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From Disco to Electronic Music: Following the Evolution of Dance Culture Through Music Genres, Venues, Laws, and Drugs.

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I. Introduction

There are many beginnings to the history of Electronic Dance Music (EDM). It would be a mistake to exclude the impact that disco had upon house, techno, acid house, and dance music in general. While disco evolved mostly in the dance capital of America (New York), it proposed the idea that danceable songs could be mixed smoothly together, allowing for long term dancing to previously recorded music. Prior to the disco era, nightlife dancing was restricted to bands or jukeboxes, which limited variety and options of songs and genres. The selections of the DJs mattered more than their technical excellence at mixing. DJs in the New York clubs began to experiment with different styles, using new technology to their advantage. Variable speed turntables, mixers, and recorded tapes, all added to different variations on DJ-ing style. New genres emerged as disco provoked a backlash in the mainstream culture in the late 1970s. Two different strands of house music developed from Chicago dance culture, as well as the sub genre of acid house, that became incredibly popular in the United Kingdom in the mid to late 80s. Detroit techno, created in the early 80s, would also be exported out to Europe. The core of these new genres was formed by the sudden accessibility of drum machines, and bassline machines. New music was being created, but sometimes it was hard to get music pressed to vinyl or released on record labels, causing many to create their own labels. When acid house began to become popular in the UK, ecstasy also became available, creating, at first what was a small minority, a following that would do whatever they could to party all night on drugs. Soon entrepreneurs took advantage of the situation and started staging large illegal raves, selling tickets in advance but only revealing the location the night of, to avoid the police. Police began to crack down on raves when ecstasy start showing up in the media. With new legislation in place, by 1991 it became incredibly difficult to host illegal raves. Yet further legislation would

be enacted against raves and unlicensed parties in general. The UK music scene evolved drastically over a short period of time between 1988 and 1993. UK hardcore and, surprisingly, ecstasy culture would be the first to be imported back into the American dance scene. Brooklyn and New York would be the first to embrace the culture in 1988. San Francisco would be the first to embrace UK acid house and illegal rave culture, brought in by a small group of British disillusioned by the strict laws against their culture. The Midwest would embrace UK Hardcore and Brooklyn Storm raves because one promoter, Drop Bass Networks, would host most of the successful raves in the early 90s. As illegal raves grew in number police backlash forced them into legality, or pushed them outside their cities. When commercial opportunities were seen, entrepreneur jumped onto the scene and, depending upon the risks, sold goods, whether they be drugs, paraphernalia, or tickets. The sponsorship behind large festivals and small venues has created a commodification out of dance culture. The music scene has continued to evolve, and the myriad of genres and artist producing electronic music shows no sign of slowing down. Many artists reach into the history of their genre and expand into other genres or combined genres. Dance culture is cyclical, but the rise in technology allows the modern artists to express themselves through the present, whether or not they recycle ideas, phrases, or the music itself. Drugs have a strong correlation with music culture: inspiring new music; creating a network of dependency, which can instigate a capitalist spirit to undertake its supply; and forcing the hand of police and government to keep track of its rise and fall, because they are generally unable to control its use in culture. The following chapters attempt to follow dance music patterns and culture from its New York acid and disco roots, to its modern world wide exposure where any number of drugs can be taken at festivals or venues, and music artists are encouraged to tour in support of recently released music.

II. Disco: New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, and Detroit in the 1970s

Images of John Travolta in *Saturday Night Fever* come to mind when most people think of disco. The film was released amidst the hype of disco, to catch the attention of a mainstream audience. But for most true followers of disco, it was just Hollywood using and projecting their own version of disco for mainstream consumption. The film itself is based on an article penned by Nik Cohn, “The Rituals of the New Saturday Night” published in *New York* magazine in July 1976. The piece is fictional, however Cohn passed it off as a non-fictional account of a young Italian American, which focused on the life that revolved around the Brooklyn discotheque, 2001: Odyssey.

Many of the critics found several faults in the film, which stressed, “the point of going to a discotheque, it turned out, wasn't really to dance but to meet someone of the opposite sex and stop dancing” (Lawrence 305). This was not entirely true of the disco scene; while many did have this goal, disco was mainly intended for dancing. The film sends a mixed message by celebrating disco, while the moral of the story conveys the inability to maintain a disco lifestyle. In the end the main character, Tony “wants to go to the club capital of America *in order to escape the world of the discotheque*” (Lawrence 305). The film was accurate in some ways, like the way people dressed for disco. It failed in its representation of the sexuality of the DJ; according to Bay Ridge DJ Dan Pucciarelli, “The movie’s DJ, Monty Rock, gave the image that DJs were gay pot smokers. Back then there wasn’t one DJ in Brooklyn who was gay” (Lawrence 305). It seems that most gay or bi-sexual DJs were in Manhattan instead of Brooklyn. The music featured in the film was highly representative of the genre, and the sales from the official soundtrack album subsequently became a chart topper; “*Saturday Night Fever: the Soundtrack* became the highest selling long-playing album of all time, until it was deposed by Michael

Jackson's *Thriller* six years later” (Gilbert and Pearson 9). While disco and dance culture are entirely different, disco was the catalyst for dance culture.

The real start of dance music came out of the 60s interest in acid. David Mancuso started to throw parties in his downtown Manhattan apartment in 1966. Inspired by acid parties, he left an area for dancing and created a tape that would bring listeners on a journey. The pivotal point for the underground dance scene was when Mancuso decided to throw a Valentine’s Day party in 1969, centered around LSD spiked punch and balloons that floated around in his apartment. The most important element of Mancuso's “Love Saves the Day” party, was the invitation system he set up. He was the first person to utilize the practice of giving out individual invitations, required for entry, as a way to keep the parties underground. Mancuso started hosting regular private parties, using the invitation system to invite guests which kept the parties legal. Mancuso's residential venue became known as “The Loft,” because he literally lived in a loft at 674 Broadway Ave. The people he invited were racially and sexually mixed, causing most people who attended the parties to come away with the impression that race, sex, sexual orientation, and physical appearance really did not matter. These parties became the source of inspiration for many “members only” discotheques and nightclubs.

Mancuso often DJ-ed his parties, bringing them on sonic journeys, and later adding physical effects like simulating wind with a fan. Mancuso played obscure records often, although he did include many disco songs during the mid 70s and into the 80s. He was known for having an amazing sound system, which was the best sound system in Manhattan for a long period of time, until the emergence of the Paradise Garage in 1977 . It was custom built by Mancuso and sound technician Alex Rosner; he strove for the warmest, clearest possible sound, achieving this by adding a Tweeter array to his main speakers, and what was later known as Subwoofers to

enhance the treble and the bass respectively. Mancuso even designed a mixer so that he could queue up tracks and fade in and out of records easier. However Mancuso never DJ-ed with the intention of mixing, remixing or beat matching.

The first man to beat match well was Francis Grasso, who was a dancer before he became a DJ. His start towards fame as a DJ began while he was DJ-ing at an afterhours discotheque, The Sanctuary, which changed ownership in late 1969. Bought by Seymour and Shelley, it became a gay club by early 1970. Grasso's technique is the most impressive feature about his style. He was the first DJ to use headphones to help him sync records, and he was one of the first DJs to beat match. Beat matching is when, for example, a record is 125 beats per minute, the next record should be within 3 bpm of the record currently playing, otherwise there would be a noticeable shift in tempo. Grasso used his headphones to layer "the Latin beats of Chicago's 'I'm a Man' over the erotic groans of the vocal break in Led Zeppelin's 'Whole Lotta Love'" in his most famous mix. (Lawrence 35). Amazingly these two sections of songs overlapped so perfectly that as "I'm a Man" ended, the guitars from "Whole Lotta Love" came in and blew the crowd away. Grasso literally developed a new way to mix, rather than just trying to get the beats to match or, even just letting the track finish before putting on the next track; he was overlapping tracks so that they would create this new sensational and seamless mix. This was the beginning of the all night dancing, non-stop music that would flow throughout the night. With the influx of gay men into the Sanctuary, Grasso "was ready to play, and they were ready to dance" (Lawrence 38).

Grasso enjoyed his fame but within a couple years, other DJs developed their own creative styles. Steve D'Acquisto, Michael Cappello, Bobby Guttadaro, and Nicky Siano, all began their rise in DJ status in the early 70s. Fascinated by DJ-ing, D'Acquisto, and Cappello

used to hang around in Grasso's DJ booth, and learned all that they could from this master. Soon, both would get their breaks at other venues. Cappello had a good ear, and learned quickly to practice his own style, while D'Acquisto was more straight forward, mixing songs traditionally. Grasso comments that, "Steve was a methodical player. He was more of an automaton than a DJ. Whereas Michael was a natural, Steve actually needed to be taught" (Lawrence 57). So Grasso continued to teach D'Acquisto, who became Grasso's alternate at Haven and Cafe Francis. D'Acquisto went on to play at the Sanctuary and Year 2000, before landing a residency at Tamburlaine. Guttadero got his start on Fire Island, a gay community on Long Island outside Manhattan. The Ice Palace hired Guttadero to DJ in the summer of 1971. Owner Michael Fresco redesigned the interior space so they could expand the dance floor when the place got more crowded. As Guttadero's popularity grew with the Ice Palace, more job opportunities opened up. The Continental Baths was a gay friendly bath house in Manhattan owned by Steve Ostrow. Remodeled to host DJs, a vacancy opened at the Baths and Guttadero was invited to play in the spring of 1972. He agreed, and in a few weeks realized that the Fire Island crowd was dancing in front of him! Bob Casey acknowledges this phenomenon, "It was like a bus from Fire Island had dropped everyone off at the Baths. The crowd came back looking for a place to go and -bam! Bobby was probably the first DJ to 'bring his crowd with him'"(Lawrence 74). Nicky Siano increased the stakes of famous DJs. Already possessing a large record collection, which had been financed with drug money, he became intrigued by the art of DJ-ing. Still in high school, he and his then girlfriend'd Robin Lord, went to The Loft a number of times and got kicked out for dealing drugs. This sparked the creation of a new venue, the Gallery, which opened in February of 1973. Coincidentally, Mancuso decided to shut his parties down during the summer of 1973. Siano and Lord used the last Loft party before the summer to distribute flyers advertising the

Gallery. The influx of dancers the next week gave the Gallery a huge boost. Siano developed his DJ style at the Gallery, became inspired by Cappello and Richard Kaczor to create smooth transitions. When Siano got variable speed turntables after his 18th birthday in March of 1973 he perfected beat matching and smooth transitions. He literally became the best at transitions, “It became difficult listening to other guys play in the old style after that”(Lawrence 108). Grasso disliked this new style, he knew that music affectionados would notice the change in tempo, “If you're a good disc jockey and you're playing a record that's 100 beats per minute you should have the knowledge to pick out a record that runs at 101 or 102 beats per minute. You don't take a record that plays at 105 beats per a minute and slow it down. You're using equipment to change the actual record”(Lawrence 109). The packed Gallery proved that the crowd did not agree. In the beginning of 1974 Siano introduced sound effects, which made the crowd even more excited. The audience was loving Siano, and Siano thought he was just great, but he was modest. Addison had hired Siano to play weekdays at Le Jardin, but when the owner told Siano he was best, Siano stated, ”No, Micheal Cappello is the greatest, I'm the second greatest”(Lawrence 127). A couple months later Addison replaced Siano with Cappello. Nicky Siano was a great DJ, with a good personality, and in July 1974, *New York* magazine published an article about the DJ impact on nightlife, featuring Nicky Siano. Siano quickly became a famous DJ who in turn inspired future DJs, the most notably being Larry Levan and Frankie Knuckles. Both disciples went on to become resident DJs of venues that would shape the future of dance music.

The underground club scene in New York was chaotic; it was almost impossible to run a business. The mafia controlled the streets, and the police harassed homosexuals and drug dealers. Club owners had to pay a percentage to the mafia for “protection”. Clubs that catered to gay crowds also had to pay off the police to avoid harassment. Drugs use became frequent in the club

scene, and soon police were doing raids on different dance venues. The Sanctuary was raided, Francis Grasso was beaten by a mafia foot soldier and in 1972, police raided Mancuso's Loft. Mancuso was smart though, his parties were private, he did not serve alcohol, and drugs were not sold inside. The police had no case against him and the case was thrown out. The police continued their raids though, because Mancuso was missing the paperwork that gave him ownership of his apartment, and they could harass him for that.

