rap emerged in 1983 as well. Timo Kojo under his surname Kojo made “Whatugonnado?” with the help of some members of the British Funk / Rock band Light of the World and American drummer / DJ Billy Carson, while Jyrki ‘General Njassa’ Jantunen with the help of Finnish musicians made “I’m Young, Beautiful And Natural”. The former stylistically resembled the Rap productions of the Sugarhill Records, to which was added rock guitar licks, whereas the latter resembled Malcolm McLaren’s “Buffalo Gals”, which was not a coincidence because General Njassa told the *Soundi* magazine in 1983 that he was inspired by the “Buffalo Gals” and “The Message”.²¹⁸

Finnish Hip Hop activists and experts have argued which of the two songs should be declared as the first Finnish Rap record, although both Kojo and General Njassa said rhymes in English. Antti-Ville Kärjä, who looked into the issue from the standpoint of authenticity, has pointed out that General Njassa was known as an “expert and advocate of rap and [Hip Hop] in Finland” unlike Kojo who was an outsider whose Rap song was actually written by Billy Carson, which was offset to some degree by Kojo’s reputation as “a representative of Soul-influenced Rock music in Finland”. Therefore,

those in the know have usually regarded General Njassa as more authentic in Rap than Kojo.²¹⁹

The *Soundi* magazine conducted interviews with Kojo and his musical partners, and with General Njassa, when their Rap songs were released in 1983. A comparison between what was said in those interviews and Kärjä's statements of the authenticity of these two artists reveals discrepancies. First of all, the *Soundi* magazine acknowledged both Kojo and General Njassa as the first Finnish artist with a Rap song when the magazine published their interviews in two separate articles in its June 1983 issue.²²⁰ To claim two different artists for the first Finnish Rap song might have been a mistake which had escaped the editorial eye, but it shows that the *Soundi* editors who wrote those two articles seriously considered both Kojo and General Njassa's songs as the Finnish Rap music. This is supported by their record reviews in the same issue of *Soundi*, in which especially Kojo and Billy Carson were lauded for Rap while Finnish musicians in "I'm Young, Beautiful And Natural" worked like their colleagues abroad.²²¹

Although General Njassa was described in the article, which included his interview, as "the first Finnish rap-man" who was inspired by "the New York-born rap and scratch style", his background was in Punk Rock and Rock music. He claimed to have developed his "rap-thing" as a joke that answered to those who blamed him for snobbism. He was not interested in Black Disco music which he did not want to listen at all, whilst "The Message" got him to realize that Rap was about the street life.²²² Despite his Disco comment resembles the criticism of Disco music the early Hip Hop activists in New York and Mikko Montonen in his Grandmaster Flash & The Furious Five interview a few months earlier had brought out, General Njassa discussed mostly Rock music and the Rock bands he had listened for a couple of years. While it can be argued that Malcolm McLaren, who influenced him, came also from Punk Rock via Sex Pistols McLaren had managed, and Hip Hop DJ Afrika Bambaataa took ideas from "white punk and new wave music" – whether General Njassa knew this in 1983 or not – Njassa's brief comments on Rap and his dismissive remark on his own Rap song as a joke question how genuine and serious his interest in Rap really was at the time of his interview.²²³

General Njassa was a newcomer to Rap at the time of his record as was Kojo who was able to learn to rap in a few days after Billy Carson had played Rap songs and written rhymes on a piece of paper for him. According to Carson's statements in 1983, Kojo was genuinely interested in Soul and Funk music and eager to learn Rap,²²⁴ so he was seemingly interested in African American music styles. Thus, the two newcomers, General Njassa and Kojo, were interested in Rap to some degree at the time of their Rap recordings in 1983, but General Njassa promoted Rap in Finland later unlike Kojo who disappeared from the Finnish Rap scene. General Njassa's longevity in Rap made him more authentic than Kojo in the eyes of Finnish Rap critics as Antti-Ville Kärjä has noted.²²⁵ On the other hand, General Njassa in his 1983 interview dismissed Kojo as "a clown" who did Rap too seriously,²²⁶ which may have facilitated the later criticism of Kojo, but also acknowledged him as a real rapper.

Ismo Tenkanen in three *Blues News* articles between April and September 1983 discussed popular African American dance music, which also included Rap. In the first of those articles, he argued that the US Disco charts at the time were full of old Disco hits from Europe, American Pop music, and "mechanical Disco" from white musicians unlike the Disco charts in England where African American Disco music was appreciated. One of the songs that had succeeded on the US Disco charts was Afrika Bambaataa & The Soul Sonic Force's "Planet Rock", which was based on a mixture of two songs from Kraftwerk, a white "German synthesizer band", although Tenkanen did not mention the background of Kraftwerk. While "Planet Rock" was based on music from white people, the idea of using Kraftwerk's songs came from people of African descent, which could be concluded from pictures he added to the article. He also described Afrika Bambaataa with the terms like "street-DJ", "rap-man", "Zulu-man", and "a former Black Panther", which referred to Bambaataa's "blackness". However, Tenkanen did not discuss the dichotomy of the white and Black features in the song despite his criticism of the "whiteness" of the US Disco charts.²²⁷

Tenkanen continued the discussion of the "Black Dance" music of 1983 in his second article. He mentioned briefly Whodini's "Magic's Wand" as "an honor to a radio DJ Mr. Magic", which had reached the US Soul charts and included rapping about the Rap phenomenon. Those who took notice of Tenkanen's comment and listened to the lyrics

of the song could find a bit of the history of Rap when MCs in the “Magic’s Wand” told about the places where Rap was performed, techniques of Rap (“MCs rapping to the beat”), and those who were active in Rap at the time of the song was made in 1982 like “Sugarhill, Kurtis Blow”, and “Grandmaster Flash”. Tenkanen reviewed also another song that he mentioned to include a Rap part: Indeeep’s “Last Night a DJ Saved My Life”.²²⁸ The song succeeded on the Suosikki magazine’s monthly chart of the 30 most popular singles in Finland between June and September 1983 peaking at number eight for two months.²²⁹

In his third article, Tenkanen concentrated on the “electrofunk” (known also as “future funk”, “space funk”, et cetera) phenomenon which had allegedly become the “street funky” music for ordinary African American people in New York. He explained how DJs in “the streets and parks of New York” mixed and scratched records, and also rapped over the sounds of the records, which essentially depicted in a nutshell what were a Hip Hop DJ and Hip Hop MC(s), although he did not use the terms ‘hip hop’ and ‘mc’. As an example of those DJs, he brought out Grandmaster Flash and Afrika Bambaataa,²³⁰ who fitted the description otherwise, but at least Grandmaster Flash was only a DJ as stated previously.

Tenkanen pointed out that the Electrofunk sound stemmed from synthesizers and other “electrical devices”, which had allegedly superseded previous musical instruments to a great extent because records could be produced cheaper with these electrical instruments than by using musicians, for example, in the horn and strings sections. He argued that the Electrofunk was not really a new phenomenon because it was based on the previous music styles and ideas like “technorock”, which Kraftwerk represented, and the “synthetic” Disco music from the end of the 1970s, which suggested that Electrofunk came partly from white people. Tenkanen might have referred to this when he stated that Electrofunk was more about “electro” than Funk music. In this context, Tenkanen reviewed two Electrofunk-based albums, from which one included both the “Planet Rock” and another Afrika Bambaataa & The Soul Sonic Force song “Looking for the Perfect Beat”. He acknowledged misleadingly Afrika Bambaataa as a “Rap-man” who talked in his songs when it was in fact his MCs who mainly rapped in those songs. Otherwise, he did not refer to Rap music, although the

second album he reviewed, Jonzun Crew's "Lost in Space", had the "Space Cowboy" song that included Rap.²³¹

As an evidence of the success of the Electrofunk phenomenon in Finland were Herbie Hancock's "Rockit" and Freez's "I.O.U." songs. The "Rockit", which included a DJ who scratched, was number 19 on the aforementioned chart of the 30 most popular singles in Finland in October 1983, while Freez's "I.O.U." survived on the chart for four months between September and December in 1983, but there was no Rap or scratching in it.²³² Furthermore, the present writer recalls having heard "Looking for the Perfect Beat" from the Finnish radio (probably from DJ Tapani Ripatti's radio program) sometime between the late 1983 and the early 1984.

At the end of 1983, Ismo Tenkanen returned to Rap in a *Blues News* article that discussed the lyrics in Gary Byrd and the G. B. Experience's "The Crown". Tenkanen considered the song as a positive successor to Grandmaster Flash and The Furious Five's classic "The Message" which numerous artists had copied because of its commercial success. But now Gary Byrd continued the hard lyrical content of "The Message" by sending a message "from Black people to Black people" as Tenkanen argued. He admitted that the "Black Muslim" movement-related lyrics in the song "probably did not advance mutual understanding between the races", but it was important for "Black music" to present the message that emphasized "the self-esteem of Black race and their sense of togetherness". Tenkanen's detailed lyrical analysis was exceptionally deep compared to earlier Rap articles in the Finnish music magazines. Furthermore, the article introduced to the Finnish readers the previously mentioned Gary Byrd's definition of Rap as "Rhythmical[ly] Accentuated Poetry", which should have made it finally clear to those who did not know yet what was Rap. According to Tenkanen, "The Crown" had succeeded on the Finnish radio and discotheques.²³³ The present writer remembers having heard the song from the Finnish Yleisradio in the fall of 1983, but not from Tapani Ripatti's radio program.

It can be argued that the first Finnish MCs, the increased Rap coverage in the Finnish music magazines, and Rap on the Finnish radio in 1983 were a culmination of the Rap phenomenon in Finland since Rap made a breakthrough in Finnish discotheques and

among Finnish record buyers in 1980. Against this backdrop, it is possible that the Finnish Breakdance began in 1983 as Nina Tuittu and Anne Isomursu in their Finnish Breakdance study, and Hiski Hämäläinen and Dimitri Lisitsyn in their *Suomibreikkiä 1983–2013* documentary have claimed. Tuittu and Isomursu conducted interviews with original Finnish break dancers who saw, in particular, *Flashdance* and a Rock Steady Crew documentary in 1983. At least one of them began to practice the moves he had seen in the *Flashdance* movie and the Rock Steady Crew documentary.²³⁴ Similarly, in Hämäläinen and Lisitsyn's documentary, some of the original Finnish break dancers claimed the year 1983 as the beginning.²³⁵

The *Flashdance* movie premiered in Finland in August 1983,²³⁶ whereas the Rock Steady Crew documentary was shown on Finnish TV in September 1983. Markku Fagerholm, who depicted the Rock Steady Crew documentary in an article which was published in the mainstream newspaper *Helsingin Sanomat*, referred to the scene of *Flashdance*, in which “a bunch of young Negros spun wildly in the middle of Harlem streets.” He claimed misleadingly that “Breaking” was born only “a few years ago”, while he got right its birthplace New York. Otherwise, Fagerholm described Breakdance in detail as a mixture of “acrobatics, pantomime, dance” with back and head spins, and “electronic music”, which meant “rap, boogie, and funk”. “Breaking” was allegedly successful in discotheques outside Finland, which supports the idea of the connection between Breakdance and discotheques still continued. He stated that the documentary depicted the Rock Steady Crew in its everyday routines like rehearsals and performances.²³⁷ Considering especially the Rock Steady Crew's role in the documentary, it was possible that the documentary and also the article helped to understand what was Breakdance.

Furthermore, Karri ‘Paleface’ Miettinen has claimed that Charlie Ahern's *Wild Style*, which allegedly could be seen at the movie theaters in Helsinki in 1983, was mainly responsible for the Finnish Breakdance craze, but he did mention the source(s) he got his claim from. It is sure that the *Wild Style*, and also *Flashdance*, was available as a video in Finland in 1984.²³⁸ The Rock Steady Crew breakdanced both in *Flashdance* and in *Wild Style*, so those who were interested in Breakdance could find information

about it from those movies and videos.²³⁹ Finnish Breakdance enthusiasts used particularly the *Wild Style* video to learn to break dance.²⁴⁰

It is very clear that Breakdance was known in Finland in 1984 at the latest when, as Antti-Ville Kärjä has argued, Breakdance was covered in Finnish music magazines, especially in the *Suosikki* magazine, which published several articles that referred to Breakdance, but the beginning of Breakdance in Finland in 1983 is not so clear. In February 1984, *Suosikki* discussed briefly the Rock Steady Crew and lamented that the “new lethal breaking-dance” from the streets was known around the globe while there were absolutely no “robot-like dancing acrobats” in Finland where the dance was not even taught yet. However, the music of the Rock Steady Crew was popular on the England charts *Suosikki* published in December 1983, and also among Finnish music consumers because their single “Hey You” was on the chart of the 30 most popular singles in Finland in January 1984.²⁴¹ Thus, in Finland, there was an interest in the Rock Steady Crew at that time.