With the success of Fire Island, The Sanctuary, the Baths, and The Loft, new owners decided to open clubs to make a buck on this budding underground culture. "Thanks to the resilience of entrepreneurs such as Seymour combined with unquenchable demand of dancers like La Torre, clubs continued to open more quickly than they closed"(Lawrence 96). The Tenth Floor became the first club to copy Mancuso's invitation system. Opening on the tenth floor of a sewing machine factory in December of 1972, it became an elitist, white, gay club. Owners David Bruie, Jim Jessup, and David Sokoloff were Fire Islanders who saw an opportunity. Jessup used to frequent the Loft, and when he asked Mancuso if it was ok to use the same template for their new venue Mancuso encouraged it, "Please, go right ahead! I gave them all the help I could. It was like a good joint. You passed it. I said we were like bees and could pollinate" (Lawrence 75). John Addison came onto the scene in mid 1972, creating Fi-Jo Disco Corporation, with partner Fifi Nicolas. They opened the venue Superstar, which did not last long, and forced to shut down in May 1972. They also opened Together, as an all night juice bar with a jukebox, around the same time. The real money and fame came in the form of Le Jardin, when Addison realized a legal bar was what he really needed in a club. Le Jardin was designed for more than just the dancers. Addison had his eye on celebrities and he offered Guttadero the position of DJ. Le Jardin was in Times Square, thus extremely public and La Torre noted, "Up

until Le Jardin dancing had been a more or less underground thing” (Lawrence 98). Then the city shut down the Loft and the Gallery in the beginning of the summer of 1974. The fire department cited inadequate fire exits for the Gallery, while the Loft was a sensitive situation that had been in the works since '72. The Gallery re-opened in a new spot downtown, and had a three-tiered lighting system. Mancuso also opened a new loft, which was much larger and more legal than his original venue.

Record companies refused to acknowledge disco for several years, so many of the bands and singers used small independent or subsidiary labels to get studio recording time and distribution packages. Philadelphia International Records was set up as a subsidiary record label in the spring of 1971, by Columbia who funded the initial costs. Philadelphia International had several disco hits, but the greatest contribution it had to disco was the winning combination of Baker-Harris-Young. Ronnie Baker on bass, Norman Harris on guitar and Earl Young on drums, literally, created the disco sound. Young began to up the tempo of the drums, and on the single released by Buddha Records, “Zing Went the Strings of My Heart,” by the Baker-Harris-Young band, The Trammps, he kept the four beats per measure of the bass and created different patterns with the cymbals. This was disco, and it was soon all over the dance floors of New York. Philadelphia International became a success, producing many more disco singles.

“Every DJ worth his salt could cite a record that they were credited with spinning before anybody else”(Lawrence 112). Mancuso and Alfie Davison spun “Soul Makossa” by Manu Dibango, first. This African jazz track excited DJs and soon it became a chart hit, not because of radio play. DJs had been suggesting that they were responsible for promoting many singles to the top of the charts because of their repeated play, well before radio got ahold of the same tracks. Until Dibango, this was disputable, but his record rose to fame based purely on DJ support and

the DJs wanted credit. Then in July of 1974, 20th Century, who had just released the chart topper “Love's Theme” by Love Unlimited Orchestra, awarded gold records to radio DJ Frankie Crocker and Guttadero for helping the record to reach success. Barry White, the man behind Love Unlimited, went in person to thank Guttadero, giving the discotheque DJs credit where credit was deserved.

In August of 1974, Bobby Casey created the National Association of Discotheque Disc Jockeys, so that they would have a voice. While the NADD tried to create an actual profession out of DJ-ing, DJs themselves realized their unstable yet fluid profession was constantly changing. DJs had to keep up with current records, and get them before other DJs could. This led to DJs going straight to record companies and requesting promotional records. This setup did not work well for DJs, because while the record companies realized DJs could be influential to their record sales, they did not have a good understanding of the DJ lifestyle. Record companies soon had too many DJs coming by to try and pick up records, so they created pick up times that were out of sync with DJ's lives, such as at 11am when most DJs would be asleep after a night of work. Bobby Casey and Sharon Heyward organized an open forum in May 1975 between the DJs and the record companies, creating a chaos that ensued and made it clear that record companies did not want to distribute their records to just anyone. The DJs in response made it clear that they were tired of going unrecognized and forced to work around the schedules of the record companies. This prompted Mancuso to help set up The Record Pool, a coalition of DJs that would work together, and share any new information they got with the rest of the pool as soon as they could. Inaugurated on 2 June 1975 at 99 Prince Street, the home of the soon to be reopened Loft, The New York Record Pool established itself as the point of contact between record companies and the DJs. At the end of the first month, 183 DJs had joined the pool and

soon record companies would take it seriously. The New York Record Pool inspired the creation of other record pools, from Long Island to Los Angeles; at the end of the month, the New York pool invited music companies to a summit. More than 25 companies showed up, and many pledged to use the pool as a central distribution point for new records. The self-regulating, self-financed organization played a key role in the market. "Each week, reporters guesstimated, its members played approximately fifty new releases to some 240,000 dancers, who left the discotheques to buy their favorite records, which were subsequently pushed by radio" (Lawrence 162). David Mancuso became the president, while Vincent Alletti became vice-president, and Steve D'Acquisto became secretary. The pool sought to legitimize their DJs and each had to bring a letter from the club owner stating who they worked for, and signed with a corporate seal. In September 1975, the pool introduced feedback sheets, a move by Doug Riddick from Atlantic to deter the selling of free vinyl. From the very beginning, it was tough work for Mancuso and D'Acquisto, but they managed to make it work. Until mid September, when D'Acquisto was caught offloading some records for profit, despite the "Not For Resale" warning printed on each. The tensions between Mancuso and D'Acquisto had been growing and when Mancuso felt that D'Acquisto had a tarnished image in the eyes of the record company, he asked his friend to resign and stay on only as a consultant. D'Acquisto was not interested in the idea and stormed off. Mancuso replaced him with Eddie Rivera, but after a few meetings he realized the DJ was up to something; when Mancuso missed a meeting and the minutes of that meeting were missing, he asked Rivera to resign. He did, also taking the Latin DJs with him, and went on to form the International Disco Record Center. Judy Weinstein replaced Rivera, by recommendation of Alletti, and she entered the job with organizing gusto. But Mancuso did not care for the control she was attempting to obtain, and in 1977 proposed that she be relieved of her duty. His own

committee overruled him, and when he countered that the pool should leave Prince Street, his property, it prompted Weinstein to resign at the end of 1977. The pool stopped functioning soon after her departure. With the pool in limbo, DJs were left hanging. A few DJ friends approached Weinstein to create a new pool, and she opened “For the Record” on 1 February 1978. For the Record officially replaced the New York Record Pool, and became elitist in its operation and membership. Tim Lawrence gives a concise summary of the trials and troubles of venues, which, “almost invariably attracted and then lost their core crowds, sometimes because a favorite DJ moved on, sometimes because a group of gatecrashers spoiled the party, sometimes because a better alternative opened up in another part of town, and sometimes because city governments decided that enough was enough. These authorities acted according to a series of Byzantine edicts that encompassed questions of alcohol consumption, entrance policies, fire exits, building use, opening hours, noise levels, and sexual preferences” (Lawrence 4).

The homophobia of the New York cops in the early 70s provided a lot of tension for dance clubs. Stonewall Inn was gay, bi, name-your-sexual-preference friendly, and regularly had to pay off the cops to keep from being harassed. On 17 June 1969, eight police officers raided the Inn after not receiving payment because someone in the chain had not handed the payment along. They served the manager with a warrant for selling liquor without a license and arrested several drag queens. When they arrested a dyke, she put up a struggle and it motivated patrons who were looking on from the street to act. “Limp wrists were forgotten. Beer cans and beer bottles were heaved at the windows and a rain of coins descended on the cops” (Lawrence 28). The full scale riot lasted several nights. The Sanctuary had to endure New York state law, which asserted that all male dancing was illegal and that discotheques should contain at least one woman for every

three men. When it became a haven for drug use, the owners started to stay away from their own venues and police started showing up regularly. By March of 1972, the state attorney general tried to close the place down and “the fire department walked in at about six-thirty in the morning wearing gas masks. We all thought they were part of the club and were wearing these terrific outfits” (Lawrence 67). This was not the only time the fire department would go in, raid a place, and then shut it down. It happened to the Gallery and Reade Street as well. While these were shut down by the fire department, some venues were shut down by fire, including Tamburlanie in 1971 and Limelight and Infinity in 1979. Cafe Francis had a different problem, it was the first club to be named after the DJ, but it was not the same experience Grasso had created at the Sanctuary, and soon it shut down for lack of attendees. The Tenth Floor, the Baths, and many others suffered the same fate as Cafe Francis. Some clubs or after hours venues borrowed styles from other clubs and subsequently stole their target crowd, or failed to gain enough attention. Flamingo was the new Tenth Floor, but even more private with membership cards and the attraction of the up-market gays. Xenon tried to do the same to down the street rival Studio 54. The opening night was a disaster, with possible celebrities unwilling to get out of their limos because the door was so crowded. Studio 54 would not be so easily challenged. Studio 54 basically designed by party promoter Carmen D'Alessio, who was hired before the club's remodeling was finished. Designed for celebrities, the club's financiers spared no expenses. They hired Richard Long to do the sound, and Kaczor to DJ. The success of Bianca Jagger's birthday bash at Studio 54 on 2 May 1977 pushed the club into the celebrity limelight. The club's interior was designed to be extravagant, with a large Man on the Moon, that had a moveable arm which lifted a cocaine spoon it had in hand up to its nose. The club became a high

profile location for drug use and corruption. Seemingly, the club was not about dance music so much as it was about glamour, stars, and judgment

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III. Sound and Technology

Sound was central to Mancuso's Loft, and many of the DJs inspired by him sought to match the sound that made them want to stay and dance all night. Alex Rosner was the sound technician behind Mancuso's set up, and became the guy to go to in Manhattan for a good sound system; "he also installed systems at a series of high profile venues, including Directoire, the Ginza, the Limelight, Max's Kansas City, Shepherd's, Tambourine, and Tamburlaine, as well as the Haven, where he worked on the system alongside Richard Long"(Lawrence 89). Richard Long was the other renowned sound technician in Manhattan. Long also worked with Mancuso, and provided him with bass speakers to match his innovative tweeter array. Rosner was not only a technician, but with his degree in electrical engineering he was able to work with complex DJ demands and create new technology. The first mixer, "Rosie" was created for Francis Grasso in 1971, and later that year the first commercially available mixer, the Bozak CMA-10-2DL rotary club mixer, was released. The Bozak was designed by Rudy Bozak, with the help of Rosner and Long. Long's business soon took over, as he not only bought and installed systems, but also designed speaker housings, creating the ideal bass speakers for a specific venue. By 1977, Long was installing his systems in all the major venues, including the Paradise Garage, which he worked closely with Larry Levan to create; "Custom-built speakers that, in either a generous tribute or a sharp marketing exercise, were dubbed 'Levan Horns.'"(Lawrence 347). Although critics of the venue decided that the sound was too loud, measuring 135 decibels, 10 away from blowing out your ear drums, in the middle of the dance floor, and missing some octaves" (Lawrence 348). While the Loft set the example for superior sound, there was always someone who wanted something that was bigger, louder, and stronger.

The ability to be louder received an accidental boost in 1974. Tom Moulton and Jose Rodriguez were pressing a single, when they ran out of seven-inch blanks; Rodriguez suggested using a twelve-inch blank, and just spread out the grooves so that they could use up a whole side of the record. When they played it back, the level was much louder than on traditional seven-inch records. Playing it for several DJs, Moulton thought he had come upon the newest tool for DJs. Moulton had been advocating more disco friendly singles that DJs could use for long mixes. In November of 1974, he got his first chance when record label Specter executive Mel Cheren listened, and gave him the chance to mix Don Downing's "Dream World". Moulton created the first studio designed break for the single, which started in one key and continued up the scale. He took out everything but the conga drums near the end of the song, let the modulation continue, and then started it over in the original key. Moulton went on to do more mixes, or rather release a previous mix, "Do it ('til You're Satisfied)" by the Brothers Truckin', renamed B. T. Express, that topped the charts and went gold. Moulton almost single-handedly got record companies to start releasing "disco" mixes of popular songs. Moulton became influential in mixing records and in his words, "People began to call me the doctor. They would bring me their sick records, and I would fix it. They all thought I was crazy in terms of the way I changed everything around" (Lawrence 149). Of course, since the record companies were not always interested in catering to DJs, the new twelve-inch format was not exploited until the first commercial release of Double Exposure's "Ten Percent."

Following the release of the commercially successful twelve-inch single in 1976, Salsoul, the record label behind Double Exposure, hired Walter Gibbons to do the re-edit. Gibbons had never set foot in a studio, and was the resident DJ at Galaxy 21 in Manhattan at the time. By 1976 he was proficient in lopping sections of a record, according to Francis Kevorkian, a French

drummer who was hired to play alongside Gibbons, “he had this uncanny sense of mixing that was so accurate it was unbelievable...the record [Rare Earth's “Happy Days”] doesn't just start. It fades up. You really have to have a keen ear to pick it out through the headphones” (Lawrence 216). Gibbons remix of “Ten Percent” was a hit, selling 110,000 copies in the first week.

Gibbons had introduced the notion that the producer was another key player in dance music. In hindsight this makes perfect sense; the DJs regularly transformed records live in the clubs, and were able to witness the reactions of the crowd. DJs knew what made dancers move, so rather than just mixing live, why not allow the DJs into the studio to transform songs into dance music? This did not sit well with the artists, writers, and producers already set up in the music industry, but it allowed for the future remixes that would soon be created by top DJs. Gibbons later remixed Salsoul Orchestra's “Hit and Run,” using the original multitrack, the first time a studio had let a DJ have access to all the individual tracks from the recording session. Gibbons turned a six-minute album version into a twelve-minute hit featuring many of the originally edited out material, such as Loretta Holloway's improvised vocals. This was also released on twelve-inch vinyls and further confirmed the rise in commercial success of this new medium.

While remixers had been a part of the scene before, they had never had so much influence. As the 70s progressed, new remixers surfaced. One of especially popular status was Larry Levan. Levan had been a part of the dance scene for a long time, he was a regular Loft attendee back in the early 70s, and when Nicky Siano opened the Gallery he made regular appearances. Levan often helped Siano set up the Gallery, and did as much as he could for him. He was also good friends with Frankie Knuckles and the two of them used to watch Siano DJ. Levan started attending the Baths while it was still an active, vibrant venue, and pestered La Torre to let him play. When he demonstrated his abilities, they let Levan play on Wednesdays,

and when Levan went on audition to play in Richard Long's SoHo place in 1974, Knuckles took over at the Baths. When Soho Place shut down, Michael Brody invited the DJ to play at a spot modeled after the Loft: Reade Street. When Reade Street was forced to shut down due to overcrowding 18 months after opening, Brody convinced Levan to play at his next venue. The venue was Paradise Garage, and it was literally the beginning of a sub-genre. Levan crafted himself as the most influential DJ at the time, and constantly played new records, many of which were then pushed on radio or in stores. "If Mr. Levan liked a new song, he'd play it again and again at the Paradise Garage. Radio stations listened to what was being played at the clubs, and a song that made dancers scream on a Saturday night would show up on WBLS on Monday" (Pareles 2). Levan started making his own remixes and producing them, amassing a very large collection. No one could compete with the sheer amount of remixes he was making, nor could they produce them at the same rate. "Even at this early stage of his remixing career the Garage DJ had created such an important canon that even when he wasn't spinning it was more than likely that somewhere else he was being spun" (Lawrence 411). In fact, Levan's sound was so unique, and the Paradise Garage so famous, the style of music that he played became known as garage music. A mixture of live music, sound effects, and Levan's style, other clubs emulated garage music and it influenced musicians across the Atlantic. Before American dance music found its way to the UK, it branched out and evolved in other metropolitan cities.

IV. Chicago House

One of the most influential genres to the UK scene was Chicago House. When Frankie Knuckles replaced Levan at the Baths, the lives of these two friends split. While Levan became a “superstar” DJ, Knuckles stayed at the Baths until they closed in 1976. He started DJ-ing at other venues, and when Robert Williams could not convince Levan to come out to Chicago to DJ, he presented the offer to Knuckles. Knuckles agreed to a trial run, expenses paid, and really liked the place. Robert Williams’s venue was called The Warehouse, because that was pretty much what it was: a converted warehouse. However, in order for Knuckles to come out and permanently DJ at Warehouse he needed to have insurance that it was not going to close like the Baths. Knuckles decided to make Williams an offer: “I thought if I owned a piece of the business then that would give me three times the incentive to make sure it stayed open”(Lawrence 298-9). Williams fortunately agreed, but maintained that he retain most control, while Knuckles was more of an adviser. So in July of 1977, Knuckles began his pivotal career path of DJ-ing at The Warehouse.

Knuckles became popular among Chicago youth, and they would constantly go to the record store to inquire what Knuckles played the night before. In 1980 or 81, Knuckles was driving with a friend when he noticed a bar sign that said “We play house music,” to which Knuckles asked his friend, “What’s that?” and the friend told him, “All the music you play at the Warehouse!” (Lawrence 409). However, Lawrence figures the term actually originated at Imports Etc., a record store that quickly became the record store for dance music. Bret Wilcox, who worked in the shop, describes how they labeled all the twelve-inch records that Knuckles used to play “house records,” after the venue name. Knuckles played around with many disco classics, remixing them live, playing the New York DJ-ing style for people in Chicago who had

never heard it before. Knuckles had to be more creative when the record companies declared disco as dead. He started adding effects and rhythms from a primitive beatbox. When he left the Warehouse to start a new club in Chicago, Power Plant, he had new competition. Farley 'Jackmaster' Funk, Steve 'Silk' Hurley, Ralphie Rosario, Kenny 'Jammin' Jason, and Mickey 'Mixin' Oliver, were all good remixers, and regularly played on Chicago's dance music station, WBMX. At Power Plant Knuckles started to use a drum machine, the Roland TR-909. The competition followed suit, including Ron Hardy, a rival DJ at the Music Box club, who was "more raw" than Knuckles. Hardy used to make his dancers "jack" their bodies to the beat of the drum machine, sometimes playing out drumbeats for ten minutes before dropping into the song (Collin 17). This music became fairly easy to create and many Chicago-ians took the opportunity to put the drum beats on tape, and added layers, adding basslines, samples, and melody to these tracks.

The first commercially available house record was Jesse Saunders and Vince Lawrence's "On and On," released in 1984. DJ International and Trax became the first two house labels, producing several underground house hits by 1986. "House music," Mr. Cheren said, "is the Garage on a budget. The music Larry played, like the Salsoul Orchestra and MFSL, was made by orchestras, by live musicians. When the kids in Chicago wanted to start recording, they couldn't afford that and the computer came into being, so they did it at home and it was stripped down, with no vocals. So it was funkier. House is Garage on a budget"(Paleres 2). The distinction is clear, especially when it is noted that Levan did not use a drum machine; Chicago had not only embraced the drum machine, but had dissected disco to the extent that it was secondary to the actual mixing. Despite this split with disco, house was still a continuation; according to Farley Keith Williams, AKA Farley 'Jackmaster' Funk, "House wasn't nothing but

disco, and proof of that is to listen to all the early house records. All we did was steal peoples music, like my first EP, *Funkin' with the Drums*, that was just MFSB [the key Philadelphia International group], we pulled a bassline from them and then added something else to it. House music ain't nothing but a harder kick drum than disco that's it"(Collin 18). This was before the next subgenre emerged.

Phuture, composed of producers Nathaniel Pierre Jones, Herb Jackson, and Earl 'Spanky' Smith, created a new sound with a Roland TB-303 on night in 1986. "Pierre created a freakazoided, undulating, gurgling, psychedelic, wah-wah effect" with the TB-303, a machine originally created to provide basslines for guitarists. This new sound featured on their record, "Acid Tracks," and spawned the new genre within house called acid house. This new genre was not just an evolution out of house music, in fact Tim Lawrence treats house music as a divided genre: "Two broad categories of house music emerged: house that, referencing the past, continued to live in the present, and house that, articulating an experimental present, reached for a tangible future. The first type of house, drawing on disco as its supreme inspiration, sought to rejuvenate seventies dance within the framework of eighties technology. The second type of house, which is rarely distinguished from disco-driven house in historical accounts, had no direct connection to its seventies predecessor. House was bipolar -- and at least fifty percent avant-gardist -- right from the start" (Lawrence "Acid"). Knuckles and the Chicago DJs of the early 80s represented the first type of house, while Phuture represented the second.

Electronically influenced music came before the acid house tracks of the mid to late 80s. In fact, Robert Moog created the first commercial monophonic modular synthesizer in 1967. Prior to this, synthesizers were too tedious and bulky to work with. Moog was an excited engineer who became hooked to electronic music in the early 60s. The Moog synthesizers were

the first to use voltage control in analog electronic music instruments. He wrote a detailed paper describing the creation of his first synthesizer in the Audio Engineering Society publication in the fall of 1964. Soon, he was getting orders for this new technology. Of particular interest was the request of Vladimir Ussachevsky, who was the co-founder and director of the Columbia-Princeton electronic music center in 1965. Ussachevsky requested a few different items, including two envelope followers, which he gave the technical specifications of which, “called for a four-part envelope. Attack, initial decay, sustain, and release” (Holmes 211). This specification of the envelope of a sound details the complex creation of an electronic sound, in which attack relates to the creation of the sound, initial decay brings the sound to a constant level, sustain keeps the level, and decay drops the sound altogether. This became the standard for electronic music.

Walter Carlos was the first to truly take advantage of the new electronic instrument; in his composition of “*Switched on Bach*” released in 1968. The Beatles even experimented with the synthesizer on their White Album, and Giorgio Moroder used it as a gimmicky sound on “Son of my Father”, but according to Moroder, “The audience response wasn't really there,” (Lawrence “Acid”). However, Chicory Tip covered Moroder’s song in 1972, and it became the first number one pop hit that prominently featured a Moog Synthesizer. The synthesizer became a real instrument within dance culture when Kraftwerk used it in “Trans Europe Express”, released in 1977, which became a huge hit in dance clubs. At this point there exists a shift, “Digital synthesizers such as the DX7 entered the market at the start of the 1980s and caused the value of analogue machines that had existed up to this point to plummet, making them newly accessible to the young producers and DJs who developed house and techno music” (Gilbert and Pearson 124). Roland, a Japanese company, had come out with its first line of drum machines in 1972,

and by 1980 they released the best drum machine to date, the TR-808. The TR-808 only had 16 electronically created beats, and later that same year Roger Linn released the LM-1; “The LM-1 was entirely sample-based and was considered superior to the TR-808 for this reason” (Lawrence “Acid”). In 1982, Roland created the TB-303, a bass line generator to accompany the TR-606 Drumatix, a small drum machine. Then in 1983, Roland released the TR-909, which used both analogued and sampled sounds.

Juan Atkins and Rick Davis, aka 3070, formed Cybotron in 1981 in Detroit; they created spacey computer influenced material, influenced by Kraftwerk. Atkins introduced electronic music to two high school buddies, Derrick May and Kevin Saunderson. Hailing from an affluent suburb, Belleville, the three were introduced to the Chicago house scene, and thereafter created a DJ-ing company called Deep Space in Detroit. The club scene in Detroit was minimal, and they had to host many of their own parties, where they played a lot of Euro-synth pop, like Depeche Mode and Gary Numan and Kraftwerk. Their sound became truly unique when they start picking up any technology they could to create these unique, spacey, electronic sounds. “We were calling it techno,” says May. “Nobody gave us that name. I think it was just the obvious title for the kind of music we made” (Silcott 27). Of course this wasn't entirely true, they had gotten the term from Alvin Toffler's *Third Wave* and sci-fi movies like *Blade Runner*. The Belleville Three, as they were called, are sourced as the originators of techno, which featured analog synthesizers and Roland drum machines.

The first techno record was Cybotron's “Alleys of Your Mind”, released on the Deep Space label in 1981. Soon, Atkins left Cybotron because he wanted to produce more electronic sounds, and Davis wanted to pursue the rock element. Atkins formed his own label, Metroplex, followed by the labels, Transmat, created by May, and KMS, created by Saunderson. Not to be

outdone, Chicago had a slew of record labels pop up in 1984-85, including Other Side and Alleviate, both of which were created because one of the only record labels in town, Trax, turned down Marshall Jefferson's "Go Wild" and Larry Heard's "Washing Machine", "Can You Feel It", and "Mystery of Love". The problem was that there were not enough record labels.

Unfortunately, another obstacle was that Chicago only had one vinyl pressing plant, owned and operated by Larry Sherman, co-creator of Trax. Sherman had no moral qualms about skimming off the sales of popular records, and recycling old records to print new records on, leading to lower quality. Since records could only be pressed through Sherman unless offered a deal outside Chicago, there were no better qualities if a particular run was bad.