In April, Pena Teräväinen in the *OK* magazine noted that Breakdance succeeded in English discotheques and predicted that Breakdance was going to be in Finland in summer.²⁴² In May, *Suosikki* reported on Breakdance as a sensation that was captivating dancers around the world, which was allegedly more popular than basketball. It claimed that Breakdance was familiar to Finns from TV and videos, but Breakdance was not popular in Finland yet because the magazine asked from its readers whether Breakdance could be seen “already tomorrow on the sidewalks?!”. At the same time, a reporter in *Helsingin Sanomat* pointed to the lack of break dancers by stating that time will tell “whether the freestyle street dancing fever infects also the Finnish youth” when the reporter wrote about a Swedish Breakdance group, “Up Side[n] Down”, which performed to a large number of onlookers near the Old Student House. The group had danced a few days earlier at the department store called Pukeva in Helsinki.²⁴³

In the summer of 1984, things seemed to change quickly as to the popularity of Breakdance. On July 21, an article in *Helsingin Sanomat* told that Breakdance was coming to Finland in a powerful way with the help of Breakdance movies and music,

and even an instruction video of Breakdance was going to be released. The article stated that *Flashdance* had already shown to Finns what was break dancing and one of the new movies, *Breakdance*, had been in Finland for a few weeks prior to the article, while *Beat Street* was going to premier later in the summer. Several Breakdance music compilations, including the album of “the most known” Breakdance crew, the Rock Steady Crew, were also available and more Breakdance compilations were coming.²⁴⁴ In Helsinki, the premiere of *Breakdance* was on June 29 and the premiere of *Beat Street* was on August 10. Finnish break dancers from that time have recalled that both movies affected them.²⁴⁵

The *Helsingin Sanomat* article assumed that dance schools were going to notice Breakdance soon.²⁴⁶ It might not have been a coincidence that the very next day after the article was published, a dance studio in Helsinki, Helsingin tanssiopisto, advertised Breakdance as part of its dance repertoire.²⁴⁷ In July, a contest for the Finnish Breakdance championship was advertised in the *OK* magazine that had allegedly 650,000 potential readers in March 1984.²⁴⁸ If the number of readers was true, the advertisement should have been noticed in Finland, which would lend credibility to the contest that it was about a real Finnish championship. The semifinals of the Finnish Breakdance championship were going to be organized “on the last two weekends in July”,²⁴⁹ which was around the time when the Breakdance article in *Helsingin Sanomat* and the advertisement for Breakdance teaching at Helsingin tanssiopisto were published. The finals of the contest took place at the Linnanmäki amusement park in Helsinki on August 24, 1984. Fifteen-year-old Mika Nordman was chosen unanimously as the winner. Only one of the fourteen contestants was mentioned to be outside the Helsinki metropolitan area.²⁵⁰

Because these events were announced almost simultaneously in the Finnish press, it is obvious that a Breakdance scene had been bubbling under the radar in Finland, and in Helsinki in particular. The contestants who participated in the Finnish Breakdance championship at Linnanmäki in August had practiced Breakdance only for a few months, even the champion Mika Nordman merely for three months.²⁵¹ Whereas Nordman was not really a newcomer because he had won a Breakdance contest earlier, probably in July,²⁵² the fact that the contestants did not practice longer than

three months suggests that the Breakdance scene in Finland had started to emerge sometime in the latter half of May, which was three months prior to the end of August. However, all of the dancers who participated in this early “Breakdance” scene were not necessarily competent in Breakdance. American Charles Salter, who was advertised to start teaching Breakdance to Finnish dancers at the Helsingin tanssiopisto at the very end of July 1984, and also some of his students have recalled that Salter had to teach practically everything to his students who had only a vague idea of Breakdance when they went to his dance classes for the first time.²⁵³

The finals of the “Mastermover-84” dance contest, which included “Break [dance]”, and a semifinal of the Finnish Freestyle dancing championship, which also chose the best “Break-dancer”, were announced to be held in Helsinki in August. These contests had different organizers, prizes, and they took place in different places on different days than did the aforementioned Finnish Breakdance championship at Linnanmäki. Aira Samulin was the organizer in the “Mastermover-84” while Suomen Breaktanssiliitto (Jukka Kuusanmäki and Jouko Vuolle), which was founded in July, took care of the Finnish Breakdance championship. The prize in the latter was a trip to New York while, in the “Mastermover-84” contest, one of the prizes was a trip to London. The finals of the “Mastermover-84” contest took place in a sports hall called Jäähalli on August 25, which was one day later than the Finnish Breakdance championship contest at Linnanmäki.²⁵⁴ It seems that the Breakdance part in the “Mastermover-84” dance contest was upgraded to a Finnish Breakdance championship because *Helsingin Sanomat* in August reported on it as a Finnish Breakdance championship.²⁵⁵ Therefore, there might have been two Finnish Breakdance championship contests in 1984.

According to the advertisement, 25 semifinalists around Finland should have been in the finals of the “Mastermover-84”.²⁵⁶ This could indicate that Breakdance had become popular then. However, some of those who have represented Finnish break dancing have argued that Aira Samulin who organized the Mastermover contest and later similar “Breakdance”-related contests in Finland was not really for the Breakdance culture. They have stated that the real Finnish Breakdance championship

contests were organized years later when Aira Samulin and her affiliates, who allegedly had no idea of real break dancing, were not involved in the championships.²⁵⁷

Despite the later criticism, Aira Samulin with her dance studio organized “free practice sessions for 100 Breakdance enthusiasts” twice a week starting at the end of August 1984. According to the headline of the advertisements, this was for “improving Breakdance culture”, but the real purpose seemed to be to get break dancers for various advertisements, films, and performances as it was actually stated in the advertisements in August.²⁵⁸ Nina Tuittu and Anne Isomursu have claimed that the *Flashdance* and *Breakdance* movies were the reason why Aira Samulin with the help of her dance school began to teach Breakdance.²⁵⁹

In September 1984, Samulin organized a similar contest, which included Break performances, in front of the department store Pukeva in the middle of Helsinki. Finnish break dancers have remembered watching Samulin’s events in that place.²⁶⁰ Also Finnish Breakdance champion Mika Nordman with the “Nike’s Taxy Breakdance-crew” performed there, but inside the Pukeva, and a crew called “Synchronized Bodies” performed outside the Pukeva.²⁶¹ Other significant places for break dancing in Helsinki at the time were Citykäytävä in the city center and Bygga at Paasivuorenkatu 5. The former was a large open area in the middle of the building and the latter was practically a discotheque. The Bygga was advertised as the only “Break Dans (sic)” place in Helsinki in August 1984, which was connected with Breakdance contests because one of its advertisements mentioned it as a registration place for a “Break dans (sic)” qualifying contest.²⁶²

In the fall of 1984, the popularity of Breakdance and its music was clearly visible. The charts of *Suosikki*, which listed the 30 most popular singles and LPs in Finland in August, had “breakdance”-named artists, songs, and albums like Break Machine, Break Dance Party, and Breakdancing, in addition to the “breakdance”-related songs and albums on the USA and England charts at the time.²⁶³ Juho Juntunen, a music critic of *Suosikki*, summarized the popularity of Breakdance in Finland in October by stating that “all were learning to break dance and [broke] their necks” while the shelves of the Finnish stores were full of “various scratch, rap, and break recordings”. The

number of available Breakdance recordings was so big that he could not even recommend any specific Breakdance record.²⁶⁴ The dance studio, Helsingin tanssiopisto, advertised new Breakdance classes in November because of the “big demand” they had faced. The studio had four Breakdance teachers at the end of 1984.²⁶⁵ Those who participated in the Breakdance classes have remembered that there were extra students in the classes for some time, who only listened to the Breakdance lessons because the classes were sold out.²⁶⁶

But the recordings on the charts were not always real Rap records. Break Machine was a “singing breakdance group from New York”. Their songs, “Break Dance Party” and “Street Dance”, were on the chart of the 30 most popular singles in Finland in August, but there was no Rap in the songs.²⁶⁷ Ismo Tenkanen in the August–September 1984 issue of *Blues News* reviewed “Break Dancing” compilation, which was on the chart of the 30 most popular LPs in Finland in August. He noted that ordinary Funk and Electro songs, and even “disco pop” music were renamed as “break dance-music”,²⁶⁸ which arguably applied to the compilation, although it had also real Rap songs like G.L.O.B.E. & Whiz Kid’s “Play That Beat Mr. D.J.” and World’s Famous Supreme Team’s “Hey Mr. DJ”. Tenkanen considered the term “Break Dance-music” overall as an “artificial creation” because “street dancers” had already danced to “street funk, electro and disco funk”.²⁶⁹ One of Charles Salter’s students told in an interview that Salter played Prince’s music in his dance classes in Helsinki. As to Breakdance at that time, original b-boy Anthony ‘Cholly Rock’ Horne has criticized “electro techno” music, which was used in the *Beat Street* movie. His generation did not use that type of music in the past when they “break danced”.²⁷⁰

On the Finnish radio in 1984, DJ Tapani Ripatti with DJ Hannu Kinnunen continued in a new radio program called Ocsid (the word ‘disco’ spelled backwards). The present writer recalls having heard real Rap and Hip Hop songs from that program. One of them was the aforementioned “Play That Beat Mr. D. J.”. Others were, for example, Kurtis Blow’s “Under Fire” and “8 Million Stories”.²⁷¹ The present writer also remembers vividly how DJ Ripatti announced in the Ocsid radio program in August 1984 that Breakdance had finally arrived in Finland while he played Chuck Chill Out’s

“Hip Hop on Wax – Volume 1”, which used DJ-techniques like scratching and had a breakbeat kind of feeling in it.²⁷²

At the beginning of 1984, the US-based correspondent Nina Easton in the *Suosikki* magazine had defined the term ‘hip hop’ as a sound which DJ Grandmixer D.ST had created to add “more action to the disco nights”. The sound allegedly originated from an accident when the record was spun backwards in preparation for playing it after the record in progress. The back spinning motion created a “squealing, scratching sound” that could be heard if the DJ had forgotten to close the output channel when the DJ spun the record backwards. Allegedly, this sound was disseminated with the help of Herbie Hancock’s “Rockit”, in which Grandmixer D.ST DJed.²⁷³ In September 1984, Easton told the readers of *Suosikki* that “Hip-Hop culture” had been around in “the [B]lack Bronx, New York” even for four years, from where it “spread around the world” with the help of *Flashdance* and the Rock Steady Crew, and of Michael Jackson’s “Moonwalk steps”. She stated that Hip Hop was not only about Breakdance or Rap music as Europeans seemed to think. In fact, it was a way of life, which included also “art, literature and clothing”. She referred also to graffiti when she noted that buildings in New York were decorated with “sparkling Hip-Hop paintings” and mentioned “Hip-Hop Graffiti products”. The most important “Hip Hop luminary” at the time was arguably “Hip Hop singer Afrika Bambaataa”.²⁷⁴ The term ‘hip hop’ was used also in the *OK* magazine in July 1984 when it meant Breakdance, “Rap-music”, and graffiti.²⁷⁵

The *Suosikki* magazine published an article in September 1984 and a cartoon in October 1984, whose depictions of Breakdance were controversial, as Antti-Ville Kärjä has argued.²⁷⁶ The cartoon suggested that Breakdance was originated from criminal activities when it, for example, depicted a scene in which a young boy with a gun threatened an older woman who beat the youngster, which led him accidentally to do a cartwheel, and another scene, in which a youngster did a similar accidental cartwheel when he was kicked out from a group home for young boys because he “had not killed at least 8 people and skinned them” as it was stated in a speech bubble. Because all the characters in these scenes were dark-skinned, the scenes referred to people of African descent as criminals. On the other hand, there was also a scene, in which a drunken man was depicted to vomit after he had done somersaults, on which one of

the cartoon characters commented that he was “break dancing”.²⁷⁷ Kärjä has suggested that the latter connected Breakdance with a Finnish tradition of excessive alcohol drinking. The cartoon series in *Suosikki*, which the cartoon belonged to, was specialized to humorize various people and events, so its allegedly humorous depiction of Breakdance stemmed from that backdrop to some degree,²⁷⁸ but otherwise its characterizations were seemingly racist.

Dallas Sedvall who wrote the Breakdance article in *Suosikki* in September 1984 argued in the article that Breakdance was originally based on an idea of boosting and celebrating the self-esteem of Black people, and “it belonged to Black artists”, whilst white people just cashed in on the Breakdance phenomenon. Sedvall made unsubstantiated claims like clinics were full of patients with neck injuries caused by break dancing, Breakdance was originally used for rehearsals for gang fights, and “white Breakdance businessmen” with their affiliates paid Black people to say that Breakdance had reduced juvenile delinquency in slum areas because the businessmen wanted to sell more “break records” and movies to the white general public. Sedvall met an alleged Breakdance “expert” in the Bronx, who confirmed the ideas of the supremacy of Black people in Breakdance and Breakdance’s role in the rehearsals for fights.²⁷⁹

Antti-Ville Kärjä has suggested that the article partly stemmed from sensationalism *Suosikki* was arguably known about while it also was related to “a discussion of authenticity” regarding what was real Breakdance because Sedvall claimed that the *Breakdance* movie gave a misleading picture of real Breakdance which had allegedly died in the Bronx.²⁸⁰ The big headlines in Sedvall’s article told that “Breakdance [was] Contempt for white people!”, which supports the idea of sensationalism, but *Suosikki* asked its readers’ opinions of the *Breakdance* movie in a brief paragraph that was attached to the article.²⁸¹ The latter shows that the article was also meant to get the readers to involve in the discussion; the provocative headlines could have been made for provoking answers from the readers.