This lack in record labels and pressing plants makes it difficult to track the evolution of house, acid house, and techno. In fact before the record labels became established, many producers and musician recorded their music on tapes, and distributed them to the relatively few influential DJs in town. When the Warehouse closed in 1983, Knuckles opened Power Plant and created a DJ booth that loomed above the crowd. Hardy was recruited by Williams, former owner of the Warehouse, to play in the new Warehouse in 1984, but with the opening of Power Plant around the same time, the new Warehouse failed to draw a crowd. Williams then opened the Music Box, attracting a much straighter crowd than the original Warehouse and the new Power Plant. With new music recorded on tape, local musicians would just approach Hardy or Knuckles and ask them to give it a listen or play it in their club. Hardy was more accessible than Knuckles, and got a larger share of the first wave of new house. Hardy started playing these new tapes, and producers found it much easier to give him their tapes than to get a high quality cut to the picky Knuckles.

Hardy began changing his style, playing tapes backwards, several times in a row, or speeding them up. The DJ began to use heroin and “Heroin made the music seem slower to Hardy, who responded by pushing up the speed controls. That was why everyone thought Ron played with more energy than Frankie”(Lawrence “Acid”). Before Phuture actually released “Acid Tracks” through Jefferson's label, Trax, the group attended the Music Box. They gave a tape of their original crazy TB-303 song, to Hardy, who played it several times over, which became a hit with the crowd after the initial shock. Right after their album released, others followed suit, and when the secret of the acid, wobbly bass was revealed to come from the TB-303, “mayhem ensued, with an estimated sixty to one million acid house tracks being released in the slipstream of "Acid Tracks" (Lawrence “Acid”). Knuckles never really got into acid house, and by 1987 he left for a residency at London's Delirium, then moved out of Chicago all-together in January of 1988.

Hardy continued to play acid house, but changed venues from the Music Box to COD's to the Power House. The tipping point came in 1988 at the Power House, where he DJ-ed next to Steve 'Silk' Hurley. The next generation of dancers was starting to come out in force, and the dancers that had started to “jack” to Hardy sets back in the early 80s were starting to grow out of the scene. When local authorities began to crack down on clubs and WBMX went off the air, the decline prompted “Mixmag, whose attention was shifting sharply in the direction of New York, to announce in its July issue that the Chicago club scene was ‘dead’ “ (Lawrence “Acid”).

While house and acid house had their roots in Chicago, they soon found audiences elsewhere: “as Chicago started to splutter, Manchester, London, Paris, and Rimini joined New York and New Jersey and flung themselves into house (Detroit, and to a large extent, Berlin, stuck to Techno)” (Lawrence “Acid”). In fact, Manchester was the creative center that would

push electronic music into a more mainstream crowd. While house and acid house did not become huge hits in the most of the United States, the UK picked up on the progressive genre and turned it into their own musical trend. Acid House in the UK turned into rebellious underground raves; the term stereotyped because these dance parties went on all night, involved lots of drugs, and was usually on property that belonged to none of the partiers.

V. Drugs and the UK Acid House Scene

While drugs have a large affect on music history, that without them many of the dance genres and the dance cultures would simply not have existed. It seems that drugs played the pivotal role since the use of LSD at rock concerts. Acid parties were a large part of the Summer of Love in San Francisco in 1969; they continued to affect the youths of the 70s, especially in the underground dance culture in New York. Mancuso seems to be the first to consistently create a setting for acid dance parties, and soon many after hours clubs followed suit. As drugs became more available, the music changed to suit their uses. Uppers like speed were suggested by Michael Cappello to Francis Grasso for staying awake all night (Lawrence 56). Grasso noted that at the Sanctuary he saw a shift from “LSD and poppers to speed and quaaludes” (Lawrence 67). Poppers were different types of nitrates, particularly amyl nitrite, butyl nitrite, isopropyl nitrite, that when inhaled gave a warm sensation, and an increase in sexual pleasure. Speed was an upper that kept dancers moving all night, while quaaludes were pleasurable downers. Quaaludes, the street name for Methaqualone, is a sedative-hypnotic drug, that had a similar affect to barbiturates. Speed was amphetamine, stimulants used for appetite suppressant. LSD, or acid, is a hallucinatory drug, that is still not completely understood today.

While these drugs flourished in the New York night life, the drug most associated with dance music, Ecstasy, had yet to become a common drug, and until 1977 had yet to be used for purposes outside of research. MDMA, the pure form of ecstasy, was patented in 1912 by Merck Pharmaceutical Company of Darmstadt, Germany. It was accidentally synthesized in an attempt to create blood-clotting pharmaceuticals; when the company found no medical uses for it, it faded into obscurity. After World War II the US Army experimented with drug toxicity on animals, using MDMA at some point, but again no use was found. Then, Alexander Shulgin

began experimenting with chemicals in the 1960s while he worked at Dole Chemical Company, when he first synthesized MDMA (3,4-Methylenedioxymethamphetamine) in 1965 at Dole. In 1966, Shulgin resigned from Dole when the company realized they could not use or experiment with the chemicals that he was interested in. Shulgin then set up his own laboratory in the backyard of his Lafayette, CA home. He continued to experiment with new drugs, and started inviting friends over to try out his new drugs. When they tried MDMA, Shulgin realized the therapeutic value of this powerful drug. Although MDMA is classified as a hallucinogen just like LSD, it does not cause hallucinatory visions like LSD; according to Collin, “It has been called an 'empathogen' (empathy-generating). Empathy is the sensation of experiencing someone else's feelings as your own, and this was the effect which Shulgin (and the psychotherapists who followed his lead) celebrated first and foremost” (Collin 25). The drug acts on serotonin levels in the brain, a neurotransmitter directly related to mood. Shulgin introduced the drug to his psychotherapist friends who immediately shared it with colleagues. Across the country, it became used in therapy, and some therapists, Leo Zeff in particular, described one session on ecstasy as the equivalent to six months or more of therapy. Leo Zoff, an elderly friend of Shulgin and a psychotherapist, was introduced to the drug in 1977 and became the most influential preacher of the benefits of ecstasy. The therapists realized that they should keep the drug out of the public eye, but those who had tried it would not be able to keep it secret for long. A member of an MDMA manufacturer that was producing the drug for therapists split from the group as the demand increased. When he got backing in Texas to promote the drug in clubs, which was the beginning of the end of legality for MDMA. The group in Texas advertised the drug as fun and great to dance to, and “at the Starck [Club], ecstasy was legally sold over the counter from about

1982 to 1985, when MDMA was designated as a Schedule I drug by the US government” (Silcott 29-30).

The illegal status of MDMA did not stop the sharp increase in users. Researcher Bruce Eisner shares, “the man who first named it “Ecstasy” told me that he choose the name “because it would sell better than calling it 'empathy'. 'Empathy' would be more appropriate, but how many people know what it means?” (Collin 28). It penetrated the New York gay clubs in the 80s before it became illegal. MDMA was preceded by a similar compound MDA which had been in New York clubs beginning in the mid 70s, “The parties at Reade Street were very intense. They were heavy drug parties. That was when people started doing MDA”(Lawrence 198). MDMA started to be used in the most well known clubs in New York, Studio 54 and the Paradise Garage. The drug soon spread outwards. British artists described trying the drug when they came to record in New York, including Soft Cell and Boy George. The first users of MDMA in London were the elite, simply because the drug was not widely available in the UK, and people brought it in small amounts from the US, that were then distributed at a high cost to close associates and friends. Fashion designers, music journalists, models, upper level football club associates, these initial users took MDMA in private parties, homes in west London, where they would explore the affects of the drug. (Collin 41). There was also a group of intellectuals in North-west London, psychiatrist RD Laing, among them, who thought the drug could be influential in psychotherapy. Then in 1985, the club Taboo in the West End, hosted the first Ecstasy party, but the drug was still incredibly hard to come by. The Hug Club also started hosting ecstasy parties, advertising with cute cuddly stuffed bears, and selling E at the entrance, “One each and no more, there weren't enough to go around”(Collin 43). Taboo was shut down because of an article relating to its ecstasy and marijuana use. MDMA was illegal in the UK before it had even become popular

in the US. The 1977 amendment to the 1971 Misuse of Drugs Act, made MDA and MDMA Class A drugs, with possession punishable by up to seven years in jail, and supply by sentences up to life imprisonment.

The elitist MDMA London scene had yet to come to the realization that a “combination of Ecstasy and electronic dance music had genuine transformative power: it could deliver altered states of consciousness; experiences which changed the way we felt, the way we thought, the way we lived” (Collin vii). Ibiza, Spain, was a vacation island with a hippie vibe, that first made this connection. MDMA came to the island from US new age yuppies, and the religious followers of Bhagwan, who was based in the US, and interestingly had a no-drugs policy. Bhagwan was an Indian guru, who wanted spiritual and material wealth, enticing his rich disciples to donate. Followers dispersed around the world, and since the organization was entrepreneurial minded, set up supply lines for MDMA distribution in Europe. Ibiza, in the warm summer nights, was the vacation spot of rich, and eccentric people. Amnesia and Ku, were two nightclubs that grew out of the hippie era, and Pacha opened in 1973, playing funk, reggae and psychedelic rock. As the disco era hit Ibiza, the clubs set up bars and dance floors, but rather than the typical discotheques of New York or the discos of the UK, the dance floors were outdoors, illuminated by the moon, with fountains and ever changing decor. (Collin 49). Amnesia rose above the other clubs because of the DJ, Alfredo Forito, who was mixing soul, reggae, hip hop, European Electro pop, and later Chicago House. His style became known as 'Balearic', which “captured the magic of the island after dark, the hippie legacy and the hedonistic present” (Collin 50). The crowd at Amnesia was rich but diverse, with transvestites, youths from Barcelona, Italians, and older men in suits dancing, socializing, and drinking. In the summer of 1986 a group of traveling British youths made Ibiza their home. They ended up at

Amnesia on multiple occasions, not being able to afford the drinks, taking in the unique atmosphere. They left Ibiza mesmerized, and the next summer they went back. They were not the only English people to visit the island in the summer of 1987, and The Project, a club started by British DJ Trevor Fung and cousin, Ian St Paul, opened that summer and became the focus for British clubbers. The youths from the previous summer banded together in packs of twenty at first, growing to forty as the summer progressed, and started out the night at Amnesia. They took ecstasy at Amnesia and partied until dawn, before watching the sunrise on the beach, get a few hours sleep before checking out bars, and heading back to Amnesia again. When they flew back home to London, they wanted to dance more, to party all night.

It just was not possible, there were no clubs open past 2 am, and there was definitely no E being sold at the clubs, especially to this crazy group of British youth, that looked they had stepped out of the 60s. They tried to go to clubs that might play similar music, and that ended up being Delirium, which was one of the only clubs that played house music in 1987. In fact, it was the venue that Frankie Knuckles, the Chicago house DJ, had been invited to play at in November of 1987. Delirium club owner, Noel Watson, did not want them at his club and told the bouncer not to allow them into his establishment. Then a sympathetic DJ, Paul Oakenfold, and The Project club owner, Ian St Paul, began to let the group into the Project Club on Streatham Road after hours. After the club closed at 2 am, Oakenfold would let the group in the back door and they would party till 6am. While this spot only lasted for a few weeks before the police shut it down, Oakenfold flew in Alfredo, and invited *Boy's Own* magazine writers. This produced a bit of publicity for the budding scene, and the magazine would continue to keep up with the trends of the scene. Oakenfold was not only a sympathizer, but he had ventured to Ibiza that summer as well, and the ecstasy experience that he had with a few other friends, some of whom were

already involved in the music industry, would propel them to help this budding scene happen in London.

Danny Rampling had been part of that friend group, and in November of 1987, he and his wife to be, Jenni, threw a party at the Fitness Centre gym. “The name of the night, Shoom (or as it was initially styled, Klub Sch-oom), was said to be a description of how one felt when the first rush of ecstasy took hold”(Collin 58). A mix of Funk and house, Carl Cox helped Danny DJ, and the crowd was enthusiastic. Soon, the Ramplings began promoting with the symbolism of the 1960s, adopting the smiley face and psychedelic designs. The Ibiza crowd had participated in this amazing experience of unity and love, and they wanted to recreate it in London, but the closest thing they had to model their experience through was the hippie era of the 60s. Then, Oakenfold opened Future on Thursday nights, in the tiny confines of the Sanctuary which was a back room of the large gay club Heaven. MDMA was necessary for these clubs, and supply lines were established through contacts made from Ibiza. This new scene was changing people, like fashion designer Nick Coleman, who came out with new clubwear, after his shooming experience. He went so far as to buy records, and turntables. Before long Shoom became popular, friends of friends wanted to go, and then pop stars started showing up at the door. It was a backlash against all the style and fashion savvy clubs that had dominated the London scene in the 70s and early 80s. Just like New York had been trendy and more focused on appearances than the music, London's clubbers only had stylish elite venues, and with this new experience they transformed.

Oakenfold and Ian St Paul then opened “Spectrum: Theater of Madness” on 11 April 1988, a Monday night, at Heaven, a 1,500+ capacity club. Heaven had a great sound system, with lasers and lights to top it off. The opening night failed to draw more than the 100 or so

people from the Ibiza and Shoom crowd. Yet on the fourth week, the club's line ran around the block. Spectrum became a success, and the fliers advertised the kind of club it was, indicating through coded phrases, like "Get on one!" and "On one all day!" that the drug of choice in the club was MDMA. When the crowd start filling up the place, the Ibiza summer kids felt distanced. This had been their scene, and one member stated, "We didn't want to go and mix with these people" (Collin 71). They thought they were better, they had been there since the beginning and these newbies were taking their experience and turning it commercial. Then Shoom changed locations and nights, to YMCA, a large venue, and Thursday nights, which conflicted with Future's Thursday night. Oakenfold and Danny Rampling had a falling out, and regulars of both clubs felt awkward about having to choose between the venues.

Nicky Hollaway, also part of the Oakenfold summer Ibiza experience, saw an opportunity which he would be labeled a capitalist for. Hollaway opened The Trip on 4 June 1988, at the Astoria in central London. Despite it being a commercial venture, it opened up acid house to the multiracial inner city clubbers, and packaged the scene for media and the record industry. (Collin 73). Ecstasy was being sold everywhere in the club, and it did not close till 3am. When it did close, clubbers would walk outside and continue partying in the streets. When the police showed up to disperse the mob, they hesitated as their sirens wailed because, "the dayglo freaks started jumping up and down and shouting "Can you feel it?!"(Collin 74), which was the refrain to Todd Terry's house classic "Can You Party?" which featured the siren in the refrain as well.

The Hacienda, a club in Manchester, was largely funded by the technologically enhanced sounds of New Order, and opened in 1982. By 1987 resident DJs Mike Pickering and Martin Prendergast were playing early Chicago house, and making way for acid house. By 1988, the Happy Mondays, an influential Manchester dance band, had started doing E and were regulars at

the Hacienda, where Pickering had booked them to first play back in 1983. The band members had started an “E corner” in the club near the beginning of 1988. Then on 13 July 1988, Hot was introduced as the new Wednesday night, ushering in the “Summer of Love.” The theme was supposed to be a tacky Ibiza beach party theme, and the opening night was a huge success, where everyone was taking MDMA. This was the start of acid house in Manchester, but soon it was too much for one club. Thunderdome opened a few months later when Eric Baker, Jimmy Sherlock and John Kenyon booked the Osbourne club and renamed it. The space was a small hall that narrowed into the stage/DJ booth. The music was different from the hacienda, where it was house, acid house, disco themed music, “Here they preferred metallic funk from Detroit and the steamhammer pulse of Belgian hardbeat” (Collin 158). The Thunderdome was more accessible than the now packed Hacienda, and featured a more diverse crowd. It was gritty, and the drugs of choice were harder, acid and speed.

The Trip, Spectrum, and Shoom, all followed the London, Ibiza to MDMA to house to acid house trend. RIP, opened by Paul Stone and Lu Vukovic, did not play one type of dance music, it feature more experimental music. Inspired by the warehouse ecstasy parties on the western edge of London that happened from February to April, they did not follow the London trend. In fact, neither had been to Ibiza, and they liked techno and garage. The DJs they got to play the venue were supported by rappers, singers, keyboard players, and created a performance rather than just providing a selection of good music. The Venue title stood for Revolution in Progress, and Vukovic held an idealist belief that “the scene had the potential to be a political force for change”(Collin 77). While Shoom, Spectrum, and The Trip, became featured clubs by the media, RIP stayed out of magazines and newspapers. Starting out on a Saturday night, it soon expanded to Friday night, and Sunday.

Then the “Summer of Love” hit London in June and July of 1988. West End clubs suddenly changed from Funk to Acid House, and the London scene was turned upside down. Media began to take interest, and *The Sun* ran an article about Spectrum being a drug club, showing a picture of an acid blotch, on August 17th. The owner of Heaven came to visit Spectrum the following Monday, saw what was going on, and told Oakenfold to shut down for a month and reopen under another name, The Land of Oz. Tony Colston-Hayter, a big time black jack player, became inspired by Shoom and The Trip, and started Apocalypse Now at Webley Studios in August. Inviting the media to film a broadcast of the success story of Apocalypse Now backfired when the story showcased drug dealing in clubs, and people tripping on E and Acid. The news story in turn prompted the Police to react, who up until that point had “adopted a softly softly approach” (Collin 91). The police started shutting down illegal warehouse parties, and the scene unraveled a bit. When Colston-Hayter renamed his business Sunrise, and tried to throw the first Sunrise party in October, police were there to halt it, and he lost the money he had made.

VI. Acid house parties: the precursor to raves

This was a minor setback for the gambler, who then decided to take the party outside London. A thousand tickets were sold for the Sunrise Mystery Trip, which transported clubbers out to an equestrian center in Buckinghamshire. As the coaches filled with clubbers came upon the center they could vaguely hear the dull throb of house music, and see lasers pierce the sky. Colston-Hayter had created a magical place for clubbers to be immersed in the MDMA experience, which included a bouncy castle. Collin describes the most amazing scene clubbers and DJ alike had witnessed to date, “At the peak of the night, the lights went off, the building filled with dry ice and in total darkness, Steve Proctor dropped the needle on the majestic opening chords of Richard Strauss's 'Also Sprach Zarathustra', the theme from 2001: A Space Odyssey. As the portentous orchestra swelled, a green laser strafed the clouds of dry ice and hundreds of arms raised in unison, cutting through the smoke; all that was visible from the DJ's raised platform were disembodied hands, reaching outward as if to touch the heavens, frozen in the strobe lights like a weird HR giger Machine” (Collin 92). This was to be the last party of the first “Summer of Love,” and Colston-Hayter was emboldened by the success.

Then the media became concerned with the dangers of ecstasy use, publishing false information about the drug, that no one really knew that much about. On October 28, the week following the Sunrise Mystery Trip, Janet Mayes took two pills instead of her usual one, and died before arriving at the hospital, becoming the second E related death in the UK. The media honed in on the dangers, and the police took notice. This increase in awareness hardly slowed the drugs climb in the culture, as many users continued taking it. The Sunrise Guy Fawkes Edition was the next Sunrise party, selling 3,000 tickets, and set at a derelict gasworks. Riot police showed up as the event began, blocked the road, and shut down the music. The attendees were

hardly detoured as they scrambled over fences, to get inside anyways, and the police withdrew at 5 am. Colston-Hayter was forced to deal with a new problem when he teamed up with Genesis, East London's most consistent warehouse party organization, to throw Christmas and New Years parties under the title of Sunset. A gang of football "faces," demanded that Colston-Hayter give them a cut of the take from the party that was situated on Leaside Road, Hackney, part of the gangs territory. Dave Roberts, the silent partner of Colston-Hayter, was called in to help with the situation. Roberts had been part of a football club just over a year before, and he was much tougher than his partner, and able to deal with thugs.

Operation Seagull, a raid on a boat party in the Thames on November 4th of 1988, was the culmination of the smaller raids on warehouse parties. The promoters of the party, Robert Darby and Leslie Thomas, were each found guilty of conspiring to manage premises where drugs were supplied, and sentenced to ten and six years in prison. This was a strict example of what could happen if you were not careful and cautious. Despite this grim warning, James Taylor and Quentin 'Tintin' Chambers established Karma Productions, and planned the greatest acid house party yet. In May 1989, they hired Westway Film Studios to create the setting for Energy. Energy's promotional flyers listed the qualifications of the largest acid party, "15k of water cooled lasers, 25K of projections, illuminations, and imagery, 30K of turbo sound, plus 12 DJs, five rooms, bouncy castle, helter skelter, dodgems.."(Collin 96).The party lived up to the flyer, one room resembled a Greek temple, while another looked like a scene from *Blade Runner*. Karma Productions had topped Sunrise, and everyone wondered what was coming next. With the pressure from gangs, police and media, Colston-Hayter came up with a new scheme to outsmart the police and media, the gangs would hopefully leave him alone if he held his parties outside London, venues just off the newly built M25 which orbited London. British Telecom's Voice

Bank system allowed multiple lines to access a single answering machine, and Colston-Hayter could change the recorded message remotely by cellular phone. He could direct partygoers to a certain area, and when the amount hit critical mass, release the exact address on the Voice Bank. The phone lines were also premium rate lines, enabling a profit. In May 1989, Sunrise 5000 successfully attracted 5,000 partiers through this method, although the site did not have electricity and they had to bring in a potentially dangerous diesel generator to power the site. Then, Sunrise staged the largest acid house party to date, Midsummer Night's Dream, over the last weekend in June. It was held at White Waltham airstrip in Berkshire inside the largest aircraft hangar in the UK, and attracted around 11,000. The party was a series of well executed plans, the bribing of the airfield guards, dodging police Special Patrol Group officers who were having a party in an adjoining building, tricking local cops by telling them it was the set of a new Michael Jackson video, and an hourly updated message for seventy Voice Banks, each could take ten calls simultaneously.(Collin 100).The aircraft hangar was filled with green smoke and projections of faces dissolving into eyeballs on suspended giant spheres above the crowd. The following days revealed that reporter had been in the crowd, and wrote about the decadence and overwhelming drug use that ensued around them. The Daily Mail and The Sun featured articles on the party, warning that these events were havens for drug use. Since there had been no drug arrests Colston-Hayter eagerly announced that, "I don't take drugs, I don't sell them, and we don't have them at our parties"(Collin 101).He was taking a shot at the police, and they were going to come back harder than expected.

Chief Superintendent Ken Tappenden, opened a small office in Dartford to start monitoring these raves, he soon received inquiries from other police forces. Gathering attention, he set up the Pay Party Unit with an original staff of six with four computers, that within months

expanded to sixty staff and thirty computers hooked into the HOLMES database, the national police computer network. As the Unit expanded, they used all that was available to them: they used phone taps, listened to pirate radio, tracked the organizers, and kept a vigilant watch on the rave scene. Then Colston-Hayter stepped up to the plate, and threw the biggest rave yet, and it was legal! Citing that his parties were private member's club parties, the law in Longwick, Buckinghamshire could not stop the Sunrise/Back to the Future Dance Music Festival. 17,000 tickets were sold, and the party was a success, with lasers and a throbbing bass line, "The energy was coming from the participants themselves. They, no one else, were making this happen!" (Collin 110). The ravers were the most important part, without them, these events would not exist.

Out to the Northwest, Tommy Smith and Tony Creft had moved into the Sett End club in Blackburn. When the club shut down at 2 am, Smith and Creft would lead the clubbers into the industrial center of Blackburn, which had been deserted in hard times. They would break the lock on a factory or warehouse, plug in a cheap sound system and charge 2 or 3 pounds. Their following was incredible, when police took the DJ records and threw them in the back of their riot van and locked it, ravers distracted police while a few wrenched open the doors of the van and stole the records back. The biggest raves of the summer in the Northwest were not hosted by Smith or Creft, but rather Manchester brothers Anthony and Chris Donnelly. Modeled directly after Colston-Hayter's Sunrise parties, Joy attracted 3,000 ravers to a farm near Rochdale in August, while Live the Dream was set in Blackburn in September. Live the Dream was set in a natural amphitheatre filled with glowing lights and marquees throbbing with bass. Both parties charged the usual 15 pound fee, and neither was shut down by the police.

Then at the end of September violence erupted at the Phantasy party in the south of London. Security guards actually fought the police with CS gas and rottweilers, leaving sixteen officers injured and seven sent to the hospital. This could not continue, security guards had to be hired at raves to protect the promoters and ravers from police, but even more dangerous, from gangs and muscles that tried to take a cut. Tappenden knew what was going on, and knew that wherever large quantities of money were being made, and large quantities of drugs were being sold it was only a matter of time before organized crime became involved. The Pay Party Unit stepped up their antics, and instead of just trying to prosecute promoters and organizers, they also attempted to deter ravers from the raves, and convince the landowners that they should shut down the party. They even staged their own phantom raves, and when ravers would show up to the location an officer would be waiting to tell them there was no party and to turn around and head home. While these were desperate methods, they worked. Month after month of no rave, or a shut down rave, or chasing a rave whose location had to be changed due to police measures, the ravers began to question whether it was worth it. Twenty pounds, driving all night long, to either end up in a rundown venue/barn/warehouse or at no party at all began to wear down the partiers. They police began targeting the means of communication, attempting to knock out the pirate radio stations, and effectively ordering the withdrawal of the premium rate phone lines that organizers were using.