Suosikki in its next issue claimed that feedback to the article was huge, although the article that discussed the feedback was short. According to the magazine, dozens of

the readers had stated in their letters that “Breakdance belong[ed] to Black people” and many of the readers would have wanted “a Black girl” in a leading role instead of a white girl whilst in one letter it was told that “break” belonged to all. Some of the readers considered white people’s interest in Breakdance as a symbol of “friendship and the peace movement”, which might have referred to the equality between races because another reader acknowledged the friendship between “a white girl and two Negro boys”, which was depicted in the movie, as a symbol of peace.²⁸²

The idea of the self-esteem of African Americans in Hip Hop was supported by opinions from Hip Hop enthusiasts in the US years later, which Michael Jeffries has discussed in his Hip Hop study. Those opinions suggest that African American Hip Hop enthusiasts have considered Hip Hop as an African American creation, in which African Americans have been the key actors, while white Hip Hop enthusiasts have usually admitted that Hip Hop was originally an African American creation, but later the meaning of race in Hip Hop was rendered obsolete.²⁸³ The latter resembles the opinions of the Finnish enthusiasts in 1984.

At the end of 1984, the *Suosikki* magazine in its article discussed “rap culture” which included graffiti, “rap music”, and breaking. The article was based on Steven Hager’s *Hip Hop* study, which was originally published in 1984. The article claimed that gang fights had decreased remarkably in the Bronx since 1976, especially, because of the Zulus gang that rather played music and danced than fought with others. Thus, this contradicted Dallas Sedvall’s claim of Breakdance as the kind of rehearsals for gang fights, although, as the article stated, sometimes fists were needed to decide the winner in a Breakdance contest. Kool Herc was presented as a DJ who played “hard funky” music in the style of Rap while other DJs played Disco music until these DJs began to copy Herc. Afrika Bambaataa was oddly presented as the inventor of “Rap music”, who began to speak with the “Rap voice” to the beat of music in February 1982 when he DJed in a party in the Bronx. Grandmaster Flash was brought out as one of the three DJs in the Bronx, in addition to Herc and Bambaataa, who “mastered b-beat[s]”.²⁸⁴ All of these claims can be found from Steven Hager’s *Hip Hop* study, but the claim of Afrika Bambaataa’s role in Rap as its inventor, for which there is no evidence.²⁸⁵

By depicting Kool Herc as the DJ who played “hard funk” instead of Disco, the article distinguished the Rap music phenomenon from the Disco phenomenon. The difference between Rap and Disco was pointed out also when the article explained that Rap in the form of “rap funk” superseded the Disco phenomenon, and when Breakdance (Breaking) was associated with “hard funk” music, which came from Black dancers, although previously Disco-oriented Puerto Ricans continued Breakdance.²⁸⁶ *Suosikki* had stated already in its May 1984 issue that Breakdance “was born in the slum areas as an alternative culture to the commercial disco” phenomenon, and, as mentioned before, Mikko Montonen and General Njassa had criticized Disco earlier in the *Soundi* magazine articles in 1983, but otherwise the connection between Disco and the “rap culture” (Hip Hop) was not seriously challenged until this late 1984 article.²⁸⁷

On the other hand, it could be argued that multiple mentions of Rap and Breakdance being from the streets in the present writer’s article, at the very least, implicitly underline the difference between discotheques and the street aspect of Hip Hop. However, the *Suosikki* magazine connected these aspects when it, in August 1984, presented Breakdance and Electric Boogie clothes in an article. The magazine clearly stated that “you can run straight to a discotheque” with those street clothes because discotheques at the time allegedly accepted the relaxed clothing.²⁸⁸

Therefore, Hip Hop, which was known in the form of Rap in Finnish discotheques starting from the beginning of 1980, was connected to the Disco phenomenon until 1984 when the connection between these two phenomena began to be seriously questioned in *Suosikki*.²⁸⁹ Otherwise Rap songs, in which it was said rhymes to the beat of music, were mainly connected with Funk music between 1980 and 1984. Rap songs were popular also outside discotheques because they had ended up on the Finnish charts since 1980. The year 1983 was the kind of culmination in the success of Rap in Finland because of the first Finnish Rap MCs, the increased Rap discussion in the Finnish music magazines, especially in *Blues News* and *Soundi*, and Rap on the Finnish radio.

Breakdance, particularly in *Flashdance* and the Rock Steady Crew documentary, was noticed by Finnish Hip Hop enthusiasts already in 1983, but starting from the summer of 1984, the popularity of Breakdance increased remarkably when concluded from the Finnish press, especially from the *Suosikki* magazine and the Finnish mainstream newspaper, *Helsingin Sanomat*, which covered the Breakdance phenomenon in Finland. The movies *Breakdance* and *Beat Street*, and the video, *Wild Style*, in particular, affected the future break dancers. Also Finnish dance schools noticed Breakdance in the summer of 1984 and there emerged Breakdance classes and contests including a Finnish Breakdance championship, or two of them.

Suosikki in the late 1984 article stated that Breakdance was danced as far as in Sodankylä that was located in northern Finland, whilst Helsinki was located in southern Finland. Interviews with early Finnish break dancers suggest that Breakdance was danced also, at the very least, in Jyväskylä, Riihimäki, Rovaniemi, and Turku by the end of 1984.²⁹⁰ Practically, Breakdance was danced around Finland then. Overall, Rap music and Breakdance were part of the Finnish cultural environment when a new year 1985 began.

Appendix: Some of Kool Herc's Places of Hip Hop in the Bronx

All pictures by Harri Heinilä (2019).



1520 Sedgwick Ave. The birthplace of Hip Hop?



One of Kool Herc's first places of Hip Hop, the Twi-Lite Zone Disco, was located at 2019 Jerome Ave, according to Coke La Rock, Herc's DJ / MC partner at the time.



But a flyer says that the Twi-Lite Zone Disco was located at 2003 Jerome Ave.



The Webster P.A.L. (the Police Athletic League) building was located at 2255 Webster Ave. Kool Herc was one of the many Hip Hop DJs who played there.

Endnotes

- ¹ Jennifer Fermino. "Blaz's 'Hip Hop' Block Party", *Daily News*, February 26, 2016.
- ² The use of the term 'Hip Hop' and the formation of Hip Hop culture is discussed in Heinilä 2021, chapter 'Breikeistä rappiin: hip hop -kulttuurin muotoutuminen'. See also Hager 2013, chapter 'Chapter 3: Herculords at the Hevalo'.
- ³ Harri Heinilä, *Hip hop ja jazztanssi: Afrikkalaisamerikkalaisen tanssin jatkumo*. Helsinki: Musiikkiarkisto, 2021, p. 103.
- ⁴ Heinilä 2021.
- ⁵ Ibid., p. 11.
- ⁶ David Toop. *Rap Attack 3: African Rap to Global Hip Hop*. London: Serpents Tail, 2000, pp. 18–19, 39, 60. Steven Hager. *Hip Hop: The Illustrated History of Break Dancing, Rap Music, and Graffiti*. New York: St. Martins Press, 2013 (originally published in 1984). The Kindle Edition, chapter 'Chapter 3: Herculords at the Hevalo'. Joseph C. Ewoodzie Jr.. *Break Beats in the Bronx: Rediscovering Hip-Hop's Early Years*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2017, pp. 17–18, 40. Bill Brewster and Frank Broughton. *Last Night a DJ Saved My Life: The History of the Disc Jockey*. New York, NY: Grove Press, 2006. The Kindle edition, chapter 'Kool Herc'. Jim Fricke and Charlie Ahearn. *Yes Yes Y'All: The Experience Music Project – Oral History of Hip-Hop's First Decade*. Oxford, UK: The Perseus Press, 2002, p. 25. Mark Katz. *Groove Music: The Art and Culture of the Hip-Hop DJ*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, Inc. 2012. The Kindle edition, chapters 'BORN IN THE BRONX' and 'The Jamaican Sound System'.
- ⁷ mrdaveyd. "Davey D Interviews the Father of Hip Hop Kool Herc pt1 (Breakdown FM)", YouTube Video, 51:20, January 23, 2012, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AJkojOSppUE> . Accessed May 24, 2023. Seba Kwesi Damani Agyekum. "A History of Hip Hop in Perspective." https://www.academia.edu/12545353/A_History_of_Hip_Hop_in_Perspective, p. 8. Accessed May 9, 2020.
- ⁸ See footnote 6. Toop 2000, p. 69. Hager 2013, chapter 'Chapter 4: A New Rap Language'.
- ⁹ Ewoodzie Jr. 2017, pp. 17, 40–41 and 74. Hager 2013, chapter 'Chapter 3: Herculords at the Hevalo'.
- ¹⁰ Richard Shusterman. "Challenging Conventions in the Fine Art of Rap", in Murray Forman and Mark Anthony Neal, editors. *That's the Joint!: The Hip-Hop Studies Reader*. New York: Routledge, 2004, pp. 460–461. Toop 2000, p. 60. Serouj Aprahamian, "GOING OFF! THE UNTOLD STORY OF BREAKING'S BIRTH", doctoral dissertation. Toronto, Ontario: York University, April 2021, p. 96.
- ¹¹ This paragraph and the next paragraph until the words "a continuous percussive rhythmic expression." are based on sources as follows. See Hager 2013, chapters 'Herculords at the Hevalo' and 'A New Rap Language'. Ewoodzie Jr. 2017, pp. 38–41 and 75. Tim Lawrence. "Disco Madness: Walter Gibbons and the Legacy of Turntablism and Remixology." *Journal of Popular Music Studies*, Volume 20, Issue 3, 2008, pp. 280–284. The term 'Disco DJ' in the form of "disco DJs" and "disco type of DJs" was mentioned in Toop 2000, pp. 69–71. Original b-boy Anthony G. Horne, who was known in the 1970s by name Cholly Rock, has stressed differences between the DJs by using the terms 'Disco DJ' and 'Hip Hop DJ'. See Seba Kwesi Damani Agyekum. "A History of Hip Hop in Perspective." https://www.academia.edu/12545353/A_History_of_Hip_Hop_in_Perspective, p. 7. Accessed May 9, 2020.
- ¹² Heinilä 2021, p. 86.
- ¹³ Ewoodzie Jr. 2017, pp. 66–70 and 73–74.
- ¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 73–74. Mark Skillz. "Founding Fathers Part Two: My Disco Brother..." Hip Hop 101A, December 11, 2008. <http://hiphop101a.blogspot.com/2008/12/founding-fathers-part-two-my-disco.html> . Accessed April 18, 2023. See also Katz 2012, chapter 'The Breaks and the Bronx: 1973–1975' until the end of the subchapter 'BORN IN THE BRONX'. Lawrence 2008, pp. 280–284.
- ¹⁵ Heinilä 2021, pp. 87–89. See also Lawrence 2008, pp. 280–285, 287–288. Brewster and Broughton 2006, chapter 'Hip hop and disco'. Ewoodzie Jr. 2017, p. 75.
- ¹⁶ Troy L. Smith. "The Bronx Was Burning and Breaking! Cholly Rock." An unreleased version of the interview. 2016. The present writer has a copy of it. See also Toop 2000, p. 67.
- ¹⁷ Lawrence 2008, p. 285. Katz 2012, chapters 'Funk' and 'Disco'. Toop 2000, p. 67.
- ¹⁸ This and the next paragraph are based on sources as follows. Beyond Above Media. "True First – Disco King Mario", YouTube Video, 32:01, March 30, 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2aLYjbC1utM> . Accessed April 23, 2023. There is the same video

under Beyond Above Media (P.J. Wilson). *Disco King Mario Docu-drama*. Vimeo. Uploaded on May 13, 2019. Studio Auteur and Nimble Sage, Bondit Media Capital, Beyond Above Media, 2019. <https://vimeo.com/335849942>. Accessed May 18, 2020. One key source that emphasizes Mario's role as the real father of Hip Hop are YouTube videos on The Culture.. Since '71 (former Michael WayneTV) YouTube channel, which specifically has interviews with the Hip Hop pioneers of the Bronxdale Houses apartment complex. See <https://www.youtube.com/@TheCulture..Since1971/videos> . Accessed April 18, 2023. These videos and the interviews in them were published since 2013. The claims in these videos that emphasize Mario's role in Hip Hop are based mainly on oral testimony. See for example The Culture.. Since '71. "Congratulations to Sedgwick Ave", YouTube Video, 16:36, August 7, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=w6ZiPLtS9w> . Accessed April 13, 2023. The Culture.. Since '71. "Our Vision of Hip Hop Without Kool Herc, Bambaataa & Flash – The Fighting Grounds Phase vs Jazzy Jay", YouTube Video, 33:16, December 18, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rNBD0GklXVc> . Accessed April 13, 2023. As a notice, all former Michael WayneTV videos that are cited in this article are labeled as 'The Culture.. Since 71', although they were accessed earlier than the change from the Michael WayneTV channel to 'The Culture.. Since 71' channel took place.