Then, MP Graham Bright introduced the Entertainments (increased penalties) Bill in December 1989. It proposed to raise the maximum fine for organizing an unlicensed party from 2,000 pounds to 20,000 and six months imprisonment. While this bill would not be passed until the after the spring of 1990, organizers knew it could affect them, and New Years became the final showdown. Sunrise New Year's Eve Mega Party was set to take place in a former army

depot in Essex, this was printed on the tickets. Colston-HAyter and Roberts were confident enough to advertise the venue because it was legal. The organizer did not have to apply for a license, and 10,000 tickets were sold. Within hours of the party, the landowner buckled under pressure and called the party off, the backup location had been served with an injunction by local council, and by 11 pm many of the ticket holders made other plans. Around 11pm Colston-HAyter made a deal with Biology and Genesis to join their party, and the remaining partiers were directed to a dirty warehouse off the M4.

In July of 1990, Entertainments (Increased Penalties) Bill became law and the profit confiscation measures against illegal promoters were enacted. Then licensing laws began to relax, allowing some central London clubs to remain open until 3am, and one club was allowed to run 24 hours. "The liberalization of licensing laws, which soon began to spread throughout the county, didn't happen by chance; the police could not go on running huge operations weekend after weekend" (Collin 126). The Pay Party Unit had been spending tax payer's money at an incredible rate, and simply couldn't afford to continue in the way it had been. The strategy for the most part worked, cracking down on illegal raves and allowing night clubs to stay open longer undermined the basis of the scene.

In September of 1991, the Pay Party Unit shut down, having roughly accomplished its goal, to stop illegal raves and unlicensed parties. It would seem the police had won the battle, but in reality with the opening hours of nightclubs being extended, it was the ravers and parties that won the right to party. The fight against drugs simply did not work, those that are going to do the drug will find a way to get it, and suppliers will find a way to make money off the users. Organized crime was not deterred, and erupted in the nightclubs of London.

“According to Customs and Excise statistics, the amount of ecstasy coming into Britain multiplied by 4,000 percent between 1990 and 1995”(Collin 139). Drug use was on the rise after the Summer of Love had introduced the drug to a much larger portion of the population. Andy Swallow decided to set up the pirate radio station Centre Force FM, an all house music, all the time station, in May of 1989. Being an ex-ICF football hooligan, he had connections, and started getting his gang into the scene and the music. When they realized the money they could make off E, they joined up. Hosting parties in the East End where they held a monopoly on their turf. Police began to take notice and Operation Tiger was initiated to pin the sale of drugs on this group. When police raided the Echoes Club, Centre Force's studio, and a dozen houses in October 1989, they found no evidence. Swallow says he had been tipped off about the raid a week beforehand and had moved the drugs and money that the police were hoping to find. They tried to press on with charges of conspiracy to supply controlled drugs, but the case was thrown out of court when the judge ruled much of the circumstantial evidence unsound and inadmissible.

The only outcome of Operation Tiger was the demise of Centre Force FM, many of its DJs leaving to join other broadcasters. In 1990, the new Broadcasting Act allowed for government seizure of pirate broadcasters equipment including DJ's precious record collections, and a possible jail term of six months. The legislation was enacted after alleged interference with emergency service transmissions. The government did however encourage pirate radio to apply for legal status, and the first stations to obtain licenses to broadcast dance music all the time were, Kiss in London and Sunset in Manchester. BBC Radio 1 followed the trend and started a weekly dance show hosted by DJ Pete Tong. This later became known as BBC Radio 1's Essential Mix, and is currently popular in today's music culture, inviting top and upcoming electronic music acts to DJ a two hour slot.

What the operation failed to do was stop or even slow down the ecstasy supply channels that were being set in place by this point. Just like Chief Superintendent Tappenden stipulated, gangs and organized crime began to supply clubbers and ravers with their drugs of choice. At the Hacienda in Manchester, Leroy Richardson thinks that the shift started sometime in May 1989, when, “he refused to let one of the most prominent gangster 'faces' from Cheetham Hill into the club without paying” (Collin 174). Konspiracy, a club opened in November 1989, in response to the strict door policy at the Hacienda was a place for football thugs to meet students, because everyone was getting along on E. Five months down the road, the gangsters started taking control, placing their men at the door, forcing the owners to let the members in for free, ordering drinks without paying, and openly selling drugs in the venue. The owners used to complain that they “were losing £300 a night in liquor off these guys, then it got into £400, and in the end they used to just walk behind the bar and take a bottle of vodka or six bottles of champagne”(Collin 175). The gang treated the place like stolen property, reaping the rewards, but not caring what happens because they did not have a personal stake in the place. Guns were flashed, employees were attacked, DJs were maced, and while DJ and co-owner Chris Nelson was trying to keep the lawlessness under control, undercover police were taking notes and watching from the sidelines.(Collin 175) The same things were happening to Smith and Creft in Blackburn; gangsters began threatening the pair in attempt to gain a cut of the now much larger, up to 10,000 people in attendance, illegal raves. On 24 February 1990, Smith witnessed the “time to get out of this business” signal. In the largest warehouse they had occupied yet, Smith was sitting on the roof when he saw a wave of blue riot shields advancing from the distance. As the police beat everyone in sight, ravers threw rocks, and Smith donned a disguise and escaped. He then crossed the county line into Yorkshire, and helped organize the Love Decade party in July 1990, just

after the Bright bill had become law. Police surrounded the warehouse, and beat many of the ravers that fought to escape, arresting 836 in one of the largest mass arrests in British history.(Collin 178).Only about seven would actually be charged with something. Smith left for America after that, and on his return trip was arrested and charged with possession with intent to supply 70,000 doses of LSD. Several other of the Blackburn rave organizers had been arrested and charged on similar counts, but while many of them received sentences ranging from two and half year to twelve years, Smith got a “Not Guilty”.

The Hacienda and Konspiricay had been under police surveillance for sixteen months, and the results concluded that the club licenses should be revoked. The Hacienda management fought back, hard. Instead of going after the gangs, police had tried to shut down the clubs. Tony Wilson hired Lawyer George Carman to argue Hacienda's case. Paul Cons contacted the labor leader of Manchester City Council, Graham Stringer, to secure his support for the influential Manchester club. The crushing blow, was the new stance that the Hacienda had to adopt towards drugs, which was that they were no longer allowed on the premises. The management installed metal detectors at the door, infrared sensors, a closed-circuit surveillance system inside the club, and more thorough pat down of clubbers before they entered the venue. The licensing committee give them three weeks to prove that this was effective. Konspiracy, unable to afford such drastic actions, closed by the end of 1990. When they closed, the gangs turned to Hacienda, despite the drop in attendance of the club. After three weeks, the Hacienda shut its doors when the head bouncer was threatened with a gun.

Gangs turned against each other in the initial weeks of 1991, and in February, White Tony Johnson was shot and killed in a feud between Salford and Cheetham. This gave hope to Leroy Richardson that it might be easier to reopen the Hacienda. In discussion with gangsters

and police, Hacienda management set a date, May 10 and gave the gangsters free tickets as a peace offering to stop the intimidation. (Collin 187). Six weeks after the club reopened, a group from Salford slipped in through a side entrance, and stabbed six bouncers in retribution for not being allowed in the club. The rest of the summer of 1991 did not go well for bouncers and door men, who were beaten, intimidated and shot. Although Hacienda retained its license, it never returned to the glory days of 1988 and the first half of 1989. It did launch a successful gay night in the following years. In June 1997 a couple weeks after its fifteenth anniversary, The Hacienda closed its doors for the last time. Facing more pressure after another police investigation, and the shooting of an eighteen-year-old man by Salford gang members outside the club, the city believed it would be better off to shut the club down. One of the most influential clubs for the acid house scene in Manchester, and one of the first to supply E to its clubbers, it had a longer run than most of the other newly opened clubs of the 80s.

Travelers were a group of bohemian dropouts, or people who preferred life on the road to a “regular” life in the cities. Their annual circuit of festivals included the Stonehenge Festival and Avon Free Festival. In 1989, the first electronic groups joined the Glastonbury Festival, next to folk bands, and the convoy of travelers. Spiral Tribe, formed by Mark and Alexander Harrison, and friends Debbie Griffith and Simone Feeney, in 1990 and in the summer of 1991 took their rig of equipment and lights on the road to join in the travelers festivals. DiY was another dance music based rig that attended some festivals. The Avon Free Festival of 1992 was slated for May, but had no venue. The police were desperate trying to keep the festival from happening by keeping convoys from amassing to the point where they would not be able to contain them. When a group of 400 vehicles started to converge on Castlemorton Common, the police could not stop them. The first rigs beat their way onto the square mile of land, and watch

the flow on cars and trucks and rigs flow in. The convoys created an independent city upon this land and when locals complained on television of the size, it only invited more ravers and those with a sense for outlaw parties to pick up and get there. The police did touch the site, and Spiral tribe whose slogan was “Make some fucking noise!” continued to play their hard beats until they were the last to shut off their rig. When Spiral tribe left the site, police moved in and arrested all the original creators of Spiral Tribe. They were charged with “conspiracy to cause a public nuisance”, and their trial started on 10 January 1994. They presented themselves intelligently, and only called four witnesses compared to the fifty called by the prosecution. The prosecution quickly proved that they did not have a very strong case, as their witnesses could not identify the members of the Tribe. The four witnesses called by the defense were three festival attendees that explained how they had heard of the event on the news, and Willy X, who claimed he was the real organizer behind the Avon Free Festival and told the court that, with respect to Spiral Tribe, “when it comes to organizing they are amateurs. I'm the man”(Collin 242).After ten weeks, all defendants were acquitted of the conspiracy charges, and the Spiral Tribe went on exile to Europe, where they had previously set up Teknival, purely techno festival, in July of 1993.

Spiral Tribe had managed to avoid the passage of the Criminal Justice Bill on 3 November 1994. The Criminal Justice Act created laws that defined rave music, and outlawed unlicensed raves, with stiff fines. The bill created huge opposition among free party idealists, and senior police officers even protested that it would make them a tool of the government. After its passage, the anti-rave laws went unused until July of 1995, but the charges were dropped. Then on 27 February 1996, Three members of the Black Moon Sound system were convicted and fined 6,000 pounds.(Collin 255).“Reclaim the Streets” became the first successful demonstration against the anti-rave laws of the CJA in 1997. On 12 April, thousands of demonstrators joined a

march for social justice to Trafalgar Square, and when they arrived around 3:30 pm there was a tension in the crowd. Anything could have happened with the crowd of nearly 7,000. At around 3:45 pm a white Ford truck made its way through police into the square and pulled up in front of the National Gallery, a banner reading, “NEVER MIND THE BALLOTS, RECLAIM THE STREETS.” was raised, and the doors of the truck swung open revealing DJ Gizelle.

Immediately the sounds of Chuck Roberts' house music invocation “This is My House” was heard throughout the Plaza. The impromptu rave lasted nearly four hours, and when it ended fights broke out with riot police, who arrested the drivers of the truck on accounts of attempted murder. After media surrounding the event subsided, the charges were dropped, and “Reclaim the Streets” was triumphant.

When the gangs had taken over the city, and controlled the supply lines of drugs, the scene changed and nearly became as dangerous as the media hyped. With their control over the drug trafficking, the quality of E, and thus the price decreased. Dr. Fabrizio Schifano speculated from a 2003 survey on drug use that there was a correlation between poor quality and an increase in deaths, however “only seven percent had died after taking ecstasy alone; almost sixty percent had also taken opiates such as heroin, and many of them were registered drug addicts”(Collin 313). Even the research from the US suggested that researchers just didn't know how MDMA really affected the brain. Dr. George Ricaurte had found in 1995 that serotonin levels in some animals did not return to normal levels for up to eighteen months, although the injects of MDMA give to his rats and monkeys were several times the typical human dosage. Then another American scientist, Dr. James O'Callaghan studied its neurotoxicity in animals, also injecting them with MDMA. This time the levels of serotonin decreased in some animals, but strangely not in others. He concluded that “while serotonin depletion might be unwelcome, it was not the

same as brain damage” (Collin 316). Then in 2002, Ricaurte published findings that a single night’s usage could lead to permanent brain damage. Anti-drug campaigns everywhere took this research as proof that they had been right all along, but a few months later Ricaurte had to retract his publication. There had been a laboratory mix up, and he had given his monkeys methamphetamine, not MDMA.

Dr. Stephen Kish, the leading researcher on Ecstasy according to Peter Jennings, further analyzed Ricaurte’s research and found the flaws, that his control subject serotonin levels varied too greatly to be accurate, and he never actually tested his subject to see if what he had given them was in fact ecstasy. Kish points to a German study as the most important in the field; published in 2003, the study shows a five percent decrease in the serotonin function, and it tested hair samples to confirm that MDMA was indeed the drug that had been used. (“Peter Jennings”)

VII. New genres and exportation to the US

While the gangs controlled the drug flow, they did not control the way music evolved. In 1988 Fabio and Grooverider were big names on the orbital rave scene, so named because the venues were just off the M25 highway that orbited London. Settling down into residency in the upstairs portion of Rage in October 1988, they began to experimenting with the seamless blending of up tempo jazz-funk, techno and house, originally black music that had evolved into their current forms. This blend became known in 1993 as Jungle. Back in 1988, they were allowed to DJ the Main room of Rage, and the response guaranteed that they would stay in the main room until the venue closed in 1993. The pushing of some records to the fastest they could possibly be played, i.e. playing records meant to be spun at 33 1/3 RPM, hardcore artists spun them at 45 RPM. Holland would end up following the progress of hype speed Lowland hardcore, which became known as gabber a few years later. The hardcore scene which grew out of orbital raves of 1989, peaked in Britain in the summer of 1992. The two biggest legal parties took place that summer, Fantazia at Castle Donington in Leicestershire attracted a crowd of 25,000, and Vision at Popham Air Field in Hampshire claimed 38,000. These raves were the incredibly large for that period, but will be remembered for the gang involvement and the ignorance about the effects of drugs. At Fantazia, authorities seized hundreds of ecstasy pills but said “that 97 percent of them were fakes – hay fever capsules, vitamin pills or paracetamol” (Collin 273). After Vision, seventeen-year-old Robert Jeffery, a soldier from south end, was found dying of dehydration on the roadside miles from the party. When Jungle began to take hold in the UK among black youths, it started to split the genre of hardcore. In 1993, happy hardcore was turned into the white boy e using raver music, while jungle techno was taken up by black artists, although neither genre was completely segregated. As jungle evolved in the years following 1992, it

became a mixture of the many urban styles, but kept the sounds of the drum and bass central. It increasingly became known as drum and bass, for that reason. (Collin 285). As a backlash to jungle and hardcore, girls wanted something to dance to, and what became UK garage was a vague cousin of garage music from Paradise Garage. UK Garage featured increase tempos of American garage songs, with added bass lines and electronically transformed vocals. Soon the genre had almost nothing in common with American garage. Incorporating digital R&B, house and jungle, the sub-genre of 2-step evolved. Sometime in the late 90s, the genre of dubstep came out of the London suburb of Croydon. "Dubstep was built out of crepuscular sub-bass charges and ethereal, disembodied samples; its stately, stepping rhythm referenced dancehall reggae as well as 2-step and jungle"(Collin 292). The UK was hungry for new types of music, and with the capabilities to dissect songs and remix them, and the addition of the drum machine allowed these music genres to grow and change.

Oddly enough hardcore became to first truly UK genre to be exported back to the US. While it would seem that UK hardcore was rooted in a strong sense of UK identity, specifically London's acid house parties and subsequent rave scene, something about the music caught the attention of a few DJs in America. Unlike disco and dance, hardcore was straight white dance music, even if it did have origins in house. Chicago house never really left the underground, and for many Americans hardcore was the first taste of this new dance genre. Frankie Bones was the first DJ to import the UK sound into America. In 1987 he started producing dance records, and one in particular, *Bonesbreak* ended up being a liked album across the Atlantic. In 1989 he was asked to DJ at an Energy rave, excited by the free trip to Britain, he was surprised when he walked into the DJ booth and was greeted by a sea of 25,000 people all brightly colored. He also took his first E while in Britain. Transformed by this experience he set about importing the

culture. At first the parties were small and featured hardcore for a small group of bridge and tunnel kids in Brooklyn. Helping out with these parties were DJs Adam X (Frankie's brother), Lenny Dee, Jimmy crash, promoter Dennis the Menace, and Heather Heart, publisher of America's first rave-zine, Under One Sky. (Silcott 43). Sometimes they played videos of UK raves just to show how to rave. E filtered into the scene as well, and everyone instantly fell in love with the drug and the scene.

As the British rave scene proved, music developed quickly in association with ecstasy. By 1992 the Brooklyn raves, were no longer happy brit hardcore, but darker more Brooklyn-esque, brutal German and Lowlands techno. Instead of being called raves, they were called Storm Raves. They feature a “wall of sound” which formed around the idea of more speakers, the louder, the better. The police begin to crack down fairly quickly, and Bones either designed a series of map points, or came up with great stories, which sometimes featured fake paper work for a movie set or concert, or something along those lines that could explain the dancers and the loud music. By 1993 harder drugs had entered the scene, like pcp and crack cocaine.

Hardcore had also been introduced to New York clubs, Limelight and the Palladin through Lord Michael. It became NYC vs. Brooklyn, and New York won, by playing dirty tricks like bringing good E to storm raves and then advertising that you could get more from Limelight. NASA also opened around this time, run by promoters Scotto and DB, embracing the hardcore culture and PLUR (Peace, Love, Unity, Respect). The ravers that attended these clubs were getting into the new rave styles, pacifier in mouth, fluorescent childish clothing, the whole bit. Techno DJs emerged, Moby, a vegan Christian DJ the first techno star, DJ Repete who published comics about rave adventures, and DJ Keoki, the flamboyant homosexual who used to wear foot-tall platform sneakers and plastic hot pants. According to Silcott, “even the Storm DJs adopted a

shtick just to keep up: an apocalyptic doom act (to go with the hard-as-fuck techno style) taken to the but-is-it-irony? death-metal shattering point” (Silcott 45). In 1993 Frankie Bones had a break down due to drug abuse, but his significance as an early importer of UK hardcore is what he will be remembered for.

The AIDS virus erupted on the gay scene in the 80s, preventing a lot of creativity and thirst for new music. Most affected by this disease were the small, geographically close groups of gays, like the Castro District of San Francisco and the gay community on Fire Island in New York. When the first wave of aids hysteria had calmed down, some San Francisco DJs began to introduce the house sound, the first of which was Doc Martin in a weekly club called Recess. In February 1989 Doc Martin rebranded the Saturday night three-hundred capacity club City Nights, into the house inspired, sexually mixed Recess. The club was only successful as an interesting novelty, providing gays and straights with about six weeks of fun, before the audience just disappeared. Doc Martin then moved to LA where he earned a spot in the developing rave culture. Pete Avila, who did the same thing as Martin, went to New York and then wanted to bring house music to the west coast, had better luck. In 1989, Avila was close with Doctor Winkie, the owner of DV8, a dance club featuring Europop, and asked for a space to debut the sounds in. Winkie was evicting some tenants in the third floor of DV8's building, and converted the space into a new venue. Calling the new space the Pleasure Zone, Winkie commissioned Keith Haring, whose graffiti covered the walls of Paradise Garage, to paint murals on the walls. Thursday night was given to Avila to do what he wanted with, and Avila soon called it Osmosis. The night was only mildly successful, but provided the center of the rave culture to erupt from.

Osmosis was one of the first clubs outside the gay scene that you could get E in. It was also the first club where Avila allowed British DJs a chance. DJs Jenö, Garth, and Markie Mark,

soon formed a dance collective, Wicked, while playing all this acid and techno stuff at Osmosis. Wicked soon began throwing free parties, like Full Moon parties on the beach. Some of these DJs had come from the dance rig Tonka in the UK, which had had a spiritualist/anarchist agenda. While commodified and over exposed in the UK, the rave scene in San Francisco was carefree, untouched. One by one, the British DJs came over in 1990. The First Full Moon party was through in March of 1991, where eighty people showed up through word of mouth and the crew put a sound system in a friend's van and drove out to Baker Beach, dancing until dawn while the fog rolled over the golden gate bridge. Full Moon parties soon became these rituals of expanding the mind through dancing all night on strong E and LSD, on the beach. The ideas appealed to the youth of San Francisco and these parties soon gather a crowd. By the third anniversary, the Full Moon party was thrown at Bonnie Dunes in Santa Cruz, and 3,000 people showed up. Jenö became the DJ to transform the English sounds into something uniquely San Francisco. He used to play around the TB-303, playing it into the sound of American funk, break beats (which would evolve into hardcore), and the musical influence of acid rock from San Francisco. It was dubbed, "San Francisco" by 1994, and the Full Moon raves were becoming increasingly San Francisco weird. Wade Hampton talks about a one-upmanship going on with the crowd describing the antics of one beach party, "people hang gliding, or two hundred nude people on a beach, people on stilts, people on unicycles" (Silcott 57). It would become something like the Burning Man Festival that would soon take place out in the Nevada desert and incorporated the most unique and weird for a week. Jason Walker would meet and befriend Malachy O'Brien, a newly arrived Irish man. The two felt that they could expand upon the ideology of the Wicked scene. Opening a weekly club night at 1015 Folsom called Come-Unity. Here they distributed materials detailing the new scene, and drawing parallels between the Summer of Love in the UK at the end of the

80s and the Summer of Love in San Francisco at the end of the 60s. This soon sparked a wave of leaflets and papers and flyers, trying to search for a deeper meaning to the feeling of unity that this experience gave them. It was through the relation to shamanic rituals that a parallel between the DJ and a religious leader was drawn. Just as Mancuso and Francis Grasso had enjoyed this type of connection with their followers, raves developed that same spiritual aspect.

Cycles are very apparent in hindsight and this spiritual union of ravers and DJs took a turn towards the commercial, when Mark Heley entered the San Francisco scene in 1991. Along with Diana Jacobs, he created Toon Town, which first took place in a warehouse on Federal Street in 1992. Heley was a journalist from the UK already connected in many ways to the technology scene that was growing in the Silicon Valley, but especially through the publication *Mondo 2000*. With some equipment borrowed from his friends at the Mindstyle Magazine, he put together a technological playground, full of lasers, and computer gadgets. When fifteen hundred people showed up to the rave, it was obvious to Jacobs, the DJ, that this was a younger group, a second wave of ravers, taking cues from the British hardcore raves, where they used Vick's vapor rub, and wore glow in the dark t-shirts. "They dressed for a DIY future" (Silcott 61). This was the start of capitalism in San Francisco rave, where Heley was selling smart drinks, designed to help you focus by restoring vitamins and nutrients, "But it was just a smokescreen," declares Ira Sandler, 'because the real drug of the Toon Town was E, and everybody knew that. The people selling the smart drinks and stuff would do the pitch that 'this stuff makes your E work better'"(Silcott 62). Ira Sandler was the owner of 1015 Folsom, and knew all the Come-Unity people. Moreover, she saw the split that was about to happen.

Toon Town's end of 1992 New Years happened at a 7,000 capacity room in a shopping mall. There were two sides, The Wicked/Come-Unity side stressed a link to the past, and then

there was the future forward capitalism of expensive design and commodification stressed by Heley. Psychedelic Apocalypse became the theme of the 1993 New Year's Eve bash, organized by Heley and Jacobs. One hundred thousand dollars invested in the technology and venue, promised that this would be San Francisco's largest rave yet. Hosted in the Expo Hall of the Fashion center, it lured in a large amount of ravers, but it corrupted Mark Heley. After the party, things were not the same between Heley and Jacobs, who had become romantically involved, and they broke up after this event. Heley became known as a power maniac and an ugly character, forcing DJs to sign exclusivity deals. (Silcott 66).

Then in 1993 the police started to do something about all these illegal parties. The permits to host these events legally became incredibly hard to obtain, and promoters simply moved their parties outside the scope of the city. Gathering, the mobile rave unit of Come-Unity, extended out to the East Bay, where O'Brien started taking over abandoned warehouses and the like in Oakland, Vallejo, and Union City. Some promoters attempted to just hold all night raves in nightclubs. The police tried to use a combination of two laws to stop these, the first that anyone under the age of 21 was considered a minor according to San Francisco city law, and the second was that no minor was to be allowed in a cabaret between the hours of 2 am and 6 am. Promoters and ravers alike, fought the first law, took it to court and had it thrown out. In 1993, tragedy struck the scene. On the drive into Santa Cruz after a Full Moon party, the driver of the van carrying the sound equipment fell asleep at the wheel and drove into the bay, but the tide was out so it rolled across the mud. Everyone in the front seats were fine, but Malachy O'Brien, who was part of Come-Unity, not related to Martin O'Brien, was crushed under the sound equipment in the back and was paralyzed from the neck down. After that incident everything changed. The driver of the van and organizers of Wicked, were deported, Toon Town had been

stopped, and the police were effectively stopping unlicensed raves in San Francisco. All the rave promoters in the Bay Area, joined together to throw a benefit rave for Malachy, seemingly fulfilling the San Francisco wish for a scene based on unity and love. The party, called Unity, was blessed by a Buddhist monk, and ended with a live feed of Malachy in his hospital bed. The party raised one hundred thousand dollars, enabling Malachy to return to the UK for treatment, and the left over money he donated to charity.