¹⁹ Seba Kwesi Damani Agyekum. "A History of Hip Hop in Perspective."

https://www.academia.edu/12545353/A_History_of_Hip_Hop_in_Perspective , pp. 4, 15–16, 18. Accessed May 9, 2020. In footnote 1 on page 18, Damani Agyekum explains that the former Michael WayneTV's YouTube videos were "the primary source" for his study. Although he did not mention the Michael WayneTV by name, the URL that is attached to the footnote leads to the 'The Culture.. Since '71' YouTube channel that is the former Michael WayneTV. Accessed April 24, 2023. On the other hand, in footnote 2 on page 18, he states that "the main point of Michael Wayne", meaning the current YouTube channel, is "that Hip Hop started in the South Bronx, the Bronxdale Projects, and DJ Mario was its creator." The present writer agrees with Damani Agyekum's interpretation otherwise, but the Bronxdale Projects were located in the East Bronx.

²⁰ The flyers that are connected with Disco King Mario's DJ career are brought out especially in Beyond Above Media. "True First – Disco King Mario", YouTube Video, 32:01, March 30, 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2aLYjbC1utM> . Accessed April 23, 2023. Those flyers are also brought out in The Culture.. Since '71. "Our Vision of Hip Hop Without Kool Herc, Bambaataa & Flash – The Fighting Grounds Phase vs Jazzy Jay", YouTube Video, 33:16, December 18, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rNBD0GklXVc> . Accessed April 13, 2023. Based on the 'True First – Disco King Mario' YouTube video, the YouTube video from December 18, 2017, and my searches on Hip Hop flyers, the earliest flyer mentioning Disco King Mario is from 1977 as it is shown in the YouTube video from December 18, 2017, and the latest is from 1981 as it is shown in the 'True First – Disco King Mario' YouTube video. See also Jennifer Fermio. "Blaz's 'Hip Hop' Block Party", *Daily News*, February 26, 2016. Sir Norin Rad. "Interview with the legendary DJ/MC Coke La Rock (The Herculords)." *Castles In The Sky*, February 7, 2019. <https://preciousgemsofknowledge79.blogspot.com/2019/02/> . Accessed June 15, 2020.

²¹ Mr. Biggs, Cholly Rock, hosts, "The Hip Hop Clubs: Dj Kool "D" and Tyrone The Mixologist", Soul Sonic Mr. Biggs "Lets Talk Hip Hop" (podcast), July 26, 2019, <https://podcasts.apple.com/us/podcast/the-hip-hop-clubs-dj-kool-d-and-tyrone-the-mixologist/id1467774485?i=1000446238606> . Accessed April 23, 2023. Mr. Biggs claimed in the podcast that the first "Hip Hop" party flyer was bogus.

²² Sir Norin Rad. "Interview with Keith & Kevin (The Legendary Twins, formerly known as The Ni**er Twins)." *Castles In The Sky*, June 9, 2020. <https://preciousgemsofknowledge79.blogspot.com/2020/06/> . Sir Norin Rad. "Interview with DJ Clark Kent (The Herculoids) a.k.a. The Original B-Boy Poison." *Castles In The Sky*, August 5, 2017. <http://preciousgemsofknowledge79.blogspot.com/2017/12/> . All accessed June 15, 2020. DJ Kayslay. "Dj Kayslay presents "Whats the Science" Episode #6 featuring The Original Dj Clark Kent", YouTube Video, 21:53, March 21, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6cgZEQZWj3U> . Accessed October 16, 2021. Hager 2013, chapter 'Chapter 3: Herculords at the Hevalo'.

²³ Grandmaster Flash with David Ritz. *The Adventures of Grandmaster Flash: My Life, My Beats*. New York: Broadway Books, 2008, p. 45.

²⁴ Fricke and Ahearn 2002, p. 24. Ivan Sanchez and Luis "DJ Disco Wiz" Cedeño. *It's Just Begun: The Epic Journey of DJ Disco Wiz, Hip Hop's First Latino DJ*. Brooklyn, NY: powerHouse Books, 2009. The Kindle version, see its attached pictures.

- ²⁵ “DJ Kool Herc & The Birth of Hip Hop.” Christie’s, August 4 – August 18, 2022. <https://onlineonly.christies.com/s/dj-kool-herc-birth-hip-hop/lots/2139> . For the handwritten invitation from 1974 see https://onlineonly.christies.com/s/dj-kool-herc-birth-hip-hop/handwritten-invitation-rec-room-party-1520-sedgwick-avenue-6/157840?ldp_breadcrumb=back . For the Twi-Lite Zone Disco flyer see https://onlineonly.christies.com/s/dj-kool-herc-birth-hip-hop/flyer-kool-herc-production-the-players-annual-christmas-eve-dance-74-47/157882?ldp_breadcrumb=back . For the Executive Playhouse agreement see https://onlineonly.christies.com/s/dj-kool-herc-birth-hip-hop/contract-dj-kool-herc-party-executive-playhouse-aka-sparkle-50/157876?ldp_breadcrumb=back . For “three index card invitations” see https://onlineonly.christies.com/s/dj-kool-herc-birth-hip-hop/three-index-card-invitations-including-two-1975-kool-herc-party-46/158156?ldp_breadcrumb=back . Two of these index card invitations are from 1975, but one of them is from 1972. In the latter case, Herc’s name was not mentioned in it, therefore it cannot be connected with him. For “two flyers for DJ Kool Herc events at the Hevelow” allegedly in 1975 see https://onlineonly.christies.com/s/dj-kool-herc-birth-hip-hop/two-flyers-dj-kool-herc-events-hevelow-49/158152?ldp_breadcrumb=back . For an Executive Playhouse flyer possibly from 1975 see https://onlineonly.christies.com/s/dj-kool-herc-birth-hip-hop/collection-flyers-dj-kool-herc-other-ephemera-57/157893?ldp_breadcrumb=back . The date “Saturday Nov. 22” in it refers to 1975. All pages were accessed April 21, 2023.
- ²⁶ The Culture.. Since ’71. “Cholly Rock and Mike G. Early B-Boy History”, YouTube Video, 49:56, May 18, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GVHdt6d-ixg> . Accessed April 21, 2023.
- ²⁷ Nelson George. *Hip Hop America*. New York, NY: Penguin, 2005. The Kindle edition, pp. 25–27. Nelson George. “D.J. Herc and his “B-beats.” *New York Amsterdam News*. July 1, 1978. Robert Ford Jr.. “B-Beats Bombarding Bronx.” *The Billboard*. July 1, 1978.
- ²⁸ Hager 2013, chapter ‘Herculords at Hevalo’. See also Sir Norin Rad. “Interview with Keith & Kevin (The Legendary Twins, formerly known as The Ni**er Twins).” *Castles In The Sky*, June 9, 2020. <https://preciousgemsofknowledge79.blogspot.com/2020/06/> .
- ²⁹ See the flyer “T-Connection, Aug 8, 1980”, in Cornell University Library – Digital Collections. https://digital.library.cornell.edu/?utf8=✓&f%5Bcollection_tesim%5D%5B%5D=Hip+Hop+Party+and+E+vent+Flyers&per_page=20&sort=latest_date_isi+asc%2C+title_tesi+asc&view=gallery&q=%22b-beats%22&search_field=all_fields . Accessed July 22, 2023.
- ³⁰ Steven Hager. “Africa Bambaataa’s Hip Hop.” *The Village Voice*, September 21, 1982. Dziurawe Sample. “Kool DJ Dee Interview (2013).” *Back to the Oldschool Days...*, January 19, 2015. <http://oldschoolerscrew.blogspot.com/2015/01/kool-dj-dee-interview-2013.html>. Accessed June 9, 2020. See also Ewoodzie Jr. 2017, p. 55.
- ³¹ Until the words “stuff like this...” see Michael Khalfani aka Disco Daddy, host, “Part 2: Rock Creek Park. The DJ’s and Their Sound Systems”, *HIP HOP YA DON’T STOP* (podcast), March 10, 2017, <https://www.blogtalkradio.com/gumbforthesoul/2017/03/11/hip-hop-ya-dont-stop-hosted-by-michael-khalfani-aka-disco-daddy> . Accessed April 25, 2023.
- ³² The Culture.. Since ’71. “Mario’s Older Brother – WC – The Boogiemani – Music in His Blood”, YouTube Video, 27:56, November 27, 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HfcdXVroEAQ> . Accessed April 25, 2023. Seba Kwesi Damani Agyekum. “A History of Hip Hop in Perspective.” https://www.academia.edu/12545353/A_History_of_Hip_Hop_in_Perspective, p. 3. Accessed May 9, 2020.
- ³³ According to a certificate in the “U.S. Social Security Applications and Claims Index, 1936–2007” on Ancestry.com , Glynn M. Halsey was born on July 1, 1956 and passed away in May 1994.
- ³⁴ The Culture.. Since ’71. “DJ Ronnie Ron: “We Use to Kick Bambaataa’s A**”, His System Sounded like Sh**”, YouTube Video, 12:36, September 7, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=M-gtHV4MYLQ> . Accessed April 21, 2023.
- ³⁵ Hager 2013, chapter ‘Herculords at the Hevalo’. Joseph Glenn Schloss. *Foundation: B-Boys, B-Girls, and Hip-Hop Culture in New York*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2009, p. 149. Jeff Chang. *Can’t Stop Won’t Stop: A History of the Hip- Hop Generation*. New York, NY: St. Martin’s Press, 2005. The Kindle edition, chapters ‘4. Making a Name – How DJ Kool Herc Lost His Accent and Started Hip-Hop’ and ‘New Fires’. James T. Jones. “Kool Herc Stakes Claim to Original Hip-Hop Beat.” *USA TODAY*. April 26, 1994.
- ³⁶ The Culture.. Since ’71. “Mario’s Older Brother – WC – The Boogiemani – Music in His Blood”, YouTube Video, 27:56, November 27, 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HfcdXVroEAQ> . Accessed April 25, 2023.

³⁷ The Culture.. Since '71. "In the Middle of the "Projects" Mario Took "The Disco King" Title", YouTube Video, 15:06, July 8, 2017, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pgJXQ6OunnE> . Accessed April 25, 2023.

³⁸ "Chief Rocker Busy Bee – Of the legendary L-Brothers, who later became World Famous Chief Rocker Busy Bee." by Troy L. Smith. The Foundation, Summer of 2006. http://www.thafoundation.com/busy_bee.htm . Accessed July 8, 2020. In 1980–81, Busy Bee Starsky performed in Mario's events at the Skating Palace, which was located at 930 Soundview Avenue near the Bronxdale Houses apartment complex. This is shown by two flyers, which are presented in the Disco King Mario documentary. See Beyond Above Media. "True First – Disco King Mario", YouTube Video, 32:01, March 30, 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2aLYjbC1utM> . Accessed April 23, 2023.

³⁹ Beyond Above Media. "True First – Disco King Mario", YouTube Video, 32:01, March 30, 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2aLYjbC1utM> . Accessed April 23, 2023.

⁴⁰ John Byas and Danny Martinez. March 19, 2009. Interview with the Bronx African American History Project. BAAHP Digital Archive at Fordham University. https://research.library.fordham.edu/baahp_oralhist/170/ . Accessed October 16, 2021.

⁴¹ Troy L. Smith. "The Master Ice of the Legendary Jazzy 5 and The Soul Sonic Force." The Foundation, Winter 2008. <http://www.thafoundation.com/masice.htm> . Accessed September 1, 2020.

⁴² Hager 2013. Because Hager's study was published originally in 1984, there is a chance that Hager updated mentions of Mario afterwards for the Kindle version which is used in this article. Because his 1982 article already had only scant mentions of Mario, it is unlikely that those mentions were decreased for the Kindle version which does not have much about Mario either.

⁴³ In particular, Grandmaster Flash and Afrika Bambaataa made music recordings with their respective groups in the 1980s, while Kool Herc appeared briefly for example in the film *Beat Street* in 1984. Kool Herc allegedly was not successful after he was stabbed in 1977, although, on the other hand, Herc's DJing was allegedly already in decline at the time of the stabbing. See for example Chang 2005, chapters 'Two Sevens Redub' and 'DJing: Style As Science'. Hager 2013, chapter 'Chapter 4: A New Rap Language'. However, according to the Cornell University flyer collection, Kool Herc performed many times after 1977, notably at the Bronx Hip Hop nightclub T-Connection, until at least 1981, suggesting that Herc was still popular. https://digital.library.cornell.edu/?f%5Bcollection_tesim%5D%5B%5D=Hip+Hop+Party+and+Event+Flyers&page=1&per_page=100&q=%22kool+herc%22&search_field=all_fields&sort=latest_date_isi+asc%2C+title_tesi+asc&view=gallery . Accessed July 21, 2023.

⁴⁴ In addition to the previously mentioned sources, see also footnote 26. "Al Smith Center Presents Disco King Mario & The Big Mac Crew", March 24, 1979, flyer, unknown publisher. The present writer has a copy of it. According to the flyer, Al Smith Center was located near the Brooklyn Bridge in Lower Manhattan. The Culture.. Since '71. "Deep Underground Hip Hop History – Mario – Jazzy Jay – GW Theodore – Afrika Bambaataa – Soundview BX", YouTube Video, 25:56, August 7, 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=obpO9H8wPnQ> . Accessed April 23, 2023. Seba Kwesi Damani Agyekum. "A History of Hip Hop in Perspective." https://www.academia.edu/12545353/A_History_of_Hip_Hop_in_Perspective , pp. 3–4. Accessed May 9, 2020.

⁴⁵ Beyond Above Media. "True First – Disco King Mario", YouTube Video, 32:01, March 30, 2019, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2aLYjbC1utM> . Accessed April 23, 2023. Katz 2012, pp. 28–29. Ewoodzie Jr. 2017, p. 76.

⁴⁶ Chang 2005, chapter 'Chapter 4. Making a Name – How DJ Kool Herc Lost His Accent and Started Hip-Hop'. Kirsikka Ruohonen & Nora Horn. " "Hei jäbä veti hyvin!" – naisverkostojen tärkeydestä", in Venla Sykäri; Rantakallio, Inka; Westinen, Elina; Cvetanović, Dragana. *Hiphop Suomessa: puheenvuoroja tutkijoilta ja tekijöiltä*. Helsinki: Nuorisotutkimusseura, 2019, p. 270.

⁴⁷ Heinilä 2021, pp. 104–105, 108–110, 117–118. Hager 2013, chapters 'Chapter 3: Herculords at the Hevalo' and 'Chapter 6: Breaking Out'. Grandmixer DXT, who was a b-boy, in addition to being a DJ, recalled that the Burning type of dance moves occurred already in the end of the 1960s. See Michael Khalfani aka Disco Daddy, host, "Part 2: Rock Creek Park. The DJ's and Their Sound Systems", HIP HOP YA DON'T STOP (podcast), March 10, 2017, <https://www.blogtalkradio.com/gumbforthesoul/2017/03/11/hip-hop-ya-dont-stop-hosted-by-michael-khalfani-aka-disco-daddy> . Accessed April 25, 2023. See also Aprahamian 2021, p. 147.

⁴⁸ Heinilä 2021, pp. 117–119, 121–123, 127. See also Hager 2013, chapter 'Herculords at the Hevalo'. Phillip Mlynar. "Kool Herc's Top Three Old-School New York Hip-Hop Venues," *Village Voice*, May 16, 2011.

- ⁴⁹ Hager 2013, chapters 'Herculoids at the Hevalo' and 'Chapter 6: Breaking Out'. Michael Holman. "Breaking: The History", in Murray Forman and Mark Anthony Neal, editors. *That's the Joint!: The Hip-Hop Studies Reader*. New York: Routledge, 2004, pp. 36–37. Chang 2005, chapter 'The Man with the Master Plan'. Sir Norin Rad. "Interview with DJ Clark Kent (The Herculoids) a.k.a. The Original B-Boy Poison." Castles In The Sky, August 5, 2017. <http://preciousgemsofknowledge79.blogspot.com/2017/12/>. Sir Norin Rad. "Interview with Keith & Kevin (The Legendary Twins, formerly known as The Ni**er Twins)." Castles In The Sky, June 9, 2020. <https://preciousgemsofknowledge79.blogspot.com/2020/06/>. All accessed June 15, 2020.
- ⁵⁰ Nelson George, "Hip-Hop's Founding Fathers Speak the Truth", in Murray Forman and Mark Anthony Neal, editors. *That's the Joint!: The Hip-Hop Studies Reader*. New York: Routledge, 2004, p. 47. Aprahamian 2021, p. 73, 107, 124–128.
- ⁵¹ Cassidy George. "Exploring the Birth of the B-Boy in 70s New York." *i-D*, November 28, 2018. https://i-d.vice.com/en/article/ev3v4z/exploring-the-birth-of-the-b-boy-in-70s-new-york?fbclid=IwAR1DtZRElpR_qgRsOzX7aWiHxQZINIFg4meRrX3uZ98g2WH5PZs20BmBhzl. Accessed April 23, 2023. Aprahamian 2021, pp. 117–120, 128–131.
- ⁵² Sir Norin Rad. "Interview with Keith & Kevin (The Legendary Twins, formerly known as The Ni**er Twins)." Castles In The Sky, June 9, 2020. <https://preciousgemsofknowledge79.blogspot.com/2020/06/>. Sir Norin Rad. "Interview with DJ Clark Kent (The Herculoids) a.k.a. The Original B-Boy Poison." Castles In The Sky, August 5, 2017. <http://preciousgemsofknowledge79.blogspot.com/2017/12/>. Sir Norin Rad. "Interview with the Original B-Boy Trixie." Castles In The Sky, December 3, 2017. <http://preciousgemsofknowledge79.blogspot.com/2017/12/>. Sir Norin Rad. "Interview with the Original B-Boy Rossy A.K.A. Pixie (Trixie's Brother)." Castles In The Sky, July 24, 2018. <http://preciousgemsofknowledge79.blogspot.com/2018/07/>. Sir Norin Rad. "Interview with the Original B-Boy Dancin' Doug." Castles In The Sky, July 2, 2017. <http://preciousgemsofknowledge79.blogspot.com/2017/07/>. All accessed June 15, 2020.
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- ⁵⁴ Sir Norin Rad. "Interview with DJ Clark Kent (The Herculoids) a.k.a. The Original B-Boy Poison." Castles In The Sky, August 5, 2017. <http://preciousgemsofknowledge79.blogspot.com/2017/12/>. Accessed June 15, 2020. Seba Kwesi Damani Agyekum. "A History of Hip Hop in Perspective." https://www.academia.edu/12545353/A_History_of_Hip_Hop_in_Perspective, p. 6. Accessed May 9, 2020.
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- ⁵⁸ Troy L. Smith. "The Bronx Was Burning and Breaking! Cholly Rock." An unreleased version of the interview. The present writer has a copy of it, 2016. Sir Norin Rad. "Interview with B-Boy Kusa (The Zulu Masters)." Castles In The Sky, December 7, 2019. <http://preciousgemsofknowledge79.blogspot.com/2019/12/>. Accessed June 15, 2020. The Culture.. Since 71, "The Origin of Break Dancing PT. 2..Who Were the First Breakdancers?", YouTube Video, 10:46, October 17, 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=EGiWxc7GUss>. The Culture.. Since 1971, "(23) Breakdance Came from Spade Dance", YouTube Video, 3:46, September 17, 2013, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xlit9HypEhc>. The Culture.. Since 1971, "Wild Black Spade Dance/Breakdance – Culture Originators", YouTube Video, 2:56, December 17, 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ahylrY6ThMo>. All videos accessed on June 18, 2020.

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- ⁶⁰ Heinilä 2021, pp. 106–107.
- ⁶¹ Schloss 2009, pp. 131–132, 149, 151–153. See also footnote 67.
- ⁶² Schloss 2009, pp. 132–142, 145–146, 149, 153.
- ⁶³ Pabon 2006, pp. 20–22. See also Schloss 2009, pp. 149 and 152.
- ⁶⁴ Pabon 2006, pp. 20–22. Schloss 2009, p. 153. Sally Banes' article in the *Village Voice* in 1981 is the earliest article I have found, which mentions the term 'uprock' in connection with the "Breakdance". Banes 1994, pp. 121 and 124. Similarly, "Top Rocking" as a term regarding the "Breakdance" in Brooklyn was used for the first time probably in 1983. See Eric V. Copage. "Break-dancers to pop on 'Hot Tracks' show." *Daily News*. November 13, 1983.
- ⁶⁵ I have not found references to the Rocking dance in Brooklyn from that time.
- ⁶⁶ Heinilä 2021, chapter 'Rock and roll -tanssit'.
- ⁶⁷ Pabon mentions various persons he got his information from and he also states that the information was "obtained from various interviews in magazines" without mentioning what were those interviews and magazines. See Pabon 2006, pp. 20–22. The interviews Joseph G. Schloss conducted are from the years between 2000 and 2008. See Schloss 2009, pp. 171–172. See also footnote 61.
- ⁶⁸ Schloss 2009, p. 134.
- ⁶⁹ The first song is from 1969 and the next is from 1971. The rest of the songs Schloss mentions are from 1972. See Schloss 2009, p. 134.
- ⁷⁰ Troy L. Smith. "The Bronx Was Burning and Breaking! Cholly Rock." An unreleased version of the interview. The present writer has a copy of it, 2016.
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- ⁷² Heinilä 2021, p. 115.
- ⁷³ Willie "MB" Estrada. *Rise of the Latin Hustle: The Dancing Gangsters of the South Bronx*. Amazon Digital Services LLC, 2016. The Kindle edition, chapters 'Prelude: Rise of the Latin Hustle', 'Afterword (Personal Thoughts)', 'Reflections of the 1970s', 'THE BIRTH OF HIP HOP FOR LATINO'S', and 'The Latin Hustle and Hip Hop'.
- ⁷⁴ Hager 2013, chapter 'Breaking Out'. Schloss 2009, pp. 134–135.
- ⁷⁵ Heinilä 2021, p. 79.
- ⁷⁶ Schloss 2009, pp. 153–154.
- ⁷⁷ Guzman-Sanchez, Thomas. *Underground Dance Masters: Final History of a Forgotten Era*. Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, 2012 [E-reader version], chapters 'Experiencing the Funk' and 'The Brooklyn Local Scene'. See also Aprahamian 2021, p. 94.
- ⁷⁸ Estrada 2016, chapters 'Reflections of the 1970s' and 'The Latin Hustle and Hip Hop'.
- ⁷⁹ Hager 2013, chapter 'Herculords at the Hevalo'.
- ⁸⁰ Estrada 2016, chapters 'THE BIRTH OF HIP HOP FOR LATINO'S' and 'The Latin Hustle and Hip Hop'.
- ⁸¹ Ibid, chapter 'Latin Hustle Jams at St. Mary's Recreation Center 1974'. See also page 21.
- ⁸² Sir Norin Rad. "Interview with B-Boy Aby (The Bronx Boys)." *Castles In The Sky*, December 27, 2018. <http://preciousgemsofknowledge79.blogspot.com/2018/12/> . Accessed June 15, 2020. See also Schloss 2009, p. 16. Aprahamian 2021, p. 13.
- ⁸³ Heinilä 2021, pp. 126, 128–129.
- ⁸⁴ Harri M. J. Heinilä. *An Endeavor by Harlem Dancers to Achieve Equality – The Recognition of the Harlem-Based African-American Jazz Dance Between 1921 and 1943*. Doctoral Dissertation. Helsinki: Unigrafia, 2015, p. 43.
- ⁸⁵ Heinilä 2021, p. 168 and chapters 'Hip hop -musiikin synty' and 'Hip Hop -tanssien synty'.
- ⁸⁶ Ricky Vincent, and George Clinton. *Funk: The Music, the People, and the Rhythm of The One*. New York, NY: St. Martin's Griffin, 1996, pp. 19–21. Heinilä 2021, pp. 80 and 168.
- ⁸⁷ mrdaveyd. "Davey D Interviews the Father of Hip Hop Kool Herc pt1 (Breakdown FM)", YouTube Video, 51:20, January 23, 2012, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AJkojOSppUE> . Accessed May 24, 2023.
- ⁸⁸ Sally Banes. *Writing Dancing in the Age of Postmodernism*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1994, chapter 'To the Beat Y'All: Breaking Is Hard to Do'. In Banes' study, there are also other Breakdance articles she wrote in the 1980s. Michael Holman. *Breaking and the New York City Breakers*. New York, NY: Freundlich Books, 1984, chapter '2 Breaking – The History'. Hager 2013, chapter 'Breaking Out'. Toop 2000, pp. 142–145. Robert Farris Thompson. "Hip Hop 101", in William Eric Perkins (ed.). *Droppin' Science: Critical Essays on Rap Music and Hip Hop Culture*. Pennsylvania, PA: Temple University Press, 1996.