The incident was sad, but soon people needed someone to blame, and it became Wicked. The British invasion according to house producer Scott Hardkiss, had brought in American house music as ambassadors for house culture, ruined everything and then left a mess. (Silcott 71). The Hardkiss Brothers were a producing group that wanted to share the San Francisco rave scene. They soon set up Hardkiss Music in 1993, a studio in the basement of a taquería, and started releasing records. God Within's (Scott Hardkiss) "Raincry"(1993) and Hawke's(Gavin Bieber) album *Namaquadisco* (1998), both part of Hardkiss, became early-morning favorites within American's new dance society. The term San Francisco was coined with the Hardkisses as figureheads, despite the predecessor style of Jenö's DJ-ing.

While the San Francisco scene plummeted, the Oakland scene opened up. Warehouses near the Oakland airport became the new home for massive raves, attracting up to 20,000 ravers. However, the scene was to be shut down by the end of 1999, as Oakland International Trade Center "dubbed the "Rave Center" for its central role on the internationally recognized Oakland rave scene since 1994, is one of several sites recently declared unsafe by the Fire Department" (Sullivan 45). The city declared a moratorium on raves beginning 1 January 2000, until promoters could bring the buildings up to code, which promoters said would cost a ridiculous amount. With these large venues closing, the scene could not maintain the momentum, and

became much smaller. A curfew was set in place in 2000, forcing raves to close at 2 am rather than last all night and into the next day. While this did hamper the scene, nightclubs continued to host DJs and groups of the electronic movement.

VIII. Middle America and Large Festivals

While Storm Raves and the New York rave scene had almost no influence on the development of the San Francisco dance culture, they did have an influence on Middle America. The first real rave came from Wade Hampton, dance-culture entrepreneur, at the venue Cabaret Metro, in October 1991. It was called Fresh Jive, and was sponsored by Fresh Jive Apparel Company. The bill included DJ Keoki, John Digweed and Scott Hardkiss, but according to raver extraordinaire, Tommy Sunshine “No one cared. But those Jive guys!...It was the first time we had ever seen clothing that was made for America, for our lifestyle”(Silcott 105) Fresh Jive was a California clothing company launched by graphic designer Rick Koltz, whose designs incorporated American brand logos mixed with inside culture references. Candy raves as the Midwest began to call them, popped up in Minneapolis and Wisconsin's capital, Madison in 1992, often celebrated in barns or on farms.

Kurt Eckes and Patrick Spencer, decided to venture into the position of hosting and DJ-ing. Moving into a warehouse in Milwaukee in 1992, the duo made flyers for their first party by taking the M&M logo and turning the M's on their sides, creating E&E, “ A delicious pure bass center smothered in rich headstrong energy dipped in wonderful blissed out ecstasy” read the flyer. Jethero X, Eckes and Jedidiah the Messiah, Spencer, DJ'ed the party, choosing ironically hick sounding names. The Midwest is a broad expanse of flat farm lands, and it can be incredibly boring, which is why ravers were willing to drive up to 20 hours one way for raves. Kurt Eckes and Tommy Sunshine had met in 1992 at a rave, and became travel buddies. One of the determining raves for Eckes future, was the last Storm Rave hosted in Brooklyn, in December of 1992. Sunshine and Eckes and a group four others decided to make the 20 hour one way trip, and

upon arriving were subjected to the hardest hardcore techno outside of Belgium or Germany. While Sunshine had misgivings about the direction Storm raves had taken, Eckes found it to be his calling.

Drop Bass Networks was formed by Eckes and Spencer earlier in 1992. At the anniversary party in 1993, Eckes emulated what he had seen at the Storm rave, creating a wall of speakers, and blasting hardcore techno, German and Lowlands gabba. "I figured there was this ying and yang, and if there's nobody promoting negativity and darkness in raves, then we [Drop Bass Networks] have got it all to ourselves" (Silcott 110). Eckes was particularly careful about the raves he hosted as well, between the winter of 1992 and the winter of 1994 DBN threw sixteen large scale raves, none of which got shut down. LSD became the drug of choice at these raves, and Satanism became plastered to their promotional flyers. In 1993, Spencer Eckes and DJ Woody McBride set up Drop Bass Records, which used the fascist colors of red, white and black on their labels. In 1994, the record label was selling successfully in Europe, but in America sales had dropped dramatically. Rethinking the only hardcore stance, Eckes met with friend David Prince, *Reactor* magazine editor, in early 1994. Inspired by Tom Wolfe's Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test, Eckes and Prince started planning a three day rave campout. The first Furthur event took place from April 29 to May 1, 1994, the title referencing Kesey's bus from the 60s. The event took place on farmland in Hixton, Wisconsin, and featured an line-up that included E-drenched genres that Eckes had turned away from in 1993. The Hardkisses, Frankie Bones, Adam X, Spencer Kinsey, and an Aphex Twin live show, proved that DPN was THE rave promoter of the Midwest. Furthur proved over the next 4 years that it was one of the most durable raves in all of America. (Silcott 119). The DBN websites show that it stopped Furthur, Even Furthur, and little Furthur events after 2001. ("Past")

The 1996 Even Furthur event featured the first ever American appearance of Daft Punk, a combination of Thomas Bangalter and Guy-Manuel de Homem-Christo. Their mixture of techno, house and disco, is world renowned and celebrated. With seven Grammy nominations and two Grammy's, one for Best Dance Recording of "Harder, Better, Faster, Stronger (Alive 2007)" in 2009, and the other for Best Electronic/Dance Album for "Alive 2007" in 2009, Daft Punk has toured worldwide, playing at almost every major electronic festival at one point in time or another. Their most recent project has been the scoring of the soundtrack for *Tron: Legacy*, the sequel to the 1982 Disney film *Tron*, to be released on December 17, 2010. The official sound track has been leaked and features a Daft Punk influence on the orchestra, with several songs being more heavily electronic, thus more influenced by Daft Punk's style. (Brown). It is an honor to have Daft Punk score the soundtrack, because it directly reflects the evolution of the electronic genre in film. The original *Tron* was the first movie ever to have a mostly electronically composed score by none other than Wendy Carlos, featured earlier as the first artist to create a critical electronic album using a Moog synthesizer in 1968.

Giants of the French house genre, Daft Punk were managed from 1998 through 2008 by Pedro Winter. Winter created the record label Ed Banger Records in 2002, as a division of Headbanger Entertainment. The record label features some of the biggest hottest acts of the electronic music genre. Justice became one of the most famous acts with their debut album *Cross*, in 2007, which was nominated for Best Electronic/Dance Album in 2007. Touring worldwide in support of the album, the duo, Gaspard Augé and Xavier de Rosnay, have demonstrated their ability to not only get crowds excited, but actually have them sing portions of their songs. Their remix of, now defunct rock band, Simian's "Never Be Alone" in 2003, prompted Ed Banger to sign them.

Simian released the album, which contained “Never Be Alone”, *We Are Your Friends* in 2002, and split in 2005. Two of the members James Ford and James Shaw then formed the techno band Simian Mobile Disco, who have gone on to become critically acclaimed for their highly technical use of analog and digital synthesizers. Their debut album, *Attack Decay Sustain Release*, released in 2007 and the title references the original technical specifications detailed by Vladimir Ussachevsky for Moog's envelope followers. SMD is not the only producing/remixing team to have formed from a previous rock band, perhaps the most famous example is 2 Many DJ's, formed by David and Stephen Dewaele. The Dewaele brothers are part of electronic rock band Soulwax, formed in 1992. 2 Many DJ's has developed a mastery of smooth and innovative mixing, that allows them to mix not only multiple songs at a time, but to make them sound like they flow together seamlessly. They mix such diverging genres as rock, pop, electronic, punk, alternative, and classical. In 2008, the documentary film *Part of the Weekend Never Dies*, came out explaining the confusing mixture of 2 Many DJ's, Soulwax, and tour of the album *Nite Versions*, released in 2005 as the remix of Soulwax's 2004 album, *Any Minute Now*. The film used one camera and shot footage between 2005 and 2007, including interviews, backstage shots, and the shows on the tour, ranging from venues in Japan, America, and Europe. The film is incredibly well done, and possibly the most exciting documentary to watch about any band.

The modern venues for dance music include the unimaginably large and small venues. One of the largest venues for electronic music in recent history is the city of Dortmund, Germany as the site for the 2008 Love Parade, where an estimated 1.6 million people attended. Love Parade started in Berlin just months before the Berlin wall fell in 1989. Its organizer was Dr. Motte, aka Matthias Roeingh, and it consisted of a handful of cars blasting German techno music

to around 150 attendees. The motto was “*Friede, Freude, Eierkuchen*” which “is recognizable as German kitsch but would sound to the German ear funny (komisch) in its English translation, 'Peace, Joy, Pancakes.’” (Senders 294). After the Berlin wall fell, the movement gained mass. In 1990, 2000 people attended. In 1991, 6,000. In 1992 15,000. the festival continued to get bigger until in 1999 it peaked at 1.5 million attendees. The parade was held on Berlin, Kurfürstendamm, Avenue until 1996, after which it was held in Tiergarten park centered around the war monument *Siegessäule* in the middle of the park (Senders). The event was cancelled in 2004 and 2005, came back to Berlin in 2006, and then 2007 moved to Essen, in 2008 to Dortmund, in 2009 it was cancelled again. In 2010 it was held in Duisburg, where tragedy struck. In a poorly coordinated attempt to block the entrances and exits, the police inadvertently caused a panic and stampede, in the tunnel leading to the site, leaving 21 dead and over 500 injured.(Bocking and Schneider n. pg.). The organizers have cancelled all future Love Parades. In the wake following this tragedy, the San Francisco Lovevolution, formerly Love Fest, usually scheduled in early October was cancelled. The San Francisco Love Fest started in 2004, in imitation of Berlin's Love Festival.

The promoters of HARD have been staging large legal raves in Los Angeles, since 2007. While other festivals like Coachella Music Festival, in Indio, California, SXSW in Austin, Texas, and Lollapalooza, in Chicago, Illinois, have featured electronic acts, and DJs. The amount of illegal raves has decreased significantly as licenses and permits have become easier to obtain. The music is out in the open, thanks to the vigilant fighting, constant updating of laws, and successfully promoted events.

IX. Conclusion

Disco led dance culture into the clubs, where technological advancements allowed sound to become louder and clearer. Technology also gave DJs more control over the record decks and gave the ability to create drum beats. As new genres emerged they were carried over to other music scenes, and influenced the cultures abroad. The British scene in particular highlights the problems and criminalization of seemingly very innocent people. The drugs involved in the scene lead to organized crime that controlled the supply lines of these drugs and caused a decrease in their quality. Illegal drugs have no quality standards and that is the most dangerous scenario, when a drugs source is unknown and the drug could contain anything. Ecstasy in particular enjoyed a period of relative purity followed by a steep decline in quality. The drug shaped the music of the scene, and the culture. When British youth started to use it while listening to acid house, techno, house, UK garage, or UK hardcore, it made them feel like they were a part of this much bigger experience. The way that raves were forced into illegality because no venues could remain open after 2am was just sad. Then legislation changed, and licensing laws became more relaxed, and in time legal raves were allowed, granted they ended much earlier and did not sell drugs openly. That culture then spread to US cities; New York, San Francisco, Milwaukee, all budding scenes for the youths of the 90s to try E and rave at a rave. While the Bay Area remained fairly tolerant until the end of the century, others areas cracked down on all night raves, forcing them into illegality yet again. This has changed yet again in recent years. Not only have rave or, as they preferred to be called now, electronic promoters been able to allow artists to perform at massive venues, but some places have even allowed them to run as late as 4am. This increase in the tolerance of music culture is astonishing and yet,

unsurprising given the previous cycles that dance music has gone through. The future of electronic dance music culture remains uncertain, especially with the recent deaths of the Love Parade attendees, and the ecstasy related, but ultimately water intoxication death of a 15 year old girl at Electric Daisy Carnival in LA this past summer.

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