- ⁸⁹ Sally Banes, "Breaking", in Murray Forman and Mark Anthony Neal, editors. *That's the Joint!: The Hip-Hop Studies Reader*. New York: Routledge, 2004, p. 18. Holman 2004, pp. 32–33. Katrina Hazzard-Donald, "Dance in Hip-Hop Culture", in Murray Forman and Mark Anthony Neal, editors. *That's the Joint!: The Hip-Hop Studies Reader*. New York: Routledge, 2004, pp. 509–510. Toop 2000, pp. 142–145.
- ⁹⁰ Aprahamian 2021, p. 113, footnote 18 on page 59.
- ⁹¹ Robert P. Crease. "Swing Story", *The Atlantic*, February 1986.
- ⁹² Holman 2004, pp. 32–33. Banes 2004, p. 18. Thompson 1996. Kimberly A. Chandler Vaccaro. *Moved By The Spirit: Illuminating the Voice of Mura Dehn and Her Efforts to Promote and Document Jazz Dance*. Doctoral Dissertation. Temple University, 1997, pp. 135–137. Harri Heinilä, "Marshall and Jean Stearns against Modern Jazz Dance: Is the Legacy of Marshall and Jean Stearns' Jazz Dance Still Relevant in That Regard." OSFHome, July 29, 2022, p. 22. <https://osf.io/euxkb>.
- ⁹³ Heinilä 2022, pp. 1–2, 5–8, 12–14, 20–23. Heinilä 2021, pp. 5–6, 13, 21, 27, 30, 144, 168, 173–174. Heinilä 2015, pp. 62–66. Terry Monaghan, "'Stompin' At the Savoy": Remembering, Researching and Re-enacting the Lindy Hop's relationship to Harlem's Savoy Ballroom", in *Dancing at the Crossroads: African Diasporic Dances in Britain*, ed. Terry Monaghan and Eileen Feeney. London: London Metropolitan University, 2005, p. 60 and note 9 on page 63. Terry Monaghan, "The Legacy of Jazz Dance", *Annual Review of Jazz Studies*. New Brunswick: Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1997/1998, pp. 306 and 308. Very illuminating visual examples and insights into the differences between authentic jazz dance and the "modern jazz dance" can be found out from EstiloSwing. "Modern... but it's not Jazz! | Authentic Jazz VS Modern Jazz", YouTube Video, 10:13, June 1, 2023, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aLdpGX95x2s>. Accessed June 1, 2023.
- ⁹⁴ Toop 2000, p. 142. Marshall Winslow and Jean Stearns. *Jazz Dance: The Story of American Vernacular Dance*. New York (N.Y.): Da Capo Press, 1994, p. 174. Constance Valis Hill. *Tap Dancing America: A Cultural History*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2010, pp. 25, 64–65, 101, 390.
- ⁹⁵ Frankie Manning and Cynthia R. Millman. *Frankie Manning: Ambassador of Lindy Hop*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2007, pp. 103 and 105. Danielle Goldman. *I Want to Be Ready: Improvised Dance as a Practice of Freedom*. Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press, 2010, pp. 47 and 54.
- ⁹⁶ Thompson 1996, p. 215.
- ⁹⁷ Banes 2004, p. 17.
- ⁹⁸ Thompson 1996, p. 214.
- ⁹⁹ Aprahamian 2021, pp. 72–74. See also chapter 'Burning – Going Off (Breakdance)' in this article.
- ¹⁰⁰ Nelson George. "D.J. Herc and his 'B-beats.'" *New York Amsterdam News*. July 1, 1978.
- ¹⁰¹ Heinilä 2021, p. 19. Hazzard-Donald 2004, p. 511.
- ¹⁰² Ned Sublette. *Cuba and Its Music: From the First Drums to the Mambo*. Chicago, IL: Chicago Review Press, 2004, p. 473. Goldman 2010, p. 31. Heinilä 2015, p. 43.
- ¹⁰³ Karen Hubbard and Terry Monaghan, "Negotiating Compromise on a Burnished Wood Floor", in Julie Malnig (editor), *Ballroom, Boogie, Shimmy Sham, Shake: A Social and Popular Dance Reader*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009, pp. 138–139. Manning and Millman 2007, p. 70.
- ¹⁰⁴ Brian Seibert. *What the Eye Hears: A History of Tap Dancing*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2015, chapters 'TAPPING BIRD', 'SIDEWALK MUSIC', 'THE WAR AND AFTER' and 'NEWPORT, THE GATE, AND BERLIN'.
- ¹⁰⁵ Heinilä 2021, pp. 171–172.
- ¹⁰⁶ Harri Heinilä. "What Is Authentic Jazz Dance." Authenticjazzdance. March 9, 2012. <https://authenticjazzdance.wordpress.com/2012/03/06/what-is-authentic-jazz-dance-4/>. Accessed April 23, 2023.
- ¹⁰⁷ The Savoy Ballroom in Harlem was a good example of the use of live music for earlier jazz dancers. See Monaghan 2005, pp. 33–34. The use of recordings in Hip Hop-related dancing has come up earlier in this work.
- ¹⁰⁸ Heinilä 2021, p. 172. Marshall and Jean Stearns have described the communication between musicians and dancers. See Stearns 1994, p. 325.
- ¹⁰⁹ Pepsi Bethel – Interview', box 3 ja folder 71, papers on Afro-American social dance circa 1869–1987, Mura Dehn, 1902–1987, Jerome Robbins Dance Division, the New York Public Library.
- ¹¹⁰ In addition to Pepsi Bethel, for example, Al Minns and Frankie Manning, who lindy hopped at the Savoy Ballroom, have emphasized the importance of rhythm. See Albert 'Al' Minns, interview by Swedish Swing Society (Lennart Westerlund, Henning Sörensen and Anders Lind), between the end of May and the beginning of the June, 1984, New York. The present writer has a copy of it. Joel Dinerstein, *Swinging The Machine – Modernity, Technology, And African American Culture Between*

The World Wars. Amherst, Ma: University of Massachusetts Press, 2003, p. 265. Dance historian Juliet McMains has brought out several examples of the importance of rhythm in Mambo. See Juliet McMains. *Spinning Mambo into Salsa: Caribbean Dance in Global Commerce*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2015, chapter '4. On-1 versus On-2: Rhythm Debates'. In Tap dancing, the sounds the dancer creates are crucial. Creating the sounds requires a rhythmic ability. See Stearns 1994, p. 353. About the rhythm and musicality of "break dancers" see also Aprahamian 2021, pp. 85–86, 92, 200.

¹¹¹ Heinilä 2021, pp. 172–178.

¹¹² Banes 2004, pp. 15–18.

¹¹³ Stearns 1994, pp. 232 and 234.

¹¹⁴ Banes 2004, p. 18.

¹¹⁵ Holman 2004, p. 33. Stearns 1994, p. 104.

¹¹⁶ Toop 2000, pp. 142–143. Holman 2004, p. 34. Stearns 1994, p. 73.

¹¹⁷ Toop 2000, pp. 143–144. Stearns 1994, pp. 231, 272, 275, 278,

¹¹⁸ Holman 2004, p. 33. Stearns 1994, pp. 50, 106, 233.

¹¹⁹ Heinilä 2021, pp. 183–184.

¹²⁰ Toop 2000, p. 144. Stearns 1994, pp. 27, 70, 231, 234–235, 249, 271, 286, 323.

¹²¹ Hazzard-Donald 2004, p. 509, and footnote 14 on page 515.

¹²² Holman 2004, pp. 33–34. Stearns 1994, pp. 27–29, 248–250, 296. The present writer made the conclusion about the similarity of the Lindy Hop circle.

¹²³ Toop 2000, p. 144. Stearns 1994, pp. 262–263.

¹²⁴ Sergey Ivanov. "Hip-Hop in Russia: How the Cultural Form Emerged in Russia and Established a New Philosophy", in Sina A. Nitzsche, Walter Grünzweig (editors). *Hip-Hop in Europe: Cultural Identities and Transnational Flows*. Berlin/Münster: LIT Verlag, 2013, p. 90.

¹²⁵ "Red Dancers Nyet Hot Dogs." *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*. June 4, 1961.

¹²⁶ See footnote 122. See also Stearns 1994, p. 269.

¹²⁷ Holman 2004, pp. 34–36. Stearns 1994, pp. 88, 190, 246, 267, 274–275, 309 and chapter '34 Flash Acts'. Hill 2010, p. 103.

¹²⁸ Heinilä 2021, pp. 106–110, 112, 164, 175, 179. Aprahamian 2021, pp. 51–53, 85, 104, 113, 141. Chang 2005, chapter 'B-Boying: Style As Aggression'. ProfoWon. "The Trades" with A1 BBoy SaSa Interviewed by VIXX and @Profow0n", YouTube, 2:32:34, June 6, 2023, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LQ_ZvcpTLNU. Accessed June 8, 2023. See also Jennifer Dunning. "Clayton Bates Famed One-Legged Tap Dancer." *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, December 11, 1998.

¹²⁹ Most of the film examples that are mentioned in this article could be found on YouTube at the time of writing this article. Some of them are also cited in this article, which is the basis for my conclusion of those who have uploaded old film clips.

¹³⁰ Hill 2010, pp. 22–24. Thompson 1996, pp. 217–218.

¹³¹ Thomas A. Edison, Inc, Paper Print Collection, Afi/Holt, and Niver. *A street Arab*. United States: Thomas A. Edison, Inc, 1898. Video. <https://www.loc.gov/item/00694377/>. Accessed June 8, 2023.

¹³² Copasetics 1963 leaflet, a picture on unnumbered page, the Marshall Winslow Stearns Collection, Series 1: Writings, Box 5, Folder 5, Institute of Jazz Studies, Rutgers University Libraries. Norma Miller, and Evette Jensen. *Swingin' at the Savoy: The Memoir of a Jazz Dancer*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1996, p., 218.

¹³³ *Caravan*. Soundies Distribution Company of America, 1942. Larry Richards. *African American Films Through 1959: A Comprehensive, Illustrated Filmography*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1998, p. 34.

¹³⁴ About the Eagle Rock dance see Stearns 1994, pp. 26–27. "A Generation of Jazz." *Ballroom Dance Magazine*. February 1962.

¹³⁵ Sir Norin Rad. "Interview with B-Boy Lil' Boy Keith (The Little Zulu Kings)." Castles In The Sky, November 6, 2018. <http://preciousgemsofknowledge79.blogspot.com/2018/11/interview-with-b-boy-lil-boy-keith.html>. Accessed June 15, 2020. pluto seven Tbb. "Tribute to Zulu King Lil Boy Keith", YouTube Video, 1:51, May 7, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6GS2akAzHsQ>. Accessed June 8, 2023. GEARHDZ BREAKCAST. "The BREAK" with Cholly Rock and Grover | GEARHEADZ", YouTube Video, 2:00:09, April 8, 2022, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qPL7FyWcuoQ>. Accessed June 8, 2023.

¹³⁶ Norman Z. McLeod, et al. *Lady Be Good*. United States: Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM), 1941. Irving Cummings, et al. *Down Argentine Way*. United States: Twentieth Century Fox, 1940. Josh Binney, et al. *Boarding House Blues*. United States: All-American News, 1948.

- ¹³⁷ Albert S. Rogell, et al. *Hit Parade of 1943*. United States: Republic Pictures, 1943. Pops Whitman and Louis Williams also danced in *The Big Benefit* short film in the early 1930s, but no conclusions can be drawn from it because it has disappeared. Seibert 2015, chapter 'DIME A DOZEN: ACTS OF THE THIRTIES'. Stearns 1994, p. 275. Holman 2004, p. 34.
- ¹³⁸ David Butler, et al. *Shine on Harvest Moon*. United States: Warner Bros., 1944.
- ¹³⁹ Erle C. Kenton, et al. *Pardon My Sarong*. United States: Universal Pictures, 1942.
- ¹⁴⁰ pluto seven Tbb. "Tribute to Zulu King Lil Boy Keith", YouTube Video, 1:51, May 7, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6GS2akAzHsQ>. Accessed June 8, 2023. Roy Mack & Joseph Henabery (Dir.). *Smash Your Baggage*. Vitaphone Corp.. 1932. Richards 1998, p. 156. *Tap Happy*. Soundies Distribution Corporation of America, Inc., 1943. Vincente Minnelli, et. al. *The Pirate*. United States: Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM), 1948. What the Eye Hears, "Sammy Davis, Jr. with Will Mastin Trio, 1954", YouTube Video, 6:27, November 24, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9Ka5gs6LB9I>. Accessed June 8, 2023. "Today on TV – High Spots", *Daily Boston Globe*, March 30, 1954. The Ed Sullivan Show, "The Little Step Brothers "Acrobatic Dancers" on The Ed Sullivan Show", YouTube Video, 2:01, September 20, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gCLR8F1X_hl&feature=youtu.be&fbclid=IwAR23RyqazkUlw1il4y8iyb6dD6SfgvvSIEeCfM5Sd4Tr-gA5ePhad72Ey4s. Accessed September 30, 2020. "The Bait for Sunday Viewers." *The Evening Press*. October 9, 1965. VIDEOBEAT dotCOM, "Will Mastin Trio – Boogie Woogie – 1947", YouTube Video, 2:25, September 2, 2011, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NnUdsORaYqg>. Accessed June 9, 2023. "Sweet and Low." IMDb, unknown date, <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0039877/>. Accessed June 9, 2023. About the "knee-drop" and "Pin Drop" see Serouj "Midus" Aprahamian. *The Birth of Breaking: Hip-Hop History from the Floor Up*. New York, NY: Bloomsbury Publishing Inc, 2023, chapter ' "Turnout Time at the P. T." '. Stearns 1994, p. 268.
- ¹⁴¹ Sir Norin Rad. "Interview with DJ Clark Kent (The Herculooids) a.k.a. The Original B-Boy Poison." Castles In The Sky, August 5, 2017. <http://preciousgemsofknowledge79.blogspot.com/2017/12/>. Accessed June 15, 2020. Serouj Aprahamian interpreted Clark Kent's backdrop move as if Kent had bounced back from the floor to the upright position "several times" (See Aprahamian 2021, p. 114). Kent did not said so in his interview Sir Norin Rad conducted. Regarding "the backdrop" move he and the Twins did, he said that "we can drop down put your hands behind your back bend your knees get your hands hit the floor and you can spring up and down.". He did not mention anything about bouncing back to the upright position. Physically, the latter had been very rough to do several times in a row even when a young dancer had done it.
- ¹⁴² See footnotes 138, 139, 140.
- ¹⁴³ *Tap Happy*. Soundies Distribution Corporation of America, Inc., 1943. About the helicopter see Banes 2004, p. 15.
- ¹⁴⁴ Vincente Minnelli, et. al. *The Pirate*. United States: Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM), 1948. Courtney Hafela, et al. *Mambo Madness*. Courtney Hafela Productions Inc., 1955.
- ¹⁴⁵ Aprahamian 2021, pp. 111–112. Stearns 1994, pp. 249, 269–270.
- ¹⁴⁶ ProfoWon. " "The Trades" with A1 BBoy SaSa Interviewed by VIXX and @Profow0n", YouTube, 2:32:34, June 6, 2023, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LQ_ZvcpTLNU. Accessed June 8, 2023. UPTOWN NYC. "Uptown NYC A #1 B-Boy SaSa", YouTube Video, 9:31, September 7, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LI3S7fk0_9k. Accessed June 9, 2023.
- ¹⁴⁷ VIDEOBEAT dotCOM, "Will Mastin Trio – Boogie Woogie – 1947", YouTube Video, 2:25, September 2, 2011, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NnUdsORaYqg>. Accessed June 9, 2023. "Sweet and Low." IMDb, unknown date, <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0039877/>. Accessed June 9, 2023. What the Eye Hears, "Sammy Davis, Jr. with Will Mastin Trio, 1954", YouTube Video, 6:27, November 24, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9Ka5gs6LB9I>. Accessed June 8, 2023. "Today on TV – High Spots", *Daily Boston Globe*, March 30, 1954.
- ¹⁴⁸ "The Bait for Sunday Viewers." *The Evening Press*. October 9, 1965. "9 Big Years With 40 Exciting Stars." *The Chicago Defender*. August 20, 1966. "Comedy Team Featured at Daily Stage Shows." *Chicago Tribune*. March 24, 1967. William Rice. "Hands Clap to Beat of the Supremes." *The Washington Post Times Herald*. June 26, 1968. "Sahara Las Vegas." *Variety*. March 19, 1969. Les Matthews. "Mr. 1-2-5 Street." *The New York Amsterdam News*. March 9, 1974. "Step Brother III." *The Chicago Defender*. June 21, 1975. Aaron Gold. "Tower Ticker." *Chicago Tribune*. September 13, 1978. The Ed Sullivan Show, "The Little Step Brothers "Acrobatic Dancers" on The Ed Sullivan Show", YouTube Video, 2:01, September 20, 2020, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gCLR8F1X_hl&feature=youtu.be&fbclid=IwAR23RyqazkUlw1il4y8iyb6dD6SfgvvSIEeCfM5Sd4Tr-gA5ePhad72Ey4s. Accessed September 30, 2020.

¹⁴⁹ Heinilä 2021, pp. 139, 149–150,

¹⁵⁰ Ibid., pp. 139, 150, 157, 164–165.

¹⁵¹ Hager 2013, chapter 'Chapter 3: Herculords at the Hevalo'. "PART TWO – Savoy Ballroom of Harlem 1950's" and "P.S. 28: Mambo – Applejack Challenge" in Mura Dehn, et al. *The Spirit Moves*. The United States, circa 1951–1953. In the "P.S. 28" part, a male dancer wearing a checkered cap makes a short slow motion robot-like movement. P.S. 28 was located between 1951 and 1955 in Brooklyn. See "Summer Season Ends..." *The New York Amsterdam News*. September 8, 1951. "134 Schools Giving Shots Tomorrow." *The New York Times*. May 18, 1955.

¹⁵² See page 25.

¹⁵³ Jani Mikkonen. *Riimi riimistä – Suomalaisen hiphopmusiikin nousu ja uho*. Keuruu: Kustannusosakeyhtiö Otava, 2004, p. 36. Karri 'Paleface' Miettinen. *Rappiotaidetta. Suomiräpin tekijät*. Helsinki: Like Kustannus Oy, 2011, p. 22. Nina Tuittu & Anne Isomursu. *Breikkaus on mun elämäntapa*. Helsinki: Maahenki, 2005, pp. 17 and 22. Ville Huovinen. "Musiikillinen transtekstuaalisuus ja rap-musiikin tyylipiirteet Cheekin Alpha Omega -levyllä." Master's thesis. University of Jyväskylä, 2015, p. 10. Mira Willman. "Oon Hiphop-lohikäärme, syljen tulta": Suomiräpin poeettiset ja rytmiset piirteet suhteessa musiikin biittiin sekä niiden kehitys 2000-luvun alusta 2010-luvulle." Master's thesis. University of Jyväskylä, April 2015, p. 13. Hanna Parviainen. "Hiphop kasvun areenana monikulttuurisessa yhteiskunnassa." Master's thesis. University of Eastern Finland, joulukuu 2014, p. 13. See also Antti-Ville Kärjä. *Alkusoittoja: Musiikin menneisyydet monikulttuurisessa Suomessa*. Vantaa: Grano, 2020, p. 105. Anne-Maria Nurmi in her doctoral dissertation claimed that Hip Hop as "a youth cultural phenomenon" arrived in Finland at the end of the 1980s, which does not make sense even in the context of Nurmi discussed this phenomenon. She referred to Finnish youngsters who became aware of Breakdance, graffiti and Hip Hop music at the beginning of the 1980s without mentioning the exact year. Therefore, the claim of the end of the 1980s as the beginning of Hip Hop in Finland is likely based on a typo. See Anna-Maria Nurmi "Kaduilta liikuntasaliin – Toimintatutkimus hiphop-tanssista osana lukion liikuntakasvatusta." Doctoral dissertation, University of Jyväskylä, 2012. p. 176.

¹⁵⁴ Kärjä 2020, chapter '4 Suomiräpin (esi)historia'. See also Kärjä 2020, pp. 141, 227, 229–232. Heinilä 2021, p. 199. Mikko Mattlar, *Stadin Disko-historia: Diskoja, tiskijukkaa ja varhaista dj-kulttuuria Helsingin seudulla 1966–1988*. Helsinki, Finland: Nord Print Oy, 2017, pp. 198–199, 300.

¹⁵⁵ JA. "Millie Jackson: Still Caught Up", *Blues News*, 6/75, p. 43. JA means likely Juhani Aalto who was the editor-in-chief of the magazine. See page 3 in *Blues News*, 6/75.

JA. "Millie Jackson: Free and in Love", *Blues News*, 4/76, pp. 25 and 27. JA. "Isaac Hayes: Groove-A-Thon", *Blues News*, 4/76, p. 27.

¹⁵⁶ Millie Jackson, "Still Caught Up", Polydor, 1975. Millie Jackson, "Free and in Love", Spring, 1976. See also page 37.

¹⁵⁷ Kärjä 2020, p. 150. Juuso Määttänen, and Mikko Aaltonen, Mikko-Pekka Heikkinen, Jussi Lehmusvesi, Arttu Seppänen. *Sanasta sanaan: Suomalaisen räpin historia ja tärkeimmät biisit*. Helsinki: HS-kirjat, 2019, p. 40. See also Toop 2000, p. 51.

¹⁵⁸ This and the next paragraph until words 'Millie Jackson' are based on sources as follows. Toop 2000, p. 29–43, 50–53. Alex Ogg, with David Upshal. *The Hip Hop Years: A History of Rap*. London, UK: Channel 4 Books, 1999, p. 39. Fritz H. Pointer, Charles S. Bird, Mamadou Koita, Bourama Soumaoro, and Seyidu Kamara. *African Oral Epic Poetry: Praising the Deeds of a Mythic Hero*. Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2013, pp. 29–33. SbrPL, "The Jubalaires – Noah", YouTube Video, 2:33, December 3, 2008, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Wx0oU1OnHf8>. Accessed June 12, 2023. SbrPL, "The Jubalaires – The Preacher And The Bear", YouTube Video, December 2, 2008, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XNzKZ7IJRUc>. Accessed June 12, 2023. Richards 1998, pp. 126, 134–135. George Burrows. *The Recordings of Andy Kirk and His Clouds of Joy*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2019, p. 165. Heinilä 2021, pp. 99–101. Chang 2005, chapter 'Representing New Black Militancy'.

¹⁵⁹ Heinilä 2021, pp. 99, 101–102.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., pp. 88, 98–99, 101–102, 151.

¹⁶¹ "Billboard Hot Soul Singles", *The Billboard*, December 8, 1979. "Billboard Hot Soul Singles", *The Billboard*, November 24, 1979. J. R. Reynolds, "Rhino Tells Sugar Hill's 'Story'", *The Billboard*, November 23, 1996.

¹⁶² Jean Williams, "Quick Natl Reaction To Sugarhillers", *The Billboard*, October 13, 1979. Minor Roberts, "'Rap' disco record sweeps country", *The New York Amsterdam News*, October 20, 1979.

¹⁶³ "Billboard Hits Of The World", *The Billboard*, December 22, 1979. "Billboard Hits Of The World", *The Billboard*, February 2, 1980. "Billboard Hits Of The World", *The Billboard*, February 9, 1980.

"Billboard Hits Of The World", *The Billboard*, March 8, 1980. "Billboard Hits Of The World", *The Billboard*, March 29, 1980. "Billboard Hits Of The World", *The Billboard*, May 24, 1980.

¹⁶⁴ "Billboard Disco Top 100", *The Billboard*, December 15, 1979. "Disco top 20", *Suosikki*, N:o 2, 1980, p. 19. Disco top 20", *Suosikki*, N:o 3, 1980, p. 19.

¹⁶⁵ Hager 2013, chapter 'Chapter 4: A New Rap Language'. Katz 2012, chapter 'Disco'.

¹⁶⁶ Hager 2013, chapters 'Chapter 3: Herculords at the Hevalo' and 'Chapter 6: Breaking Out'. Toop 2000, p. 65. Also Hager's 1982 article referred indirectly to a confrontation between Disco music and Hip Hop when it cited DJ Afrika Bambaataa who preferred Funk-oriented DJ Kool Herc to Disco-oriented DJ Kool Dee. See Steven Hager, "Afrika Bambaataa's Hip Hop", *Village Voice*, September 21, 1982.

¹⁶⁷ Matllar 2017, pp. 198–199, 300.

¹⁶⁸ "Harald's Top 20", *Diskosusi*, 3/80. "Bottan Top Ten 16.04.1980", *Diskosusi*, 4/80. "Tätä Suomi tanssi huhtikuussa 1980", *Diskosusi*, 4/80. "Tätä Suomi tanssi toukokuussa 1980" and "DISKOSUDEN TOP-TEN Toukokuu 1980", *Diskosusi*, 5/80. "Jocko – Rhythm Talk – 1979 CBS Inc." <https://www.discogs.com/release/113976-Jocko-Rhythm-Talk>. Accessed June 17, 2023. Ernest Leogrande, "Music Watch – Rap is the word", *Daily News*, November 30, 1979.

¹⁶⁹ "Kuukauden viisi kärjessä", *Suosikki*, N:o 6, 1980, p. 36. "Ripatti radiossa", *Diskosusi*, 6/80, p. 4.

¹⁷⁰ "KUSTAA 2.3.81", *Diskosusi*, 2/81.

¹⁷¹ Matllar 2017, pp. 198–199, 300. See also "Billboard Hot Soul Singles", *The Billboard*, June 14, 1980. Bill Adler, "Kurtis Blow: rapped up in success", *Daily News*, November 12, 1980. "D.J. Hollywood – Shock, Shock, The House – 1980 CBS Inc." <https://www.discogs.com/release/222927-DJ-Hollywood-Shock-ShockHouse>. Accessed June 17, 2023.

¹⁷² "Juke Box", *Suosikki*, N:o 10, 1980, p. 109. "Singlet", *Suosikki*, N:o 4, 1980, p. 8. "Singlet", *Suosikki*, N:o 5, 1980, p. 18. "Sugarhill Gang – Rapper's Delight – SOS 1011." <https://www.discogs.com/release/10240313-Sugarhill-Gang-Rappers-Delight>. "Sugarhill Gang – Rapper's Delight – SOSM 1012." <https://www.discogs.com/release/103646-Sugarhill-Gang-Rappers-Delight>. Both accessed July 1, 2023. The issues of the *Suosikki* magazine, which included the charts, mentioned 'SOS' as the record label that released 'Rapper's Delight'. Sound of Scandinavia (SOS) was a Swedish record label, which probably explains why Finnish record stores were able to sell the 'Rapper's Delight'. About the SOS see Leif Schulman, "Indies Dominating Swedish Scene", *The Billboard*, January 23, 1982, p. 77. "Midem Special '82", *The Billboard*, December 19, 1981, p. 43. The present writer has gone through all the "Singlet" (Singles) charts of the *Suosikki* magazine, which listed those top 30 singles in Finland between January 1980 and December 1981. There was no sign of DJ Hollywood's song.

¹⁷³ "Me teemme sinulle Suomen laajapohjaisimman levylistan", *Suosikki*, N:o 4, 1980, p. 9. "Me teemme sinulle Suomen laajapohjaisimman levylistan", *Suosikki*, N:o 5, 1980, p. 19. "Singlet", p. 8 and "Me teemme sinulle Suomen laajapohjaisimman levylistan", p. 9, in *Suosikki*, N:o 8, 1980. "Me teemme sinulle Suomen laajapohjaisimman levylistan", p. 9 and "Singlet", p. 8, in *Suosikki*, N:o 7, 1981. See also "Blondie – Rapture – 1981 Chrysalis Records." <https://www.discogs.com/master/64470-Blondie-Rapture>. Accessed July 9, 1981.

¹⁷⁴ "Disco Top 20", *Suosikki*, N:o 3, 1981, p. 25. "Disco Top 20", *Suosikki*, N:o 4, 1981, p. 9.

¹⁷⁵ Ismo Tenkanen. "Kurtis Blow (Mercury 6337 137) 1980." *Blues News*. 1/81, p. 29. Heinilä 2021, p. 199. About the term 'rapping' see for example: "Rap Records: Are They Fad Or Permanent?" *The Billboard*, February 16, 1980. Nelson George, "Rapping DeeJays", *Musician, Player, and Listener*, April 1, 1980. Bill Adler, "Kurtis Blow: rapped up in success", *Daily News*, November 12, 1980. Don Snowden, "Kurtis Blow Takes The Rap", *Los Angeles Times*, January 18, 1981. By the time Ismo Tenkanen reviewed 'The Breaks', 'Suomen Afro-amerikkalaisen musiikin yhdistys r.y. (SAMY) had taken over as a publisher of the *Blues News*, but the Finnish Blues Society r.y. came back as the second publisher of the magazine in 1982. Their office was located at Telakkakatu 2 in Helsinki. See "BN – Afro-amerikkalaisen musiikin äänenkannattaja – Blues News", *Blues News*, 6/79, p. 3. "BN – Afro-amerikkalaisen musiikin äänenkannattaja – Blues News", *Blues News*, 6/80, p. 3. "BN – Afro-amerikkalaisen musiikin äänenkannattaja – Blues News", *Blues News*, 1/81, p. 3. "BN – Afro-amerikkalaisen musiikin äänenkannattaja – Blues News", *Blues News*, 2/82, p. 3.

¹⁷⁶ Ismo Tenkanen. "Kurtis Blow (Mercury 6337 137) 1980." *Blues News*. 1/81, p. 29.

¹⁷⁷ Matllar 2017, pp. 198–199.

¹⁷⁸ Heinilä 2021, pp. 199, 201–204. Kärjä 2020, pp. 125, 133–138, 141.

¹⁷⁹ Heinilä 2021, pp. 199 and 201.

¹⁸⁰ Kärjä 2020, pp. 118 and 133.

¹⁸¹ Juhani Kansi. "KANSISIVU – Kärrymiehen päiväkirja", *Soundi*, 11/81, pp. 18–19.

- ¹⁸² Tom Tom Club, "Tom Tom Club", Island, 1981. Hager 2013, chapter 'Chapter 6: Breaking Out'.
- ¹⁸³ Mikko Montonen, "Mikko listii pienet levyt – GRANDMASTER FLASH AND THE FURIOUS FIVE: The Wheels of Steel (Sugarhill 12)", *Soundi*, 1/82, p. 82. See also "The Mean Machine – Disco Dream – 1981 Sugar Hill Records Ltd." <https://www.discogs.com/release/15695139-The-Mean-Machine-Disco-Dream>. Accessed June 24, 2023. "Kid Creole & The Coconuts present Coati Mundi – Me No Pop I – 1981 Original sound recording made by ZE Records." <https://www.discogs.com/release/397643-Coati-Mundi-Me-No-Pop-I>. Accessed June 24, 2023.
- ¹⁸⁴ Mikko Montonen, "Mikko listii pienet levyt – GRANDMASTER FLASH AND THE FURIOUS FIVE: The Wheels of Steel (Sugarhill 12)", *Soundi*, 1/82, p. 82. Grandmaster Flash has explained that he did not rap. See for example Jussi Niemi, "Kuin salama mustalta taivaalta!" *Soundi*, 3/85, pp. 38–39.
- ¹⁸⁵ Mikko Montonen, "Mikko listii pienet levyt – GRANDMASTER FLASH AND THE FURIOUS FIVE: The Wheels of Steel (Sugarhill 12)", and "Mikko Montonen, "Mikko listii pienet levyt – PRINCE: Sexuality (Warner Bros.)", *Soundi*, 1/82, p. 82. See also Ismo Tenkanen. "Kurtis Blow (Mercury 6337 137) 1980." *Blues News*. 1/81, p. 29.
- ¹⁸⁶ Ismo Tenkanen, "Mikko Mattlar: Stadin Diskohistoria (Kirja-arvio)." Soul Town. February 26, 2017. The present writer has a copy of this review. Mattlar 2017, p. 198.
- ¹⁸⁷ Ismo Tenkanen & Tatu Pääkkönen, "Isot ffunk (sic) yhtyeet taskukoossa", *Blues News*, 4/82, p. 40.
- ¹⁸⁸ This and the next paragraph are based on Jorma Riihikoski, "Levysilmäilyt", *Blues News*, 4/82, p. 26.
- ¹⁸⁹ Hager 2013, chapter 'Chapter 6: Breaking Out'.
- ¹⁹⁰ Antti-Ville Kärjä has noticed that the humoristic image of the Finnish excessive alcohol drinking was connected with Breakdance a few years later. This is discussed more later. See Kärjä 2020, p. 138.
- ¹⁹¹ Jussi Niemi, "Kuin salama mustalta taivaalta!" *Soundi*, 3/85, p. 39. Heinilä 2021, pp. 166–167.
- ¹⁹² "Singles", *Blues News*, 4/82, p. 27.
- ¹⁹³ "Felix & Jarvis – Flamethrower Rap – 1982 RFC Records." <https://www.discogs.com/master/140543-Felix-Jarvis-Flamethrower-Rap>. "Afrika Bambaataa & The Soul Sonic Force – Planet Rock – Tommy Boy Music." <https://www.discogs.com/master/19152-Afrika-Bambaataa-The-Soul-Sonic-Force-Music-By-Planet-Patrol-Planet-Rock>. Both accessed June 26, 2023. See also Hager 2013, chapter 'Chapter 6: Breakin' Out'.
- ¹⁹⁴ "Disco Top 20", *Suosikki*, N:o 8, 1982, p. 9. "Disco Top 20", *Suosikki*, N:o 9, 1982, p. 9. "Disco Top 20", *Suosikki*, N:o 10, 1982, p. 17.
- ¹⁹⁵ "Singles", *Blues News*, 5/82, p. "Singles", and "Top American Soul Albums", *Blues News*, 6/82, p. 31. "Sequence – I Don't Need Your Love – 1982 Sugar Hill Records." <https://www.discogs.com/release/1123846-Sequence-I-Dont-Need-Your-Love>. Accessed June 27, 2023. The Millie Jackson comparison is very clear when listening to Jackson's earlier albums. See footnote 156.
- ¹⁹⁶ Jorma Riihikoski, "Levysilmäilyt", *Blues News*, 4/82, p. 26. See also footnote 195. For example, the Sugarhill Records released Positive Force's 'Especially for You' in 1980, which was not a Rap recording. See "Positive Force – Especially for You – 1980 Sugar Hill Records Ltd." <https://www.discogs.com/release/98798-Positive-Force-Especially-For-You>. Accessed June 29, 1980.
- ¹⁹⁷ This conclusion is supported by Finnish music critic Mikko Montonen's claim of the Sugarhill Records as "mainly a Rap company", which he made a few months later. See Mikko Montonen, "Levysoitin soi, seitsemän miestä höpöttää", *Soundi*, 1/83, p. 20.
- ¹⁹⁸ Mikko Montonen, "Levysoitin soi, seitsemän miestä höpöttää", *Soundi*, 1/83, pp. 19–21.
- ¹⁹⁹ "Rap Is The Word", *Soundi*, 3/83, p. 26. Polarvox, which is mentioned at the top right corner of the advertisement, was a Finnish record company. See Minna Koivunen. "TARJOLLA TÄNÄÄN ROCKIN SUOMENMESTARI: Rockin SM-kilpailujen merkitys 1970- ja 1980-lukujen suomalaisessa rock-kulttuurissa." Master's Thesis. Yhteiskunta- ja kulttuuritieteiden yksikkö. Tampereen yliopisto, kevät 2012, p. 42.
- ²⁰⁰ Mikko Montonen, "Levysoitin soi, seitsemän miestä höpöttää", *Soundi*, 1/83, pp. 19–21.
- ²⁰¹ Ibid.
- ²⁰² Ibid.
- ²⁰³ Grandmaster Flash with David Ritz 2008, pp. 42–49, 53–55. Hager 2013, chapter 'Chapter 3: Herculoords at the Hevalo'.
- ²⁰⁴ Mikko Montonen, "Levysoitin soi, seitsemän miestä höpöttää", *Soundi*, 1/83, p. 20. The present writer has explored all the issues of the three music magazines between 1981 and 1982. In addition to what is mentioned in this article, there has not been any sign of "an influx" of Rap-related articles and reviews.

- ²⁰⁵ Heinilä 2021, pp. 98–99. "The Humble Beginnings of Hip Hop on Wax", in Johan Kugelberg (edited by), *Born in the Bronx: A Visual Record of the Early Days of Hip Hop*. New York: Rizzoli International Publications, Inc., 2007, p. 142.
- ²⁰⁶ Ismo Tenkanen, "Soulvuosi 1982", p. 20 and "Valtikat vaihtuivat BN-Pollissa (taas!) (sic)", p. 24, in *Blues News*, 1/83.
- ²⁰⁷ Leena Lehtinen, "Westworld", *Soundi*, 3/83, p. 17. "Malcolm McLaren – D'Ya Like Scratchin' – 1983 Island Records." <https://www.discogs.com/release/712294-Malcolm-McLaren-And-The-World-Famous-Supreme-Team-Radio-Show-Dya-Like-Scratchin> . Accessed July 2, 2023. About the scratch as a DJ technique see Hager 2013, chapter 'Chapter 3: Herculords at the Hevalo'.
- ²⁰⁸ Mitä punk-pappa edellä...", *Suosikki*, N:o 5, 1983, p. 39. Hager 2013, chapter 'Chapter 3: Herculords at the Hevalo'. Chang 2005, chapter 'DJing: Style As Science'. Ewoodzie Jr. 2017, p. 85. Tricia Rose. *Black Noise: Rap Music and Black Culture in Contemporary America*. Hanover: Wesleyan University Press, 1994. The Kindle edition, chapter 'RAP MUSIC'. Malcolm McLaren began to study Rap music at the beginning of the 1980s, so he could not invent the scratch before Grand Wizard Theodore. Chang 2005, chapter 'World's Famous'.
- ²⁰⁹ "LP-lista", *Soundi*, 3/83, p. 9. "LP-lista", *Soundi*, 4/83, p. 13. "LP-lista", *Soundi*, 5/83, p. 11.
- ²¹⁰ This is based on the 1980 census. See "Liite 3 – Henkilöiden asuinpaikan koordinaattitietojen peittävyys kunnittain", in *Official Statistics of Finland – Population and Housing Census 1980 – Volume XIII – Localities*. Helsinki, Finland: Central Statistical Office of Finland, 1983, pp. 171–175.
- ²¹¹ "Rap Scholar 20.11.2017: Suomirapin varhaiset vuodet", *Rap Scholar*, 1:54:55, 2017, <https://www.mixcloud.com/RapScholar/rap-scholar-20112017-suomirapin-varhaiset-vuodet/> . Accessed July 15, 2023.
- ²¹² Heikki Hilamaa & Seppo Varjus, "Hiphop: pohjoinen ulottuvuus", in Jukka Lindfors, Pekka Gronow, Jake Nyman (editors), *Suomi soi 2: Rautalangasta hiphoppiin*. Hämeenlinna: Karisto Oy, 2004, p. 194. Elina Westinen, "The Discursive Construction of Authenticity: Resources, Scales and Polycentricity in Finnish Hip Hop Culture." Jyväskylä: Jyväskylä University Printing House, 2014. pp. 35–36. Willman 2015, p. 13. Ari Hautaniemi. "Man on the Moon." *Alternatives*, Issue 1, June, 2017, pp. 18 and 21. The present write has a copy of the article. The *Discosusi* magazine reported on the beginning of Tapani Ripatti's radio career in Yleisradio. "Ripatti radiossa", *Discosusi*, 6/80, p. 4.
- ²¹³ Heinilä 2021, pp. 199–200.
- ²¹⁴ See "Grand Master Flash & The Furious Five* – New York New York", <https://www.discogs.com/release/3003922-Grand-Master-Flash-The-Furious-Five-New-York-New-York> . Accessed July 3, 2023. "Sugarhill Gang – Kick It Live From 9 To 5", <https://www.discogs.com/release/5176680-Sugarhill-Gang-Kick-It-Live-From-9-To-5> . Accessed July 3, 2023. See also footnote 199.
- ²¹⁵ The present writer has checked all the "Singlet" (Singles) charts in *Suosikki* between January 1983 and January 1984. Only 'New York New York' entered the chart. See "Singlet", *Suosikki*, No 10, 1983, p. 32.
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- ²¹⁸ Jussi Niemi, "Kojon mustat partnerit", pp. 17–18 and "Njassa rappaa", pp. 29–30, in *Soundi*, 6/83. Heinilä 2021, p. 198. Mattlar 2017, pp. 199 and 223. See also Miettinen 2011, pp. 32–33.
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- ²³⁰ Ismo Tenkanen, "Looking for the Perfect Beat", *Blues News*, 4/83, p. 37.
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